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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1936

VOL. LX., No. 1 WHOLE No. 355

THE RAPE OF ABYSSINIA

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

(I have just returned from a tour of the world. When I set out seven months ago the chief topic of conversation was the impending Italo-Abyssinian war. I return to find this still the chief topic of conversation, but the war is now officially ended.)

O IAGO, the pity of it, the pity of it, Iago! These words of Othello's keep echoing in the mind as one thinks of the tragedy of Abyssinia. It all seems so pitiful. The oldest kingdom in Africa has been destroyed and for no reason except to cool a dictator's lust. Italy is now a "satisfied" Power—and to "satisfy" Italy Abyssinia and all the hopes and plans for her future envisaged by an enlightened Emperor must pass away. Signor Mussolini proclaims his Italian Empire as if that were the whole of the story. But what is his Empire worth to the Abyssinians? Left to themselves they could have developed along their own lines. Now there will be no such fulfilment. For all instructed opinion is agreed that Abyssinia is not especially rich in raw materials and so it cannot be for them that Signor Mussolini has waged the most unprovoked war in history. No, Abyssinia is not to be "developed" primarily in even the accepted imperialist fashion. She is wanted mainly as a reservoir for black troops...

Since the war began a lot of mud has been slung at the Abyssinians and in the coming difficult months we may expect the mud-slinging to continue. For, some people like to flatter themselves that it doesn't matter breaking a promise to anyone so long as they can argue afterwards that the party to whom the promise was given wasn't worth it anyway. In the case of Abyssinia slavery, of which more later, and the repulsive habit of raw meat eating, are useful bogeys—and if we can make enough of these we can unconcernedly leave such "savages" to their fate. Or so they hope.

But can we? The truth is surely that merit on either side doesn't enter into the question: Keeping faith, whether between individuals or between nations, is desirable *in itself*. To admit any other consideration is to invite chaos. We cannot break faith with Abyssinia, with the least among the nations, without making it easier for every other nation to break faith also. Already we see that that is so. If we and the fifty other nations at Geneva had set ourselves from the beginning to prevent this war, as it could surely have been prevented, would Germany have grown so much more menacing? Would she have seized the present time to remilitarize the Rhineland? And would Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, in consequence, be shaking in their shoes, wondering if it is their turn next? As one critic has said:

> "The extent to which the hesitating policies of Great Britain and France have led to the disintegration of Danubian Europe cannot be exaggerated."

Consider for a moment the pledges that have been given to Abyssinia. President Wilson, speaking at Versailles and moving the adoption of the League Covenant, said: "We have done with annexations of helpless people." And he was supported by the Italian delegate. . . . In 1919, a Convention was adopted regarding the future of Africa and Abyssinia was a party to that Convention. In 1928,

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Italy actually signed a pact of friendship with the Emperor of Abyssinia. Above all, Abyssinia, as a Member of the League of Nations, was entitled to hope that the other Member States would not stand by while she was being invaded and gassed and finally annexed. It must not be forgotten either, ironic as it all is, that when Abyssinia applied for membership of the League of Nations her application was supported by Italy (and frowned on by Britain).

To mention Britain and Abyssinia together is to come on a state of affairs in which the past and the future are so entangled that it is almost impossible to straighten things out. The difficulty is of course that in the present quarrel Britain has two aspects. She is a great Imperial Power deeply involved in Africa and a great League Power vitally concerned in the preservation of world peace.

It is indeed the tragedy of Britain—and the League—that it is to Britain that the other nations at Geneva always look for a lead. Yet whenever a major challenge to the "League system" arises, Britain is sure to have so many imperial commitments that it is impossible for her to appear disinterested. Perhaps it is impossible for her to *be* disinterested. Anyway this dualism was as apparent in our handling of the Sino-Japanese crisis when Japan invaded Manchuria (and our imperialism came out on top), as it is in our handling of the present Italo-Abyssinian crisis (when, please Heaven, the League may even yet come out the arbiter).

Britain's imperialist heritage in Africa does so muddle the issues now. In 1906, France and Britain and Italy entered into an Agreement regarding their respective "spheres of influence" in Abyssinia. In the first flush of victory, and having proclaimed his Empire in Abyssinia, Signor Mussolini has repudiated that Agreement and Italy claims complete sovereignty over Abyssinia and indicates that while French and British economic collaboration will be welcomed, a full open door policy is impossible. Whatever the end of the matter may be, it is undoubtedly the case that the British imperialists would be quite content to leave Abyssinia to her fate so long as the terms of the 1906 Agreement were respected. It is devoutly to be hoped that these imperialists will not carry the day—and that history will be able to note that in this dispute Britain stood for the general peace and common good to all instead of for her own selfish and immediate interests.

In this connection, incidentally, we must pray "Save us from our friends". General Smuts and General Hertzog, speaking for South Africa, are all for opposing Italy to the bitter end. But South Africa is not disinterested. She has never been remarkable for having the interests of African natives at heart. (It is always worth remembering that in South Africa every native has to pay a tax, whereas Europeans do not begin to pay Income Tax until after the figure of £400 a year). South Africa is not so much pro-League as anti-Italian. If Italy gets away with her depredations, Germany may in the near future follow suit—and South Africa wants Tanganyika to belong to her and not revert to Germany.

To mix a metaphor, all these cross currents are the most welcome red herrings to Italian propaganda. It is so easy for her to make out a case against Britain, to argue that Britain is exploiting the League for her own purposes. And English people seem to be strangely indifferent to this propaganda. Perhaps they do not realize how widespread it is. In this country, however wrongheaded and opinionated we may consider the newspapers to be (the ones we do not favour), we never for a moment accuse them of having sold themselves to some interested party. But abroad papers do put themselves up for sale. This is notoriously true of the French Press. France for reasons of her own has blown hot and cold all through the present dispute. But vacillation in high places has been ably seconded by the Press. It is said that a sum of no less than 60,000,000 francs has been paid to French newspapers to secure a pro-Italian policy.

People returning from the Middle East report that it is rotten with Italian propaganda. At the moment of writing questions on the subject are being put in Parliament. There seems to be plenty of evidence that Italian propagandists are stirring up trouble for Britain in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. A Special Correspondent of the London *Star* writes that secret advices now being received in London reveal that Italian propaganda was behind the recent troubles in Egypt and is actively concerned in the present Arab anti-Jewish strike in Palestine. This strike which began with the murder of nineteen Jews is being maintained, he asserts, with Italian money.

The fact is that Italy, or rather Signor Mussolini, is indulging in dreams of a new Roman Empire. He himself has used that phrase. Italy has bombed and gassed her way to victory in Africa. In time this will provide her with great reserves of black troops. And

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in the meantime, in the Middle East and as far as she can stretch out her influence, she will do everything in her power to undermine British ascendancy. To this end she is training a corps of propagandists. "A world union of oriental students" has been formed in Italy. Arabs, Egyptians, Chinese, Indians are encouraged to come and study there. Once indoctrinated with Italian Kultur, writes this same Special Correspondent in the *Star*, they are sent back home as Italian propagandists. And he adds that many are unsuspecting; others are well supplied with funds...

At the time of writing it is strongly rumoured that the Italians are trying to raise a loan in London. It will be extraordinary if we are so simple-foolish as to agree, quite apart from the fact that it would hardly be consistent with a sanctionist programme at Geneva. But while she is putting out feelers for a loan, Italy is doing a little propaganda here also. It has been noticed recently that the news reels, especially those put out by Gaumont-British, are very favourable to the Italian view of the news. More subtle is the announcement that fares inside Italy are to be reduced to British tourists by as much as ninety per cent. It is to be hoped that English people will resist this temptation. Italians cannot so easily lure us to forgetfulness of the crimes they have committed in Abyssinia. An Italian, speaking in London recently, complained that English people liked to think of the typical Italian as sitting playing a guitar amidst the ruin of dead Empires. We liked him so, but now that he had grown up we resented it. Yes, we do resent it! As someone else has remarked: there was a perfume hanging about our relations in the past...

The Emperor of Abyssinia wants to go to Geneva to put his country's case before the fifty nations who make up the League. Can Switzerland protect him against assassination—or will this be made the excuse for preventing his coming? If he does come, he may bring the hesitant nations a little closer to realities. And the realities really are frightful. It needs no Abyssinian propagandist to underline or embroider them. They are trumpet-tongued.

First, as regards the political background. It is clear now that Signor Mussolini knew from the beginning that he need expect no serious opposition to his war on Abyssinia and went ahead with his preparations accordingly. So far as France is concerned, it is freely stated in America now that Signor Mussolini obtained her explicit *approval*. And as for England, we know that the Italian Ambassador in London, Signor Grandi, told his chief a year ago that the National Government would do nothing to hinder his plans.

It is almost incredible, the course that Britain adopted. Italy pushed on with her mobilizations and her munition-making and all the time, all that we could do, was to urge moderation on Abyssinia, to persuade her that her best course was to avoid anything that might be construed as an "incident." Abyssinia followed this advice to the letter. The Emperor stated over and over again that his country relied on the justice of their case and on the League of Nations, which would uphold that case.

It is no use for Abyssinia's detractors to say that of course she paraded her trust in the League because in any event she would have been impotent against a highly armed European Power. Abyssinia could have embarrassed Italy very seriously at the beginning of the trouble if she had got in the first blow and attacked Eritrea. After all Italy's war preparations were undeniable. In these circumstances Abyssinia could hardly have been termed the aggressor if she had struck at Italy while she was still vulnerable. But we urged "moderation." Again, Abyssinia could have raised a Foreign Legion. Everyone recalls the rush of individual applications for service with the Emperor that the Legation received in London. But this the Legation also tactfully discourged. In the Spring of 1935 an Order in Council had been issued anyhow which would have made such service very difficult for British subjects. (At a recent meeting in London, at which this Order in Council was referred to, it was linked with Italian conversations and the "Stresa front." . . .) Finally last September Abyssinia wished to raise a loan in this country, but she was met by that well-known underground opposition.

It must not be forgotten that it was not until the League of Nations Union had conducted their Peace Ballot in this country and the results showed a very strong body of opinion in favour of the League, that the British Government came out in any open support of the League. Even then, it was primarily a stunt they adopted in order to win votes at a coming General Election and not that they felt they had received a mandate. This they abundantly proved when, only a week or two after the Election, they produced the notorious Hoare-Laval Scheme for the Partitioning of Abyssinia. As Mr. Lloyd George remarked

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last week, when addressing the Council of Action at a meeting held in London, they won the Election by fraudulently pretending thev were on the other side.

All things considered, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Abyssinian Emperor did everything in his power to respect the League while the Great Powers did everything they could to sabotage it. When thev put forward the Hoare-Laval Scheme thev were even plotting to reward an aggressor who was in any event at that time actually losing the war. For it is of course the case that the Abyssinians were undefeated until Italy made a wholesale use of poison gas.

Italy's use of poison gas was hushed up at first. In this connection the Red Cross seems to have played an ambiguous part. When accusations were being made that Italy had resorted to the use of poison gas—although she had signed a Convention that she would not do so—obviously the Red Cross was in the best position to make a statement as to whether or not gas was being used. Yet no statement was forthcoming. This question was raised at a meeting in London the other day when it was suggested that the organization of the Red Cross was one of the things which this war showed was in need of investigation. It came as a surprise to most of the people there to learn that the control of the International Red Cross is entirely in Swiss hands. But if the Red Cross has been anxious not to say or do anything to injure Italy, the Italians have had no such feelings for them. A feature of this war has been the bombing of the Red Cross. (Has not Dean Inge remarked that we should no longer say like a red rag to a bull, but like a Red Cross to an Italian?) The motive behind this is said to be that the Italians would like to destroy every European witness of what they are doing in Abyssinia. Still it is not necessary to go to the Red Cross for evidence of Italy's use of poison gas. Customs clearances show that in January anyhow 224 tons of poison gas were taken into Abyssinia.

Gas, not superior valour, has conquered the Abyssinians. This terror, raining down on them from the skies, broke their morale. The use of poison gas by a Great Power, in spite of its pledged word that it would never do so, is a lesson which other Great Powers will have to ponder. But before going on to the general implications of this war, just a few final things must be said of the lost Abyssinia.

In the first place, do we not think that it is worth preserving in the world as many various civilizations as possible? The cinema and the wireless and the motor car have a way of suburbanising every place to which they penetrate. Do we want that to happen all over the world?

People can cry down the Abyssinians (who were profoundly shocked to find that Europeans make war on women and children and bomb women as they work in the fields). But those who know Abyssinia, public servants who have been in many parts of the world, say that, although of course it is futile to compare Abyssinia with Western countries, she does stand comparison with such countries as Afghanistan and Iraq. In fact, she is ahead of them.

Incidentally, what if this conquest of Abyssinia makes all the coloured peoples of Africa race-conscious? What if the slaughtered Abyssinians rise one day with forty thousand murders on their heads to push us from our seats?

As for the bogey of Slavery, which is sure to come up again and again, it is worth remembering that slavery in Abyssinia is not the kind usually connoted by that word. That always suggests the worst kind of slavery, plantation slavery, such as existed in the Southern States of America until comparatively recent times. (Why do we always expect "backward peoples" to advance so much more quickly than we did ourselves?) But slavery in Abyssinia is of two kinds. First of all there is the Slave Trade proper which the Emperor was undeniably doing his utmost to put down. At the same time, although it is a pity to have to repeat such embittering stories, Abyssinia contends that the Italians were facilitating this trade. The Slave Market is in Arabia. To ship slaves there it is quickest to send them through French or British or Italian territory. The French and British territories are adequately policed, but the slave train manages to pass through Eritrea. As for the other kind of slavery, it is really feudal. A great Ras used to like to surround himself with as many retainers as he could, and a man felt there was nothing derogatory in being attached to such a Ras. But Abyssinia was going through a transition period, changing over from a feudal to a cash basis of society, and this system was gradually dying out. For one thing a Ras likes to have a motor car. Cars and retainers do not go together!

But Italy's conquest of Abyssinia is of course of importance to the whole world. It is the triumph of a Fascist dictatorship over the League system—and what one Dictator can do another will do also and perhaps better the in-

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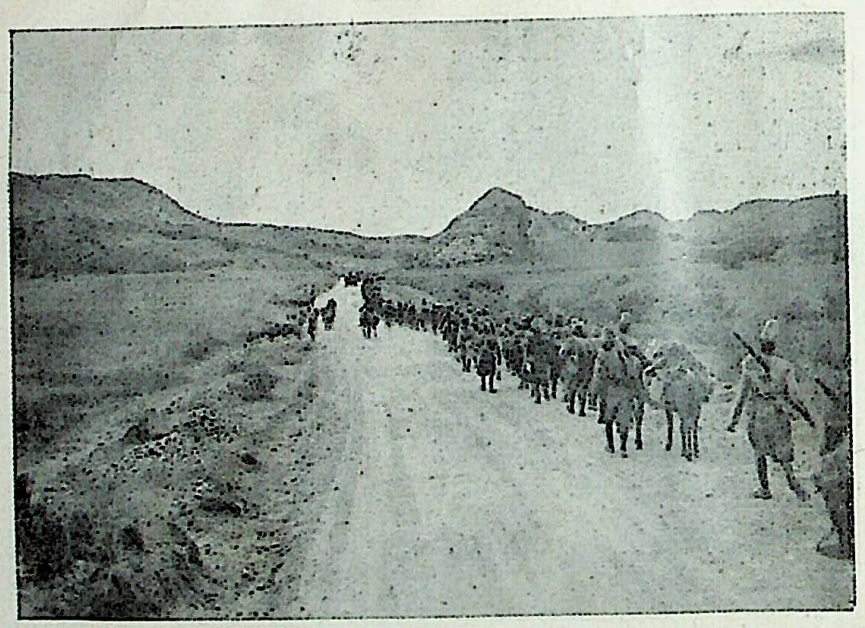
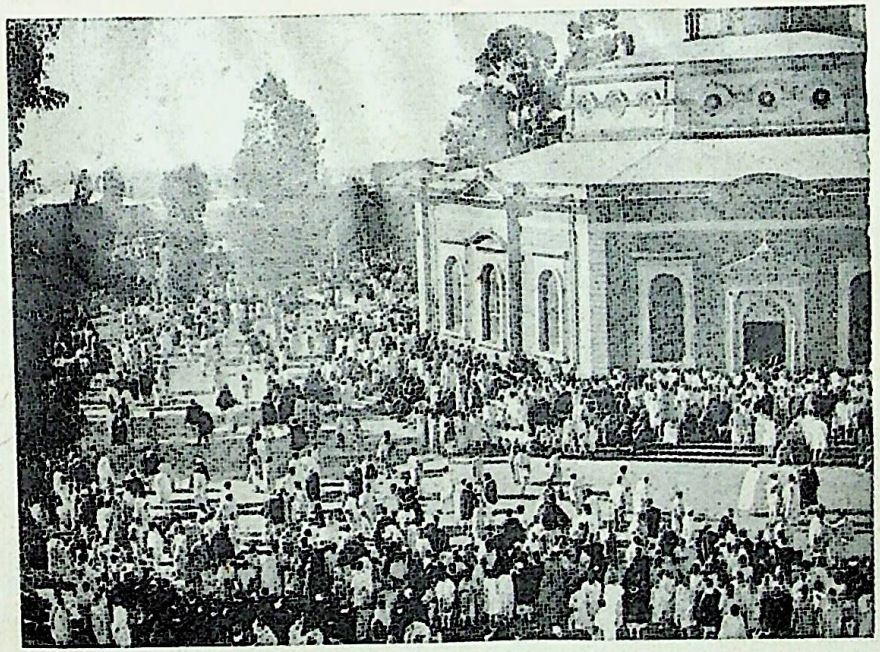


Italian Native Troops marching into Ethiopia



St. Georges Cathedral. Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa—the departure of the Indians

Addis Ababa—the Royal Guards

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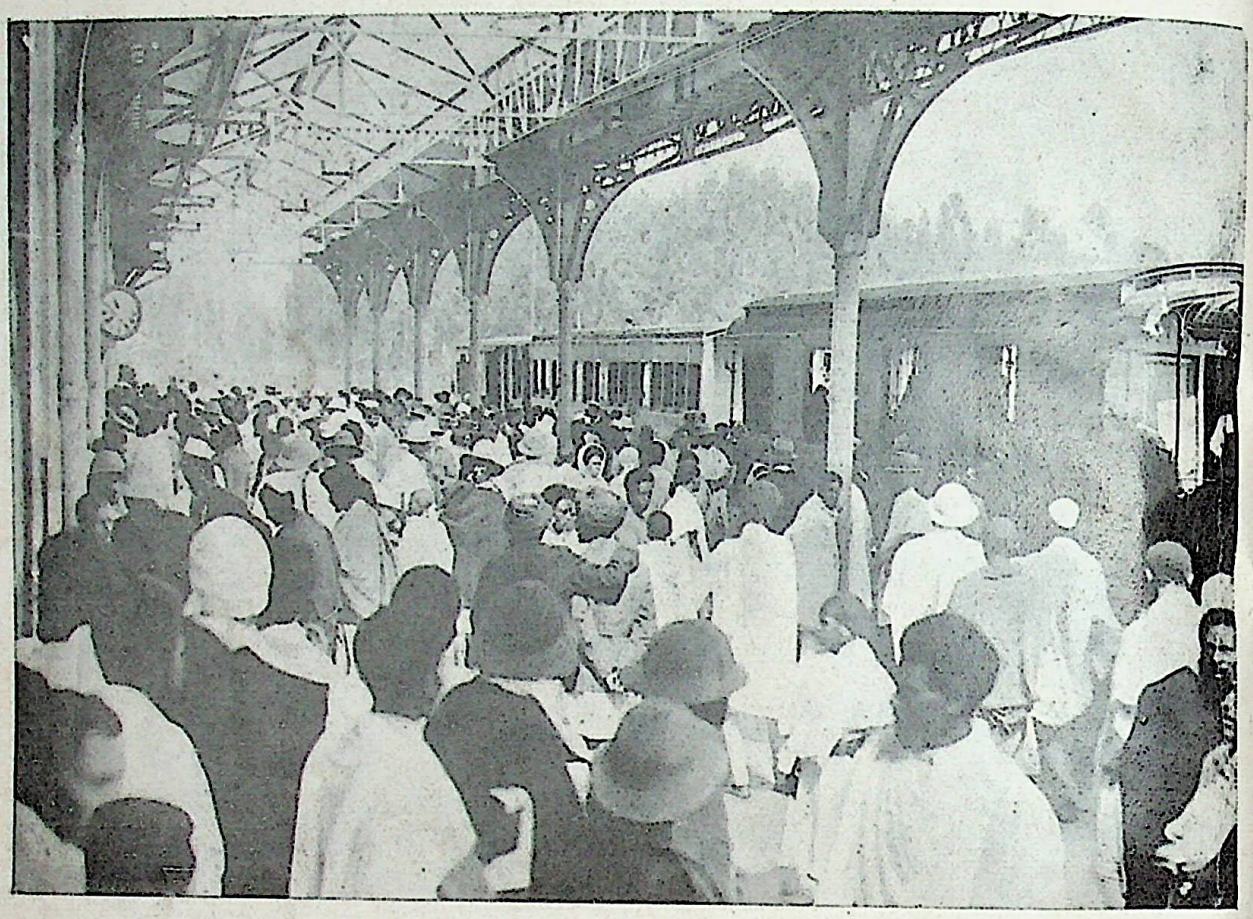
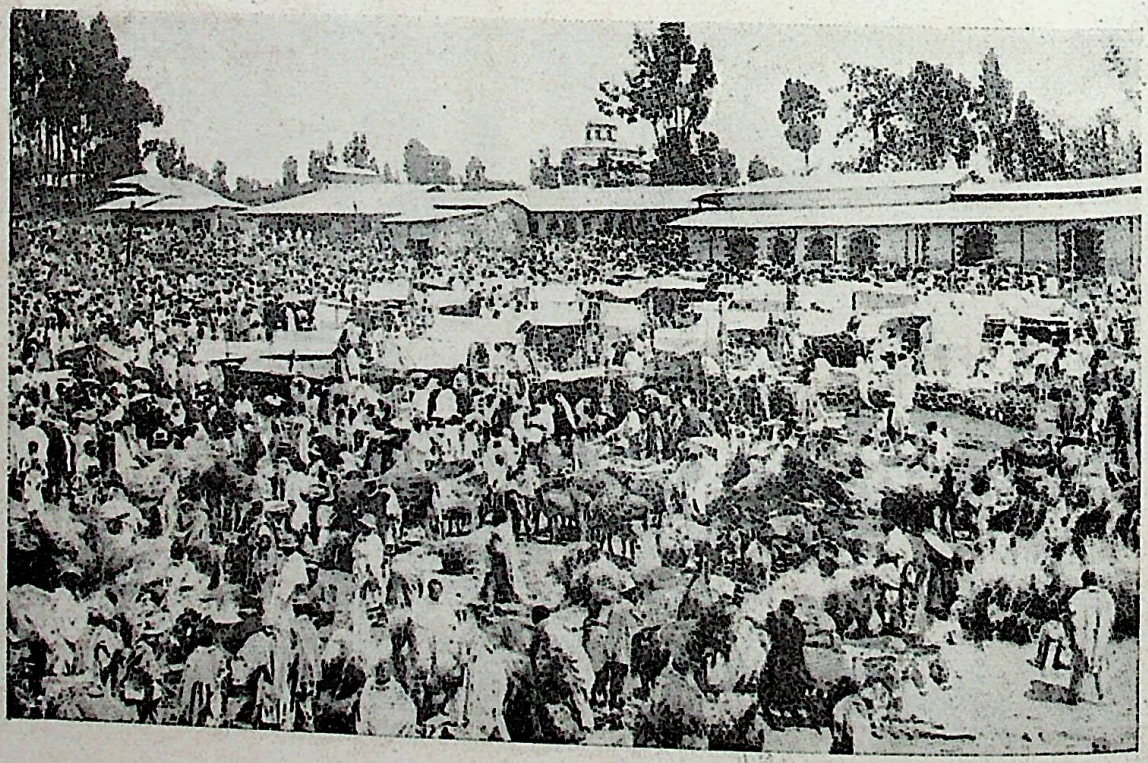


Scene at Addis Ababa Station. Women and Childfen leaving for Safety Zone



Addis Ababa Market day.

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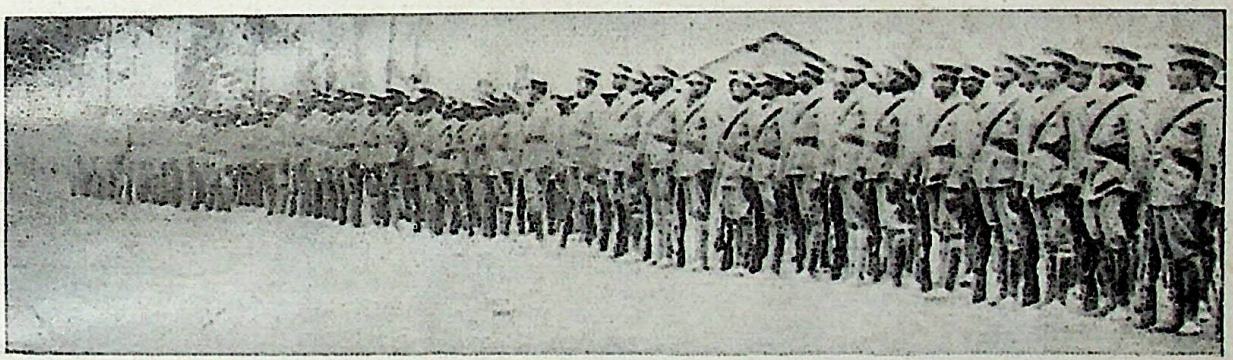
Addis Ababa, the Palace Scene in distance over tree tops



Addis Ababa—the trained troops

The Italian troops going to the front

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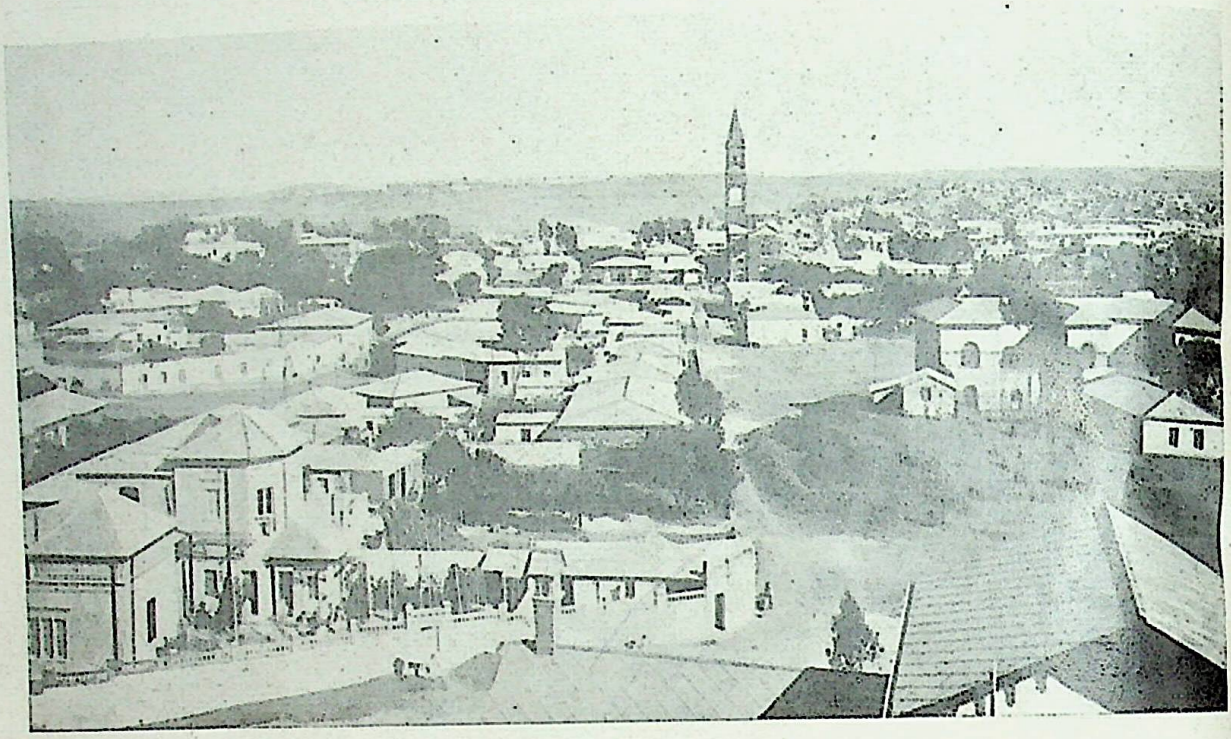
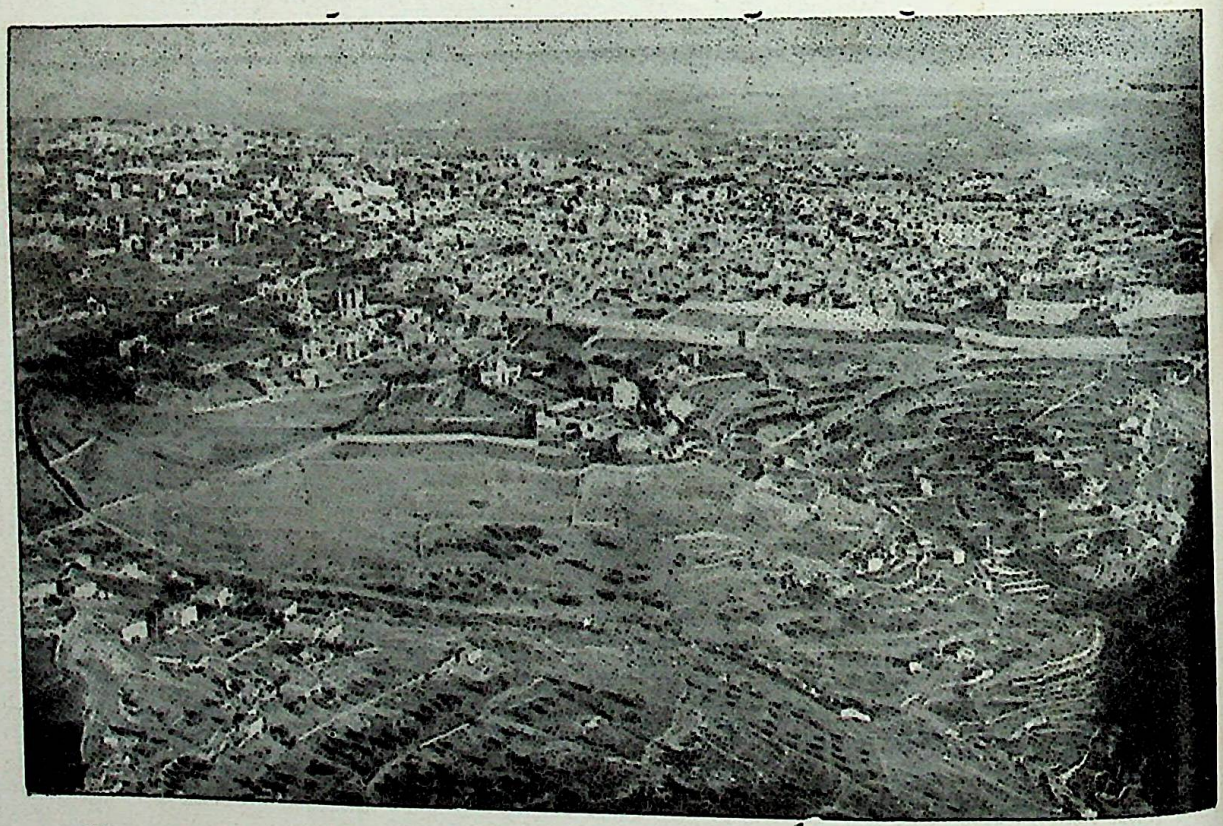


Asmara, Capital of Italian Erythrea & Military base



Addis Ababa Seen from Air

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struction. Nothing is more significant than the undertone of admiration for Signor Mussolini observable in the German Press. The *Berliner Boersen Zeitung* writes :

"By taking possession of Abyssinia, Mussolini faces the world with the same *fait accompli* as he did with his invasion. He does not bother about the League of Nations . . . This method of marching unwaveringly towards his goal emphasises the lesson of the past half-year, that the quick act of a single individual is more effective than the deliberations of many."

Action as opposed to deliberation. Supporters of the League should ponder that. And while they are doing so they might think also of what Mr. Lloyd George also said at the meeting I have referred to :

"It is one of the tragedies of the present grave situation that all the qualities of great leadership today are being displayed by dictatorships, and that all the hesitancy, vacillation and poltroonery are manifested by democracies."

Britain and France and the League generally have certainly shown the most damaging vacillation. It is amazing that they should decide to put on sanctions, but not to put on an oil sanction because it might injure Signor Mussolini too much and he might turn round on them and commit the much-hearlded mad-dog act in the Mediterranean. All that they have achieved is that the mad dog will in a few years time be in a much stronger position to commit any mad act he fancies.

Can there be worse tactics than to show a Dictator that you hate his policy but are afraid to strike at him? At the present time Sir Austen Chamberlain, who was all for sanctions when the war began, and is all for taking them off now that Signor Mussolini has successfully defied the League, has expressed his opinion that war might have been averted if strong action had been taken in the beginning. "It may be," he said in the House of Commons, "that if naval action had been taken very early it would have prevented war and Mussolini might have negotiated."

O Iago, the pity of it!

Effective action was not taken because there was no clear leadership. Our Governments saw only the threatening war clouds instead of keeping their eyes fixed on Geneva—and resolving, with a determination equal to that of the aggressor, that the League system *should* prevail.

They did not want to injure Italy because they wanted her support against the time when Nazi Germany should make war in Europe. At least that is what France wanted and Britain toed the line. With the only result that Italy raped Abyssinia and provided Germany with an object lesson in how to grab what you want. . . .

If Italy is allowed to remain in possession of Abyssinia, if the League is shown up as unable to prevent aggression, then nothing on earth can stop another devastating European war. For there is absolutely no doubt whatever that Germany is preparing for war. In five years from now, it is said on the continent, Germany will be able to carry to fulfilment her Mittle Europa dream.

There has always been a supersitition that "the tongues of dying men enforce attention like deep harmony." If this is so, perhaps we should listen to the last message given to the world by Haile Sellassie, sometime Emperor of Abyssinia. "I must still hold on," he said on April 29th, "until my tardy allies appear. And if they never come, then I say, prophetically and without bitterness : 'The West will perish.'" . . . .

A. G.

The story is told in London that Godfearing Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin was going over with the cabinet the speech he was subsequently to make in the House of Commons upon the accession of King Edward VIII. Afterward Mr. Baldwin's secretary gathered up the manuscript and observed a marginal note by the Prime Minister, "Refer again to A. G." Promptly the speech was rushed to the Attorney-General. The hour was late and in some puzzlement the A. G. and his staff scrutinized the wholly innocuous phrases, wondering what Mr. Baldwin could possibly have thought might be indiscreet or dangerous. It turned out next morning that Orator Baldwin had meant to remind himself by his marginal note to "Refer again to Almighty God."—*Time.*

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CONTROL OF INDIA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

By TARAKNATH DAS, ph.D.

Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, some fifty years ago, predicted that the British Government would be forced to concede measures of reform in India, to avoid a revolution. At the same time he was less hopeful of a peaceful change because of the opposition of Anglo-Indian officialdom and agreed with General Gordon, secretary of Lord Ripon, who after studying the condition of India, felt that the needed change would require a revolution. Lest I may be misunderstood, let me quote the words of Mr. Blunt and General Gordon as well :

"The interests of the Anglo-Indians stand stoutly in our way, and the interests of an ever more hungry commerce and an ever more pitiless finance. Commerce and finance find their gain in the present system. Manchester must be appeased before India can hope to live, and to stop suddenly the career of Indian extravagance would injure trade in many a North of England town. Debt in India unfortunately means dividends in Lombard Street; and so I dare not hope. I am tempted rather to quote, as only too likely to prove true, what I once heard uttered by General Gordon when, speaking of the prospect of reform in India, he told me, '*You may do what you will. It will be of no use. India will never be reformed until there has been there a new revolt.*' But what will that revolt be, and how will it leave our power of reformation ?"[1]

Indians do not want a revolt or a revolution. Nothing would please them better than Swaraj obtained in peaceful ways.

Mr. Blunt visited India (1882-1883) before the formal inauguration of the Indian National Congress and had been in close touch with the late Ananda Mohan Bose and the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, the prime-movers of the programme of constitutional agitation and a parliamentary form of government in India. While advocating reform for India Mr. Blunt recorded his views regarding the control of Indian Foreign Affairs. These views, expressed some fifty years ago, seem to fit in with the opinions of the leaders of the All-India National Congress, who do not wish to see India become a tool of British Imperialism. Mr. Blunt wrote :

"The diplomatic relations, again, of India must of necessity remain imperial, and their management vested solely in the Viceroy. Indian diplomacy, as at present managed, is a complicated and costly thing; but in India of the future we may hope that this will be much simplified. Two cardinal points might with advantage be observed; the first to keep wholly apart from foreign intrigues and foreign wars; the second, to keep rigid faith with the still independent native princes within the border. Of foreign wars India has long had enough and more than enough. The Chinese, the Persian, the Afghan, the Abyssinian, the Egyptian, and now the Soudanese, all these India had been forced to take part in, sorely against her interest and her will. Apart from their money loss, there is in these wars a loss of dignity, which the Indian people are beginning to resent. Those who have been educated in the humane literature of Europe find it humiliating that they, a conquerred people, should be used as the instrument of conquering others. What quarrel had India with the unfortunate Egyptians? What quarrel has she with the unfortunate Arabs ? The educated Indians resent it bitterly, too, that India is made to pay the cost. But these things need no comment. They are but a part of that absolute selfishness which has been the principle of all our past relations with India, and in the new birth of India these too must be changed. The diplomatic relations with the native States have been a tissue of fraud and aggression. In the policy of the future, aggression must be abandoned. There is but one true policy towards the native States; and that is by giving them the spectacle of a British India more happy than their own to invite their inhabitants to share its advantages. Who can doubt that, were India self-governed, prosperous, and happy, the old native principalities would one by one spontaneously be merged in it."[2]

It is certain that the British Government will not agree to confer upon the Indian people their right to control India's Foreign Affairs, until the Indian people assert themselves in the field of control of Indian National Defense. Agitation for military education of Indians in high schools and colleges should be nation-wide and constructive in programme. It should be made clear to the British authorities that, while the British and India Governments are using Indian soldiers in Addis Ababa as well as the regions of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean for the protection of British interests, they are not giving the Indian people opportunity to acquire the required efficiency in the field of national defense. For this very lack of India's military power and also because of British distrust of Indian power, the British Government has been forced to ask co-operation of Turkey, Yugo-Slavia and Greece in the Mediterranean, in case of a conflict between Britain and Italy.

1. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt : *Ideas About India.* London. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1885, pp. 173-174.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 168-170.

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In man-power the combined resources of Turkey, Yugo-Slavia and Greece is about one-tenth of that of India. In natural intelligence, the people of India are in no way inferior to those of Turkey, Greece and Yugo-Slavia; yet it is amazing that India under British rule, spending ten times more for military expenditure than what these nations do, does not possess the facilities for military education which the peoples have in Turkey, Greece and Yugo-Slavia. In Turkey, even the young girls of high-school age are demanding facilities for military education. Alas, in India not only the British Government is not doing its part for spreading military education among the Indian people, but Indian leaders are neglecting the cause of compulsory military education in Indian high schools and colleges and are apparently content with debating on topics of abstract rights of the people.

In connection with the problem of control of Indian Foreign Relations, Indian leaders must begin to demand that Indian diplomatic agencies should be established in all the important countries like the United States, Japan, Russia, France, Germany as well as Italy. India's favourable trade balance with the United States is enormous and the American Government is anxious to establish reciprocal commercial relations through direct exchange of treaties between India and the United States. I am given to understand, that some time ago the Indian Legislative Assembly approved the idea of having an Indian High Commissioner for the United States, to promote Indo-American commercial relations; but on the suppossed pretext of lack of money this important work has not been undertaken. Egypt, Ireland, Turkey, Siam and many other small nations maintain legations in the United States. Is India so poor that it can not bear the expense of maintaining her own legation in Washington and other parts of the world ? I am inclined to think that the real reason for neglecting the all important work of establishing direct diplomatic relations of India with other lands, is to keep India in diplomatic isolation. If India has lack of funds, then it would be better that India should stop her contributions to the League of Nations and use the fund for establishing direct diplomatic relations with the Great Powers.

It is the custom among Indian leaders to place all the blame regarding Indian disabilities on British ill-will to India. I am inclined to think that the real cause of Indian disabilities lies in the lack of vision among Indian leaders. Lakhs of rupees were spent for the Charka movement; but the same Indian leaders in their narrowness were opposed to all foreign activities and even have blocked every move on the part of Sj. Subhas Bose to use the fund left by the late V. J. Patel for foreign work. Furthermore, none should expect from the British that they would make concessions unless they are obliged to do so. May I say that Indian leaders in their lack of vision have not even made any organized agitation for the spread of military education in India and establishment of Indian diplomatic relations abroad ? They talk of self-government and Swaraj, but they feel afraid of suggesting the necessity of military education and India's participation in international politics. Indian control of Foreign Relations and National Defense are primary requisites for Indian Freedom; and there should be organized agitation for the spread of military education and establishment of India's diplomatic relations with all Great Powers.

New York.

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TRENDS OF POPULATION IN INDIA

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A study of population trends is always interesting as it is really a study of man. In India the question has gained immensely in importance ever since the last census when the enormous increase in population has given rise to a feeling of real alarm throughout the country. I propose to discuss in this paper some of the trends of population in India in recent times.

The Malthusian doctrine held that population has a natural and invariable tendency to increase at a very rapid rate by which it overtakes and outstrips the means of subsistence. The balance is periodically redressed by Nature in her own ways through famines, wars, epidemics and other calamities unless human intelligence meets the problem by moral restraint or other measures for limiting the birth rate or getting rid of the excess that is already born. His doctrine is too well-known to be discussed at the present day. With Malthus, the problem was very largely agrarian —the problem of adequate food supply. But the spectre which haunted him has vanished long ago. The problem today is somewhat different from the problem that faced Malthus in his days. Today, the world's total food supply is adequate enough. Indeed, in recent years it had to be restricted by various artificial and statutory means to control production and to limit output. Even then, prices are so low that in most cases the farmers cannot sell their crops. A very large part of the poverty and misery that we find today is not due to the lack of food but to the lack of purchasing power. There is food in plenty but millions cannot buy it for lack of employment and consequent lack of income. The problem today is largely industrial—the problem of finding employment for all. The League of Nations recently estimated that about 30 millions of people are going unemployed in the world today. This really creates one of the gravest of not merely economic but also political and social problems of the modern age.

The Malthusian theory has therefore to be qualified to suit the conditions of modern life. It fails to explain many things which we would like to be explained. Population in India or elsewhere has *not* increased in a geometrical ratio in spite of Malthus. His theory fails to explain how a high birth and a high death rate or conversely a low birth rate and a low death rate invariably go together. Doubleday held that when the existence of a particular species is threatened, Nature makes a simultaneous effort to preserve it by an increase of fertility. The deplethoric state, according to him, is favourable to fertility, while the plethoric state is unfavourable to it in the ratio of the intensity of each state. The birth rate falls when life is easy, while it rises in the opposite case. Darwin held that fecundity was in direct relation to the chances of death. Raymond Pearl's logistic curves representing an equation with three constants offers a new theory of population growth and when tested in the case of a large number of countries, it has agreed reasonably with recorded facts.* According to this theory, there is both an upper and a lower limit of every population which grows in cycles and it is conditioned amongst other factors by cultural achievements.

The first thing that strikes a student of Indian population is that the greatest increase has taken place in the agricultural classes and with this progressive increase, agriculture in India is rapidly reaching saturation point. The number of people it can possibly support will very likely be reached in the course of the next few decades. Already, agricultural labour cannot find full employment for the whole year round due to the seasonal character of the industry. Some part of the year they have to remain idle. The rapid increase in agricultural population is due to various causes. A farmer's child is an economic asset in the farm much earlier than a child in the urban areas. So long as large areas are still uncultivated in India, the increase will continue. An urban child living in a city is a more expensive thing to keep, to clothe, to feed and to educate than a farmer's child. A High School education for the urban child—spread over a period of, say,

* Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, page 60.

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ten years, will cost roughly from Rs. 500/- to Rs. 600/- or even more. The capitalized cost of an urban child from the time of its birth up to the time it becomes self-supporting is very high already and is increasing further day by day.

The economic consequences of this rapid increase in agricultural population are bound to be serious. It will aggravate land hunger in the country greatly. It will increase agricultural unemployment and, sympathetically, it is bound to increase industrial unemployment also as, more and more, people are driven from the land to the cities in search of employments. The increased pressure on land will lead to greater fractionization and sub-division of holdings. The proportion of uneconomic holdings will increase still further and this will, to a great extent, check the possibilities of scientific agriculture and reduce agricultural efficiency in India. The law of diminishing returns will apply with greater force and the marginal cost of production will therefore rise. Indirectly, to overcome this difficulty, there will be greater attempts at scientific agriculture so as to increase the possibilities of the land and reduce costs of production. There is bound to be greater attention to trade and industry—not as a matter of choice but as a matter of necessity and in all these ways, there is likely to be a profound re-organization of our economic structure. The present distribution of the working population in India (1931) is as follows :

Agriculture	.. .. ..	66.4 p. c.
Trade	.. .. ..	5.13 „
Industry	.. .. ..	9.95 „
Transport	.. .. ..	1.52 „

As the ability of agriculture to provide an occupation becomes more and more limited, the inter-occupational distribution of the working population will be greatly altered within the next few decades.

The total urban population of India (38.9 millions in 1931) is slowly growing. In 1931, it was 11 p.c. of the total population against 10.2 p.c. in 1921. The increase in urban population in the decade (1921-31) was 19.8 p.c. as compared with 9.6 p.c. in the rural. The proportion of urban population is much greater in the West than in India as the following figures will show :

England and Wales	.. .. ..	80 p. c.
Northern Ireland	.. .. ..	51 „
Canada	.. .. ..	54 „
U. S. A.	.. .. ..	56 „
France	.. .. ..	49 „

The concentration of our population in towns and cities is likely to grow with the spread of education on the one hand and with the increased pressure of population on land on the other. It is the common practice in India for men to leave their families in the villages when they go out to earn their livelihood in the towns. This naturally creates a disparity of sexes in the towns—giving an excess of males in the active age-groups in towns and cities. Literacy is naturally greater in towns with greater opportunities of education that is available there.

There is a definite tendency, working at present throughout the whole of India, for sub-castes to combine on the one hand and for different castes to do the same on the other—often under a new name in order to improve its social status or to strengthen its political position. This tendency to coalesce has to a certain extent replaced the old tendency for castes to split up into infinite divisions. The centrifugal tendencies are slowly yielding to centripetal forces and the entire institution of caste is undergoing considerable changes. A definite attempt was made, before the last census, to abolish the caste returns on the ground that by labelling persons as belonging to different castes we were merely perpetuating the system and making it more rigid and inflexible than ever. The attempt failed, as the Government could not see how the mere record of a fact that actually existed would stabilise it still further. For instance, caste persists even in the case of newly converted Muslims or Christians. The whole institution of the caste system is now in the midst of cross-currents and it is impossible to predict in what shape it will ultimately emerge. As Dr. Hutton has pointed out,* some of the influences pulling on the institution cut both ways. The railways were, on the one hand, dissolving the rigours of the caste system by joint travelling over long distances, on the other hand, they strengthened the principles of endogamous castes by making it possible to marry within the group in spite of migrations to distant places. In the past, such migrations to distant places, where the migrants lost touch with their homes or castemen, led to the splitting up of castes into a number of endogamous groups but the railways and omnibuses are now operating against such fission. There is a remarkable tendency now for a number of castes to consolidate into one group. The grazier castes (Ahirs, Goalas, Gopis, Idaiyars, etc.) are now classed under one term "Yadava." The artisan castes

* Census of India, 1931, Vol. I Part I page 431.

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(carpenters, smiths, goldsmiths, etc.) now return themselves under a common name "Vishwakarma". The census in India, for the last 40 years, is now regarded as a sort of a Herald's College to determine social status and position. Different castes put forward new claims to social standing even though some of these claims were quite fantastic. Dr. Hutton gives some interesting illustrations of this tendency as shown below :

NEW RANKS CLAIMED BY OLD CASTES

Old name	Claim in 1921	Claim in 1931
Kamar	Kshattriya	Brahman
Sonar	Kshattriya	Brahman
	Rajput	Vaisya
Sutradhar	Vaisya	Brahman
Nai	Thakur	Brahman
Napit	Baidya	Brahman
Kahar	Vaisya	Kshattriya

Thus, political and social considerations are now reshaping the entire social and religious groups within Hinduism. The intra-Hindu units are changing places and there is a regular vertical movement of the lower groups from the bottom to the top. Hinduism is being reshaped and recast from census to census by extra-religious considerations of political power and social prestige. The rigidity of the old shastras which prevented the liberalisation of our social organization has now given place to new factors which have brought Hinduism to bay. The protective armours of Hinduism have now dropped. In the past ages, the protective armours, forged from the triple steel of custom, caste and *karma*, had won brilliant victories against alien cultures and influences. Buddhism —in spite of its superb heights and supreme moral excellence—was ultimately over-thrown and driven out of India altogether. Islam, which had been seeking converts from the tenth century and which was backed by the full temporal powers of the Muslim rulers, does not claim more than 22 per cent. of India's population today. As Dr. Farquhar has pointed out,* Hinduism in its struggle to maintain itself against alien cultures, had developed a defensive armour which is without a parallel in the history of religions. But this protective armour is now slowly refusing to answer its purpose.

The sweep of democracy throughout the world, the desire for reform, the enthusiasm for education, the demand for equality, the passion for Swaraj, the rapid industrial development of the country, the increased facilities of travel in and outside India, the new attitude towards women, the struggle for political power and the growth of new ideas—all these have combined to create a new upheaval with a volcanic energy that is giving new values to old things. Not within the last two thousand years have the Hindu mind and the Hindu social ideals undergone such a sweeping and revolutionary change as during the last 30 years. The Harijan problem has now become one of the classic issues of Indian history and the future attitude of the Harijans on the one hand and caste Hindus on the other will determine who will rule India in the future—the Hindu or the Muslim. The Harijan now wants a price for his loyalty and affiliation. He is no longer content to take the accident of his birth as the last word of his destiny. He threatens to remould his destiny by a change of labels which will suit him best unless the caste Hindus will give him a position of dignity and equality immediately. It is necessary to remind them of a few significant things—*viz.*, firstly, that short cuts at social reform are generally unstable and dangerous and that they often lead to the ditch; secondly, that the problem is more economic than religious and a mere change of religion will hardly give them the status they are looking for; thirdly, that caste persists even after conversions and there are depressed classes even amongst Muslims and Christians; fourthly, that it is idle to expect that a social problem which has evolved through centuries will solve itself in the course of a few years by magic; and lastly, that Hinduism itself is reshaping wonderfully and in the slow but steady vertical movement of the lower castes within the folds of Hinduism lies the ultimate solution of this stupendous problem. We need patience and goodwill and with these two—the problem will solve itself in the most stable way that will be the crowning glory of Harijans and Hinduism—both combined.

Dr. Hutton quotes Sundbarg's law* as regards the age distribution of the population and applies it in the case of India. According to Sundbarg, a normal population should have 50 p.c. of its numbers within the age-group of 15-50. The proportion of those above that group to those below it indicates whether the population is increasing, stationary or decreasing.

"The youngest of the three groups must be double the eldest if the population is to continue to grow. Just short of that point, it may be stationary, but if the elder continue to exceed the younger, the population must be regressive."

Applying this law to India, Dr. Hutton found that all the provinces and all the religions

* *Christianity in India*—By J. N. Farquhar.

* Census of India, Vol. I, Part I, page 87.

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are clearly progressive, except the Parsis. The important figures are shown below :

	Percentage of population aged 0—15	15—50	50 and over.
India ..	39.9	50.5	9.6
United Provinces ..	38.9	51.3	9.8
Bengal ..	40.8	51.1	8.1
Bihar and Orissa ..	40.2	50.2	9.6
Bombay ..	39.7	51.2	9.1
Madras ..	38.9	50.5	10.6
Punjab ..	41.2	48.1	10.7
Hindu ..	39.2	50.9	9.9
Muslim ..	42.2	49.3	8.5
Christian ..	41.7	49.2	9.1
Sikh ..	39.5	48.2	12.3
Parsis ..	27.2	56.7	16.1

Sundbarg's age categories do not exactly suit the case of India and the Census Commissioner has suggested that they should be changed before they can be satisfactorily applied in India. 15 and 50 years are a little too old at which to start the second and third age groups for India. A re-classification of the age-groups and the percentage in each of the new groups will stand as follows :

0 —13½	37 p. c.
13½—45	48 „
45 —and over	15 „

Even on this classification the population must be held to be progressive.

The European element in the Indian population—always a microscopic minority—is gradually decreasing. The total number of European and allied races came to 176,031, in 1921, which declined to 168,134, in 1931. Thus, in 1931, they formed about .05 p.c. of the population. It is this .05 p.c. of the population that had to be adequately safeguarded in the new constitution and it is this .05 p.c. which will, generally speaking, hold the balance of power in the Indian politics of the future. The decline in their number is largely due to prolonged economic depression, increased pace of Indianization in the services and the gradual de-control of trade and industries from European hands. As Indianization and de-control proceed further—as they are bound to—the European element will decline still further in India.

The relative scarcity of women is a marked feature of India and it is slowly growing since 1901. The total inter-censal sex distribution shows the number of females per 100 males in India as follows :

1881—95	1911—95
1891—96	1921—95
1901—96	1931—94

In the last census the sex distribution among the different communities stood as follows :

(Females per 100 males)

Hindus ..	95	Parsis ..	94
Christians ..	95	Muslims ..	90
Jains ..	94	Sikhs ..	78

The relative scarcity of the females is due to the comparative neglect of female life in childhood and the strains of maternity in adolescence. Female infanticide—though rare now—still lingers in remote and isolated tracts while the practice of abortion is not uncommon in cases where the child in the womb is foretold —rightly or wrongly—to be a girl. In every province in India more males are born than females. The age-long neglect of female life—sometimes deliberate and often unconscious—has put the women under much greater handicaps than men. Infanticide in India has always meant female infanticide—except in the cases of widows where social obloquy leaves no choice. A girl gets no welcome at her birth due to the heavy expenses of her marriage. The conscious or unconscious neglect, early marriage, obsolete methods of midwifery in the villages are some of the other factors which lead to this uneven balance between man and woman in the Indian population. The only provinces in which there is an excess of females over males are Madras, Bihar and Orissa and Central Provinces. From the point of view of population, the reproductive sex-ratio in the fertile period (20 to 50 for men and 15 to 45 for women) is more important than the total sex-ratio of the population. Viewed in this way, the inequality between the sexes was less at the reproductive period than when the figures are taken as a whole. The correlation between the total sex-ratio and the reproductive sex-ratio yields a very interesting study :

(Females per 100 males)

	Total sex ratio	Sex ratio in the reproductive period
Hindus	95	106
Christians	95	108
Jains	94	80
Muslims	90	102.6
Sikhs	78	85

The high ratio among the Hindus is due to the ban on widow re-marriage. There are about 8.3 millions of Hindu widows in the reproductive age-group. If this item is excluded, the Hindu figure will decline to 89.7 which largely explains why the Hindus are growing at a slower rate than the Muslims. As Dr. Hutton points out,* the rate would be lower still were it not for the

* Census of India, Vol. 1, Part 1, page 203.

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large additions received from tribal communities —a source of recruitment that will not continue for ever. The dowry system—which heavily increases the cost of a girl's marriage—is a paradox which it is difficult to explain on the basis of recorded facts. For instance, amongst Hindus with 95 total females per 100 total males or with about 90 females per 100 males in the reproductive group, a girl ought to be too valuable for dowries and yet the dowry system has become the bane of Hindu social life. It is partly due to custom and usage and partly to the practice of marrying girls before puberty. The uneven sex distribution does not make for social repose or communal harmony and the phenomenal increase in abductions of women in recent years—particularly in Bengal and the Punjab—has created today one of the gravest of social and communal problems in India.

The average size of the family is an important factor in the economic well-being of the people. The average per family varies from 2.5 to 6.3 in the different communities, the chief figures being as follows :

Hindus	.. 4.3	Muslims	.. 4.1
Sikhs	.. 4.1	Christians	.. 5.0

If the average size of the family is correlated to the age of the wife at marriage it is found that while the average number of children born of wives married at all ages is 4.2 with a survival rate of 2.9, both the figures increase with the age of the wife at marriage. They are highest for wives married at 30 and over (being 5.1 and 3.6 respectively). For wives married at 20-30, the figures are 4.3 and 3.1. Dr. Hutton draws the general conclusion that the average married woman in India has 4 children born alive out of which 2.9 or 70 p.c. survive. The wastage of life through which our population is growing is enormous and it is one of the remarkable features of our population growth. It involves "an appalling wastage of reproductive energy in maintaining the present increase of population."*

The growing mispopulation of the country is another disquieting feature of our population growth. Our population is increasing rapidly at the wrong end. The lower strata in society are increasing far more rapidly than the higher classes. The fecundity of the lower strata is much greater than that of the higher ones. The application of Raymond Pearl's logistic curves in Bengal—which is one of the most densely populated provinces in India— shows a remarkable trend in our population growth. It is calculated that the total maximum population towards which the Hindus and the Muslims are tending would be 32 millions for Muslims and 24 millions for Hindus. The present population is 27.8 and 22 millions respectively.

"The Muslim and the Hindu equations imply that the point at which the rate of increase ceased to be successively greater than in previous decades was passed in about 1886 by the Muslims and 1812 by the Hindus, who are now approaching a stationary population . . . The Hindu community is approaching its maximum whilst the Muslim community is still rapidly growing."*

This unequal development has disturbed the balance of communities in a remarkable way. The high caste Hindus in Bengal are losing ground rapidly and their rapid deterioration is a cause of real alarm. High education, cultured life, late marriages and high standard of living all of which produce a fall in the birth rate, operate among the higher castes and classes of the community only. On the other hand, the backward classes, who are not influenced by these trends and are almost wholly innocent of them, are increasing rapidly and increasing at the cost of the educated and cultured classes, who have always made the greatest and richest contributions to our arts, literature, music, science and culture. This growing mispopulation of the country has created real alarm and it is openly apprehended that the Hindus have now become a dying race. Western and Central Bengal, which were formerly most flourishing and populous areas, are now rapidly declining and losing ground in numbers, position and importance. This is primarily due to the decay of rivers, which has seriously affected the areas in a double way, *viz.*, bad flushing and bad drainage have brought wide-spread havoc of malaria and consequent ill-health, loss of income, reduced fecundity, lower birth rate and lower vitality. On the other hand, the deterioration of the deltaic rivers has robbed Bengal of the annual soil dressing she received by rich deposits of river-borne silt which added enormously to the fertility of the soil in the past times. And both of these factors have acted and reacted on each other producing a vicious circle from which it is becoming more and more difficult to escape. A determined effort is needed to revive the agricultural prosperity of these areas, to improve their agricultural conditions and environments, to rebuild and renovate their river system and to improve their sanitation before we can hope to arrest the steady

* Census of India Vol. V, Part I, Page 64.

* A. E. Porter, Census of India 1931, Vol. V, Part I, Page 62.

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and unmeasured deterioration of these districts in Bengal. It is only then that we can hope to arrest the gradual decay of the area and replace it by an era of growth and development. Otherwise it spells real disaster for the Hindus in Bengal. Recently—very recently, the inauguration of a determined rural health compaign—since 1927—is said to have produced satisfactory results and has turned the tide of depopulation. The determined effort that is now being made to improve the entire public health organization of this area must be pursued steadily and ceaselessly if a great population has to be saved from ultimate destruction.

THIS "GLORIA SANGUINIS"!

By MANINDRANATH DAS-GUPTA

The recent declaration (27th January, 1936) of the German dictator at Munich before a rally of 6,000 Nazi University students that by the "heroic concepiton of life" the white races are destined to rule has shocked the whole civilized world. India was particularly roused and a wave of indignation and resentment surged up from every corner of the country because of the arrogant, insolent and, on the face of it, absurd and ridiculous claim of the Fuehrer that the Indians were taught to walk by the Britishers. Protests and repudiations have gone forth from authoritative quarters demanding that the Fuehrer should retract his words and offer adequate apologies, otherwise India should give a fitting reply to the Nazi Dictator by a wholesale boycott of all German goods. Demonstrations and public meetings have also been held all over the country to express India's resentment and indignation of this uncalled-for and unwarranted insult to her civilization and culture.

Stress has naturally been placed, in all these expressions of protest and indignation on Herr Hitler's ignorance of history, of India's glorious past—her hoary civilization and culture —and the Fuehrer's "heroic conception of life" has been emphatically denounced. But serious students of history may not pass it over by merely dubbing it as swollen-headedness and insolence. Merely saying that "Might is Right" is a Satanic maxim is not enough for him. They cannot surely stop with mere denunciation. Neither can they dismiss it as a mere product of ignorance and prejudice. They need to probe deeper and explore the very source of this "heroic conception of life"—this "gloria sanguinis," which is the ideal of New Germany.

For this, we require to cast our mind back towards the beginning of the century. At about the turn of the century there was born in France—that birth-place of new ideas and ideologies—a man who was destined to become the spiritual father of today's sabre-rattling fascism. Georges Sorel, while the world still went on securely believing in progress and humanity, proclaimed the kingdom of force, and taught that history was "a dynamic process made up of incomprehensible and incalculable elements."

It is rather curious to reflect that the country which had heralded the reign of reason in 1793, with a spectacular festival in honour of the 'Goddess of Reason,' should be chosen by the inscrutable powers, only about a century later, to be the first to drag her down from the pedestal and proclaim a wonder-world of irrationalism, of mythical experience and trumpet the glories of action, of the dynamic power of the instincts.

Sorel insists that the all-powerful influences, which determine the movements of mankind, are completely indifferent to reason or unreason, humaneness or cruelty. Out of depths, inaccessible to reason, an elemental force has risen up again and again and wrecked the cherished achievements of mankind. To Sorel, history furnishes no evidence of being ever influenced by reason. It is a dynamic process which takes little account of man's efforts to bring in order into the world. Man's highest achievements appear contemptible when compared with it.

We see this fatal power at work in the convulsive upheavals of history, and, according to Sorel, it is symbolized in myth—the myth which "gives shape to that which works ineffably and inexhaustibly in the living present." Whatever is and whatever becomes—whether it is faith or society, law or the ideal—

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is sanctioned by myth alone. We must bow before this omnipotent myth, says Sorel, recognize its predominance, and be ready to assign to it the primacy which is its due and which has long been usurped by reason.

Georges Sorel found an able ally and powerful champion in Friedrich Nietzsche, who came at about the same time and, in the same sense, insisted on the necessity of affirming the herioc, and rejecting cautious, calculating reason.

This new gospel of force, taught by Sorel and Nietzsche, we may say, marks the beginning of the new revolt against reason, the dawn of the new outlook, which has become so general today. Before Sorel and Nietzsche, the dominion of reason, trumpeted into the world by the French Revolution, with its three-fold doctrine of liberty, equality, and fraternity, held sway unhampered and unobstructed. Till then, our outlook on the world was entirely dominated by reason. We were insistently taught that man could solve the riddles of the universe by rational thought. Sorel and Nietzsche struck at the very root of this worship of reason. They vehemently decried the habit of swearing by reason, and soon there were those who ceased to believe in the universal saving power of rational thought—who no longer thought it worthwhile to strive for the realization of ideals of progress, who no longer dreamt of an ever-expanding realm of reason,——and became believers in the mythology of the instincts, of the irrational forces which well up from unknown depths and defy all calculation and comprehension and reason. And, today, for most of us, the ideas which had such fascination and power, even perhaps half a generation ago, regarding the possibility of general progress under the aegis of reason, of universal brotherhood, of a world-embracing humanity and democracy, have not the same appeal. They have lost their convincing force. Their truth has become questionable, and their sublimity doubtful.

A revolt against reason is general today. The one Goddess of the champions of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, an esteemed possession with our parents, Reason's shrine now attracts few devotees. Devoid of halo, she is now contemned. People no longer worship reason. On the other hand, a glorification of whatever is unreasonable, contra-reasonable—the irrational, the instinctive, the elemental—is common. The shibboleths and catchwords, which sway and fascinate people today, are blood, race, nation, myth, force. These concepts, it is proclaimed, must guide us in building up the new political and social systems.

Here, then, in this birth of the new outlook this unthroning of reason and worship of myth force, instinct and blood, is the nidus of the political philosophy of the national socialist in New Germany and the fascists in Italy. Both Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler are pupils of Nietzsche and Sorel, and, in many respects, the political and philosophical programmes of both the dictators are a progressive realization of the teaching of these two thinkers, a practical fulfilment of their demands from the new time. The revolt against rationalism appears to be even more pronounced and vehement in the programme of New Germany than in that of fascist Italy. If the Duce is all for heroic activity, the mythical, perfection of form, no less is the Fuehrer's passionate demand of the "heroic conception of life." Again, the Fuehrer's blind insistence on the concept of "blood" is even more irrational than the Duce's insistence on the concept of "will." In the fascist State everything is to be determined by the will of the dictator, unquestionably an irrational power; but in the national socialist State, everything—form, structure, and organ, is to grow out of the "blood" of the chosen race which, while being as irrational is more disturbing and harmful.

Nationalism, declares the national socialist is not an intellectualist construction. Just as all that is great and creative is rooted in instinct, in sensation, in the blood, so also the essential idea of nationalism lies rooted in feeling. The national socialist puts the primary emphasis on forces which cannot be measured or weighed, which are not amenable to rational comprehension or calculation, namely, the forces of the soul and of the blood. Logical truth or falsity has very little use for the national socialist. He is concerned with fruitfulness alone. And, to him, the only thing that is fruitful is what grows out of race, blood, and soil. He rejects speculative reason, divorced from life, as perpetually barren. Thus dispassionateness and justice and freedom from prejudice, and every other quality on which the rationalist thought builds its edifice, are rendered inconsequential. Alfred Rosenberg expressly declares that whatever would manifest itself as force must "repudiate dispassionateness."

It is thus plain that the national socialist faith, like the fascist faith, depends, not upon reason, but upon grace; it repudiates the rationalism of conviction and works—rejects all objective valuation by absolute standards.

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the new ideal of the New Germany. Hence the national socialist's glorification of "blood."

This revolution in the thought-world, coupled with its natural and inevitable repercussions and reflections in the social and political fields, has perturbed and perplexed the thinkers of the day. The citadel of reason, in which our fathers lived so secure and confident and proud, seems to be giving in to the incessant onslaughts that are being made upon it today with increasing vehemence and fierceness; and, at times, it looks as if everything is to be swept away, even as dead leaves in autumn wind,—everything that was once cherished and held dear and sacred by humanity.

The question is, therefore, on many lips: Does this mean the Decline of the West—the culmination of an epoch in civilization? Is this revolt against rationalism a pointer that civilization and culture, at least of the present type, must stand aside and abdicate before something new, strange, hostile and infinitely more powerful? Or, may we rest assured in the hope that it is only one of those temporary setbacks which progress has to reckon with from time to time? Is all this talk about blood, race, myth, force mere empty, meaningless effusions—a Parthian shot of the obscurantists to put off for a few years the ultimate victorious emergence of reason in all its glory and power?

In the first place, we would do well to bear in mind that the irrationalism which has reared its head today is not something altogether alien to our civilization fundamentally. Not to do so would be to manifest an ignorance of man's whole past. Take, for instance, our spiritual culture. Can we think of, say, Christianity without recognizing the significant part irrationalism has played through the ages in its evolution, development, and final establishment? And, who will deny that Christianity has been a great factor in the development of the Western civilization?

The student of history will, I hope, agree with me when I say that Christianity, especially in its early days, was nothing but a highly emphasised form of irrationalism—an utter repudiation of the rational philosophy of the classical days. He is familiar with the "*credo quia absurdum*" of Tertullian who wrote:

> "Christ, the Son of God, is dead. I believe it because it is absurd! After having been buried, he rose again from the dead. It is certain, because it is impossible!"

And Tertullian was by no means alone to hold this "creed of absurdity." Church history is full of such flat rejection of reason. Martin Luther's distrust and antagonism of "reason the arch-whore" is well-known; and Calvin, another of the great reformers, put forward and preached a doctrine which flatly contradicted all rational thought. According to Calvin, God Almighty has, before the creation of the world, irrevocably determined which human begins are to be saved and which damned.

The champions of the Enlightenment, who believed that religion was the last bulwark of irrationalism and thought that the reign of reason would be firmly and definitely established so soon as Christianity was dethroned, marshalled all their forces and resources and directed fierce attacks against Christianity—we know, today, with what result. Not only has the campaign of the Enlightenment been an utter failure, but, we find, religion is as powerful a factor in life today as it ever had been. This makes it plain that irrationalism is not anything exclusively associated with this or that religious doctrine. Rather, it is a basic factor of human consciousness and human knowledge in general. Not merely has Christianity been able to maintain its own against all attacks, fierce as they had been, not merely has it lived through all persecution, but with the beginning of the nineteenth century, we notice irrationalism has invaded the precincts of Science and has, of late, made a large number of adherents there.

Our entire outlook and conception of life have undergone a fundamental transformation today. No more are biological processes regarded as the result of a rationally understandable mechanism. Materialism, as a Buchner or a Haeckel understood it, is dead beyond recall. Modern biology has been forced to recognize that there is in nature an enigmatic formative impulse, which eludes all rational analysis. But, not biology alone; in all branches of modern research scientists have come to acknowledge the existence of this baffling, incomprehensible, incalculable, irrational impulse. Once it was believed that the evolution of nature had proceeded in a rationally comprehensible and calculable continuous process—the lower and simpler species progressing towards higher and more complex and more purposive ones. But, today, the scientists hold that unpredictable leaps and catastrophes (mutations) occur in the life-history of the species, to which no rational and comprehensible explanation is possible. The progressive development of certain species may be suddenly arrested for no apparent reason, as if Nature had changed her mind. Similarly, there may

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be a sudden blossoming of specific types which for ages Nature had appeared to have neglected or overlooked.

The exact sciences, too, are giving in to the onslaughts of the irrational. There, likewise, where the mechanistic and rationalist outlook on the world appeared most definitely and securely established, reason has of late surrendered its sceptre. In Astronomy, in Physics, in Chemistry—everywhere—that faith in the ultimate and complete reducibility of all processes to the terms of rationally conceivable "natural laws" has been undermined. Even the fundamental law of causality is no longer held sacrosanct and invulnerable. Already there have been thinkers who presage a "causality crisis" in modern physics; and doubts are expressed as to the extent of the applicability of reason in the domain of natural science. When we think we have succeeded in understanding a process, says Ernst Mach, the celebrated Austrian philosopher and physicist, what has happened is that we have referred unfamiliar incomprehensibilities to familiar incomprehensibilities.

And, to the dismay of the rationalist, the number of these incomprehensibilities is continually increasing. The student of modern astrophysics knows that the bodies in stellar space are no longer a system of stars moving, as if by clockwork, in paths that are perfectly calculable, and that continue unchanged and unchangeable through all eternity. On the other hand, he is told today that the universe is continuously changing, though in a way which confound our reason. Thus we are once again thrown back on our belief in a spirit which holds sway over the realm of all being;—in the existence of a sublime but incomprehensible power beyond the measurable and the calculable. And, with Sir James Jeans, we are forced to take the view that the cosmos is more like a great thought than a great mechanism.

But, if Reason's onward march has thus been checked in the sphere of the stars, the realm of the infinitely large, she is equally in a quandary in the world of the infinitely small, of the molecules and the atoms, of existence smaller than what even the most powerful microscope can detect. Modern research has led to the conclusion that in this world of molecules and atoms Reason's methods of weighing and measuring and formulating natural laws are, in many respects, no longer applicable. We are told that if human beings had had eyes equipped with the power of the microscope, the mathematical laws of nature would never have been discovered. Those laws, it is stated, hold good only so long as their use is restricted to a superficial examination of the phenomenon under observation. They would not stand too minute, too exact, a scrutiny. In fact, modern scientists tell us that what we are accustomed to call laws of nature are in truth nothing more than results of the calculus of probability. Schrodinger, the Nobel Prizeman declared recently that as a result of latest research into the structure of atoms, it has become questionable whether any laws at all could be laid down as to the individual molecular processes, or whether our powers of cognition are not here confronted with unsurmountable obstacles.

Lastly, *The Quantum Theory* of Planck has removed a main plank from underneath the foundation of the earlier scientific and rationalist structure of the world, namely, the assumption that there is no break in the succession of the natural processes, that they are always continuous. Planck has established that this assumption does not hold true in the sphere of the atoms, where he has discovered obvious and demonstrable gaps. Whereas our fathers believed that Nature makes no leaps, we have to ask ourselves today, says Planck, whether Nature moves in any other way than by leaps.

Thus the Sciences. The testimony of Philosophy is no more re-assuring and encouraging. On the other hand, it appears Philosophy was disturbed and influenced rather earlier and more visibly by the invasion of irrationalism than was the domain of natural science. As early as 1781, the old-world belief in the omnipotence of reason was shattered by the publication of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason;* and Fichte, Schelling and Schopenhauer who followed, all made it plain that reason was but a particular mode, a partial function, of thought; and that, along with 'ratio' other factors must be invoked to get a satisfactory picture of the universe and an adequate understanding of what happens in us and around us. And the mythical sense, the human vital impulses, the will—these factors that were overlooked or not allowed to come in by the champions of the Enlightenment—now received renewed recognition and gained a foothold in philosophy.

The great Romantic Revival, looked at from this point of view, would appear to be nothing but a vigorous attempt to reinstate the irrational. The poets, dreamers, and philosophers of the Romanticist movement spent their energy, eloquence, irony, and scholarship

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in insistent and continued onslaughts upon the rationalism of the Enlightenment, which, to them, was a "monstrous and barbarous violation of nature, cutting as it does organic life in twain with the shears of the concept." In contrast and opposition to the champions of the Enlightenment, the Romantics delighted in darkness and worshipped the night, as the generative source of all life.

In our own days, the anti-rationalist philosophy has once again found its champion in Henri Bergson. For Bargson and his school, the vital impetus, the "*elan vital,*" and not rational cognition, is the really important thing, to which all other things are subordinated. According to them,

"Reason is a faculty which does but 'monkey God', being merely able to imitate what has already been created or to pick to pieces what is already given in cognition."

Modern philosophical doctrines, like vitalism, intuitionalism, dynamism, take for granted an irrational vital factor far above rational cognition. Indeed, their repudiation of the intellectualists is complete and unreserved. Ludwig Klages bluntly proclaims that reason is the enemy of the soul. Reason, he says,

"is nothing, the absolute, the detached; whereas what we are concerned with is precisely the insoluble element of the generative earth. Reason has imposed on the world the burden of the cross upon which life, the soul, has been crucified."

In the domain of psychology, too, a similar revolution has upset and exploded the old beliefs. Psychologists are unanimous today in their rejection of the primacy of reason in determining human activities. Freud and Jung have beyond question brought it home what an immense factor in our mental life the irrational influences are, what powerful forces spring up from the depths of the unconscious and play havoc with our decisions and our actions. Indeed, psycho-analysis has today revealed that the determination of the thoughts and actions of our life is always affected and governed by a power which is at war with reason; and which, if not solely determinative, is at least co-determinative with reason in securing the decisions of our life.

We thus find that the notion that the phenomena of this world are all explicable in terms of reason no longer holds good, either in the exact sciences or in philosophy and psychology. Everywhere we notice phenomena which are not amenable to rationalist explanation, and which force us to acknowledge the irrational.

Let us now turn back to the German dictator and his programme, and for that matter to the programmes of other political irrationalists of the day. Enough has been said to show that we cannot dismiss them lightly, dubbing them as mere reactionaries and obscurantists. They signify something more than a temporary reversion, or a political reaction. Whatever attitude one may individually take towards these doctrines and systems, it has to be recognized that basically they are in accord with a characteristic direction of our whole mental outlook today. They, who are proclaiming today the reign of myth, force, instinct, in politics and sociology, only testify to the truth that the political ideals of an age are always, in one way or another, reflections of the philosophical and scientific convictions of the time. Just as, in the days of the Enlightenment, the philosophical rationalism of the French Revolution occupied the canvas, in the same way, today, the anti-rational political and sociological theories of fascism and national socialism represent the scientific irrationalism of the day.

It is, therefore, necessary to examine the claim of the spokesmen of the political rebels against reason, namely, that rationalist civilization has been proceeding along a wrong path and is destined to perish. Here we should beware of the current catchwords and the totalitarian claim of the irrationalists, who declare that reason has been slain once and for all, and that a new realm of myth, instinct, and creative force is unfolding itself before us. For, if it is true that the world has never been entirely governed by reason, it is well to remember that no true civilization has yet flourished in this earth of ours, totally nourished on irrationalism, and devoid of all rationalist elements.

To take the case of Christianity again. Suppose it had persevered in its original unreserved and unconditional rejection of reason—in that queer "credo quia absurdum" of Tertullian. Would it then have developed into what it is today? It requires no large imagination to see where and how it would have ended in that case. Not as a great religion of the world which it is today, but as an unknown, contemptible sect somewhere in an unknown corner of the world. It was because Christian doctrine began early to adopt many elements of the classical rationalist philosophy that we see and hear today of the great Christian civilization of the West. Beginning with Augustine, from century to century, there had been an increasing tendency to supplement "revealed

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truth" by rationalist cognition, and to strengthen faith with the prop of reason, till, in the 13th century, Thomas Aquinas sought to weld the two worlds of rationalism and irrationalism into a single whole, into a "philosophia perennis." Even Protestantism, which began in Luther's revolt against "reason the arch-whore" and Calvin's utterly irrational doctrine of predestination, could not long stand its ground. The growing impulse towards rationalism seized it also, and its subjugation was rather swift and thorough. Indeed, modern biblical criticism and research, it is well known, have been the outcome of Protestant theology, and have often gone to the length of completely repudiating whatever is irrational.

Moreover, it has to be enquired whether the irrationalist trends in modern science connote any actual surrender on the part of reason. The answer is emphatically in the negative. For, who, after all, are the inaugurators and priests of the new irrationalism? Not visionary prophets, not drunken mystics, not obscure-minded poets, not muddle-brain saints. They are our scientists and philosophers and investigators—in other words, sober rationalists at bottom. It is also pertinent to ask what precisely it is that they teach and preach. Do they want us to renounce reason, to disown rational insight? Surely no. All that they tell us is to restrict the domain of reason—merely to limit the sphere within which the authority of reason appear to them fully valid and proper. They do not ask us to renounce rational insight, but only to modify our faith in reason to the extent as to admit other methods of cognition than the rationalist beyond certain limits—in one word, to recognize that the laws of reason do not operate in all cases. It is not, however, questioned that, within its own sphere, reason still reigns supreme, working in conformity with rationalist laws and formulas and making conquest after conquest.

It would be a mistake, therefore, to think that we are witnessing the unthroning of reason and the advent of the reign of an omnipotent, all-conquering unreason. There is nothing to warrant such a catastrophe; and, leaving out the zealots, who have been completely carried away by the current political catchwords and slogans, it may truthfully be averred that no sober, unprejudiced mind would hold or advocate such a crude alternative. It is a characteristic weakness of the human mind to rush from one extreme to another; and what we are witnessing today in the grotesque, ridiculous exaggerations of the day is nothing else than an expression of that weakness. We should be on our guard against these exaggerations, these undigested catchwords, which are the outcome of only a partial and incomplete understanding of the work and words of honest inquirers and sober scholars. The history of civilization has yet to vindicate the crude alternatives of political slogans. To the utter discomfiture of the passionate advocates and enthusiasts, what lives through the passion and excitement of the hour is always some compromise resulting from the interaction of the two, namely, reason and unreason. Just as during the Freach Revolution, the enthusiasts believed that they were inaugurating an era of absolute reason, which would thenceforward rule and govern the world and not a trace of the irrational would be left anywhere; in like manner, today, people, who have been intoxicated by the prevailing catchwords, are dreaming of the reign of an omnipotent unreason.

The revolt against reason, which goes so strong today, will, we may safely conclude, finally boil down to a proper synthesis between rationalism and irrationalism, to a practical adjustment and workable compromise between the two. Such utterances as the recent one of Herr Hitler at Munich need not scare us, or make us apprehensive of the fate of reason. On the contrary, it is certain, they will leave behind a sobering effect on our hitherto unqualified enthusiasm for reason, and we shall come to realize the vast world of reality, which is governed by the irrational, both in nature and in human action, and learn to recognise its importance. We shall cease to look up to reason for everything, and learn to give the irrational its standing-place in our otherwise logically carved out universe. And that is the service which Herr Hitler and Benito Mussolini will have done to humanity and the world. An open and candid acknowledgment of the irrational in life will mean not Reason's dethronement, but her redemption, redemption from the bondages that hold her captive today. Indeed, viewed thus, Mussolini's claim, that Italy is doing today what France did about a century and a half ago, namely, proclaming a new message to the world, would appear not to be entirely unreasonable or baseless.

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COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

By Prof. N. G. RANGA,
Secretary, Peasants Group of M. L. A.'s

The post-war Russia has made one unique contribution to the world's knowledge and methods of agricultural organization by developing her collectivization of agriculture. The embers of the controversy between the advocates of small-scale farming, such as Lloyd George and those of large-scale farming such as Prof. Ashley have not yet died out. Though most experts have not contented themselves with the conclusion that there is much to be said on both sides, keeping in mind the Parisian and Danish small holders and the German and American big farmers, most economists have always recognized the uneconomic nature of small-scale farming. If to this is added the further complication of the hereditary law and the incessant process of sub-division and the consequent fragmentization of land in India, we are face to face with the highly complicated and vicious state of uneconomic holdings and fragmentization. It is to counteract this evil that Norway, Sweden and Denmark had to pass special legislation to bring about compulsory consolidation of holdings, which can only succeed in temporarily checkmating the evils of fragmentization of holdings and also legislation to create family holdings. But all this legislation has not succeeded either in improving the productive capacity of peasants or in enabling agriculture to counteract the inherent defects of small-scale farming. Indeed such palliative reformating methods cannot rationalize agriculture and place it on the same footing as the manufacturing industries in its ability to take the fullest advantage of the ever-growing scientific knowledge and improvements.

Stalin, the great mechanic of collective farming has summed up the position :

Lenin says : Petty-farming is incapable of escaping from misery. If we continue to suit as of old in the petty farms, although as free citizens on free land we shall all the same be faced by inevitable ruin. The Soviet Power attaches tremendons importance to any organization directed towards the transformation (to the gradual promotion of the transformation) of the petty, individual peasant farm into a communal or co-operative farm.

Stalin says : To satisfy the modern and growing needs of peasants and to raise their standard of living, means to liquidate the backwardness of agriculture at its very roots, arm it with tractors and agricultural machinery, equip it with a new personnel of scientific workers, raise the productivity of labour and increase its commercial effectiveness. Can all these conditions be realized on the basis of petty individual peasant farming? No, they cannot. There is only one path remaining the path of re-organization in the direction of creating large capitalist farms. Hence the task of setting up 'collective' farms and amalgamating the small peasant farms into large scale collective undertakings as the only path for solving the problems of agriculture.

It is in the direction of organizing such farms that the progress of the peasantry of this country lies. It is time that our University Professors of Economics and Provincial Governors turn their minds away from the antidiluvian pre-war Scandinavian methods of consolidation and family holdings and concentrate their efforts upon 'rationalizing' our agriculture. We can ignore the scarcity value of land, only at the risk of our lives and progress and such a pre-eminently key-store of the source of all our wealth, *i.e.*, land ought not to be allowed to be so badly, uneconomically and indifferently wasted away by innumerable and almost uncontrollable masses of people, if their own advancement is to be ensured.

Surely there is nothing inherently wrong in expecting our petty peasants who are today unable to eke out even a minimum living from their all but unrecognizably small holdings to give up their fondness for their nominal individual proprietorship of land in preference to the gathering of all their holdings into large, economical, progressive and profitable holdings. Such a process is not so hopelessly revolutionary as it may at first appear to be. After all, the cartels of Germany, Trusts of U. S. A. and combines of England were brought into existence by consolidating and combining millions of small uneconomic industrial concerns of their respective countries. And the post-war German movement of Rationalization, which is a great improvement upon the Trusts and cartels owes much to the inspiration of Russian methods and has had many advocates in England and America. The collectivization of agriculture seeks to do for agriculture what 'Rationalization' has done for manufactures. In short, collectivization of agriculture is essentially a new, economic, profitable and progressive

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method of agricultural organization, developed in Russia.

That it has succeeded in Russia in helping the peasants, in addition to modernizing agriculture is borne out by Sewis L. Lorwin, an American and at present the Economic Advisor of the International Labour Office and A. Abramson, Member of the General Information Section of the I. L. O. who visited U. S. S. R. in September and October 1935 :

> It is clear that collectivization represents a new principle in agrarian economy. The collective farm is a synthesis of the principles of collective ownership of land, co-operative ownership and management of agricultural machinery and personal working incentives.
>
> If successful, collectivization will build up a system of agriculture totally different from the individualistic exploitation (aided or not by co-operative societies) such for example as predominates in the countries of western Europe. It will create an agricultural population without private ownership of land operating and working through co-operative methods, buying and selling together and interested in improving the land and in increasing output, since the share of each member depends upon the total output of the community.

The progress made by this system as a basis of agrarian life, they say, has been considerable.

> The younger generation of peasants has accepted this new form of agricultural organization definitively.

There is however no doubt that to make our Indian peasants accept this system of re-organizing agriculture is extremely difficult. To expect collectivization of agriculture to make any headway with or without the assistance of the present system of Government is to think of the impossible. But that it is the only possible method of re-organizing agriculture, if at all the present landed and the landless peasantry are to improve their lot even after the achievement of complete independence, is a truth that must be popularized among our public and especially amidst the peasantry.

We have to guard against the misrepresentations, likely to be put upon our propaganda. We do not want to achieve collectivization of agriculture by any compulsion but rather we wish to be able to persuade the peasants to accept it by demonstrating to them the practical advantages of it over the present system, through the successes achieved on the collective farms to be organized on the present cultivable but unoccupied Government lands. To this end, from now on we seek to get the vast areas of Government lands, cultivable but uncultivated, exploited directly under collective farms or by co-operative societies of the peasants who are till today landless, with every possible Governmental assistance and demonstrate, through these successful working their superiority to the individualized exploitation of land. Such experiments can be made even by the present Government but will surely be made on a vast scale, commensurate with our needs by the National Government and the success of our move towards collectivization will directly depend upon the collective and co-operative farms organized on the Government lands.

No peasant who has any land need be frightened at the prospect of his holding being compulsorily snatched away, if not to bring about ultimate collectivization of holdings, but to organize the preliminary experimental collective farms. For there are available for exploitation by collective farms, vast extents of culturable, cultivable but unoccupied Government lands, in addition to the immeasurably large extents of forest land, fit to be cultivated and unwanted for the legitimate growth of forests. There was 154,610,000 acres of such land in the whole of India in 1932-33 and 39% of it was in Burma, 12% in Assam, 9% each in the Punjab, C. P., Madras and 22% in all other provinces. There was of course 50,693,000 acres of land under current fallow, which could easily be taken in hand. Therefore the state need not take the trouble to dispossess any of the peasants to establish its own collective farming or to help in the organization of co-operative farming. It has however to stipulate certain conditions such as inalienability and non-divisibility of its lands, to be fulfilled by the grantees of the land and it necessarily has to offer them every possible financial and technical assistance to them in their initial stages to enable their communal enterprises a success.

Thus we can from now on strive to influence the Government to utilize its ownership of land and its activities in the direction of land reclamation, settling landless people on land and subsidizing agriculture in such a way as to pave the way for the National Government to push on, with the help of a suitable background with its whole-hearted programme of collectivization of agriculture. What is then our attitude to be towards all such proposals brought forward by Government or other agencies, as making a minimum holding inalienable, non-attachable for civil decrees, establishing family holdings or consolidating holdings? In so far as all such measures do tend to minimize the possibilities of lands passing from the hands of the smaller peasantry into the hands of landlords, it is in the ultimate interests of the peasantry that they must all be supported

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It is to be remembered that it is the petty proprietor, though more ignorant and less progressive to start with, who can be more easily converted into a friend of collectivization of agriculture directly it is proved to be more profitable, than the big landlord who prizes his ownership of land and all it connotes much more than any economic advantage. It is better therefore that any legislative or administrative proposal in the interregnum which seeks to prevent the growth of the numbers and strength of the big landlord ought to be supported, and even sponsored by all Kisan workers who wish the real welfare of the Kisans. It is usually assumed that our peasants have all the right of ownership over their lands and so their opposition to the development of collectivization may be insufferable. But except in the Ryotwari areas, Bengal, parts of Bihar and Orissa, U. P. and C. P., the lands in large parts of Assam (4,400,000 acres) C. P. (26,949,000 acres), Delhi (365,000 acres), U. P. (55,099,000 acres) are still considered to be the property of the Zamindars, the tenants having only the right of permanent occupancy. So over nearly 86,804,000 acres of land or of the total assessed area of British India, the peasants today possess no right of proprietorship and there cannot be any claim over or fear of losing what is not possessed.

It is true that there is an insatiable land hunger in the country and the first thing that a self-conscious peasant demands is the right of ownership over his land. Hence the successful demand of the Bihar peasants for the right of alienation. But after all the Indian peasant does not succeed very much as a result of this scramble for land ownership. Out of all our peasant holdings, only 10% have more than ten acres each, which alone can be said to be of economic size and in a position to afford the peasants a decent standard of living. Out of the remaining 76% of the holdings, as many as 23% are of one acre and less each, 33% of one to 5 acres each and 20% of five to ten acres each. Propaganda carried on enthusiastically with the strength of demonstrated profitableness of collectivization and Governmental encouragement cannot fail to persuade the millions of landholders having only ten acres and less and many more who cultivate but do not own one-fourth of the total assessed area to accept and welcome the collectivization of holdings.

A VISIT TO GERMAN SCHOOLS

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Armed with a letter of authority from the *Landesunterrichtsbehorde i.e.*, the Board of Public Instruction, I had the opportunity of studying at first hand the working of the German School system by visiting boys', girls' and co-educational schools of various kinds in Germany. Everywhere I was accorded a very courteous reception; I was invited to repeat my visits as often as I liked and was pressed to attend as many classes as I wanted to. This, I was told by my German friends, was an exceptional privilege, for to foreign visitors not more is generally allowed than a look round and attendance at one or two classes. The reason for this preferential treatment in my case, so far as I can understand, was not merely that I have been connected with teaching work myself but that I was an *Indian gentleman.* It was with pleasure and pride that the elderly Rector of one of the biggest schools I visited, informed me that in his younger days he had studied Sanskrit with Kielhorn at Gottingen and Indian Philosophy with Deussen in Kiel.

Primary education is free and compulsory in Germany. At the age of six or seven, every child must go to the same State-managed Primary schools, called Volkschule, irrespective of class or family. The State is spending enormous sums of money of late in erecting large and modern airy buildings for these Primary schools. A child must spend four years in the Primary school : in the first year there are short ten-minute lessons on different elementary subjects and then for three years he learns German, arithmetic, geography, history, botany, zoology, singing, drawing, handicraft, sport

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and religion, all on elementary lines. After four years in the Volkschule, the pupil may pass on to the secondary or High schools, called *Abiturschule* (in German the term *Hochschule* means not a High school but a college or university). The school-final or matriculation examination is called the *Abitur*. It is not everyone however, that may pass on to the Abiturschule, for a qualifying examination is held for this purpose after four years in the Volkschule, which the pupil must pass. Those who cannot pass or do not wish to take this examination must take one of these two courses, *viz.*, (*a*) he may continue in the Volkschule for another four years and undergo an advanced course in subjects taught in the Volkschule, plus some English and elementary science subjects such as chemistry, physics etc. If he likes he can, after these years, join for two more years the higher supplementary classes called *Oberbau*, of the Volkschule. Now, if he desires to go in again for the Abitur he must pass on to a kind of training schools called *Aufbauschule* and take the Abitur after three years. Or, (*b*) if he likes to have an education more on the applied scientific subjects such as chemistry, physics etc., he can, after the first four years in the Volkschule, go to a kind of schools called Realschule where besides the Volkschule advanced course, greater stress is laid on the applied science subjects. English and French also are compulsory in these schools. Schools of this class for girls are also sometimes called *Lyzeum*. One must be in a Realschule or Lyzeum for six years, and then, if he wants to take the Abitur, he must pass on to a higher grade of these schools called *Oberrealschule* and *Oberlyzeum* (for girls) where three more years must be spent for the Abitur.

It will be observed that after four years in Volkschule one needs nine years in higher schools to qualify for the Abitur, the standard of which is as high as the Indian Intermediate College, perhaps a little still higher. The real Abiturschule or the High Schools, to which only the more gifted are admitted after the qualifying examination after four years in Volkschule, are also of nine classes and of various descriptions. All of them teach all the subjects but the difference consists in the stress laid on different subjects on different kinds of these schools and the pupils choose their school according to their tastes in specialized directions. The Abiturschule are these :

(*a*) *Gymnasium*—these are for "humanistic" studies; in the first line come Greek and Latin which are compulsory; out of English, French and Spanish, one is compulsory and a second may be taken up optionally. In the second line come history, German and mathematics; lastly come the natural sciences.

(*b*) *Realgymnasium*—these combine the humanities with the applied sciences; Latin, English and French are compulsory, there is no Greek. In the second line come the natural sciences and lastly, the other subjects.

(*c*) *Reform-Realgymnasium*—these are the same as (*b*) but Latin is subordinated to English and French.

(*d*) *Deutsche Oberschule* and *Frauenoberschule*—the first is for boys and the second for girls; in the first line come German and history and cooking, sewing etc., are added in the last year for girls.

(*e*) *Oberrealschule* and *Oberlyzeum*— these have already been mentioned; in the first line come the natural sciences.

(*f*) *Aufbauschule*—already mentioned, supplementary tutorial schools.

The equipment of the schools is magnificent. The laboratories of a big school of the (*e*) class that I visited could vie with many of the biggest Indian college "labs." It is mostly history, German and English classes that I attended. The most salient feature of the method of teaching appeared to me to be this that the teacher tried from the very beginning of the lesson to take the class with him. Immediately on reading a sentence or paragraph, the teacher began discussing it with the class by putting a few suggestive questions. Crops of hands rose, eager to answer. Any imperfection pointed out by the teacher in an answer brought another crop of hands ready to supply the right thing, until in this manner the question was discussed threadbare in all its aspects and the right explanation was not imposed on the pupil's mind from outside but emerged, as it were, out of his own reasoning. These discussions were on perfectly friendly lines and not at all "pedagogic." Contrary to the English notion which likes to portray German schools as stiff and severe, I found everywhere an atmosphere of extreme friendliness and ease prevailing in and outside the class-rooms between teacher and pupil. Both in method and spirit the school class-room struck me as the precursor of the university seminars of Germany, where the students undertake original research, the Professors helping and encouraging from behind.

The school hours are from 8-30 to 13-45 and after every period there is an interval during

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which the pupils move about or play and the class-rooms are ventilated. Pupils of the top classes are entrusted with the duty of leading the smaller children back to the class-room after the intervals.

The teacher-pupil ratio is about 1 : 15. Besides the regular teachers, there are also part-time helpers in prospective teachers who must serve as probationers during the time they study pedagogy at the universities. The working hours of teachers per week are thus :

(*a*) for teachers of academic subjects—

	men	women
upto 50 years of age	26	23
after „ „ „ „	24	23

(*b*) for teachers of technical subjects such as singing, drawing, needle-work etc.—

upto 50 years of age	28	25
after „ „ „ „	26	24

The examination system in Germany is quite different from the English. There are no question-papers and no allotment of marks. The system is the seed which develops later on into writing a doctoral dissertation in the university, based on original research. In every subject, the pupil is asked to write short essays on themes chosen by themselves out of several. I was given the opportunity of looking into some essays written by the Abitur-candidates of a school on various themes. The examining teacher had briefly indicated at the end of each essay its good points and bad points; he also stated if in his judgment the essay was upto the required standard, and if so, of what degree of excellence. An oral test always follows a successful essay.

In a class, the fourth from the top, of a co-ed school of the Deutsche Oberschule type, the teacher suspended his lesson on Roman history and invited me to speak on India. A thrill of eager excitement passed through the class. I had declined invitations to speak to or ask questions of higher classes of other schools but here I was touched by the enthusiasm of the young people and not knowing what exactly about my country would interest them, I suggested that the class would put question to me and I would answer. Dozens of hands were raised at every pause—India is the land of romantic mystery to the German imagination. The questions were nearly the same the general German public ask me everyday—What is Gandhi doing now? How do the British keep us down with only a negligible number of English soldiers? Why do our own soldiers help the British? (the unintended reproach of these two questions always made me feel a little uncomfortable!) How is the caste-system? (nothing intrigues the German's inborn love of method and organization as this invention of our forefathers!) Why do Hindus and Moslems fight? Can we manage our own affairs and resist Japanese aggression if the British go away? (clever and extensive British propaganda!) Do we like the British? Is Jawaharlal really the leader of India? How old is Tagore? What are the Maharajas like? (the hoarded jewels and harems of this gentry raise their fancy to the boiling point!) Have I seen jungles and tigers, elephants and snakes? What do I know of the Fakirs? (*i.e.*, sadhus and yogis with occult powers—I have heard more about them here than in India)—and so on! Many questions remained unanswered and many hands still raised when the bell rang.

Education in the West, while still arrogantly proud of its liberation from religion, is occasionally becoming conscious of an emptiness which mere knowledge cannot fill. Our educated communities in India, at the present time, are faced with the same problems which beset the peoples of Europe. Our intellect and our will are forcibly attracted outwards, and our soul is left dormant in a world of emptiness. Owing to our absorption in the external, we have not even the time to realise the gaping disproportion between our inner and outer life.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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KEDAR BADRI BY AIR

By NITYANARAYAN BANERJEE

The majestic mysterious Himalayas, with their snow-clad lofty peaks, their dense forests, their dancing rivulets and streams, have an abiding lure for the tourist. In natural scenic beauty the Himalayas are unsurpassed. Some mountains of this range are covered with dense forests, some are totally barren and look like piles of burnt stones of volcanoes, some are made of earth and pebbles so loose that a permanent path on their sides is impossible. Some are covered with snow permanently, some only during the winter. Those mysterious massive mountains have lured many adventurers to death. Still their attraction to tourists is undiminished. Mountains have a great fascination for me. At the age of fourteen I traversed part of the Himalayas to Nepal. At the age of sixteen I had the opportunity of crossing the Himalayas with my mother to Manas-sarowar and Kailas, and Tibet. At nineteen, beautiful Kashmere allured me and I went up to Amarnath, the ice-god, who is worshipped by thousands of devotees only once a year. This year Kedarnath and Badrinath called me to the hills. Pressure of work demanded that I should return as early as possible, and so I went as far as possible by airplane.

The Himalayan Airways Company Ltd. have opened an air-service between Hardwar and Gouchar and Agastyamuni. For want of a regular supply of passengers the 'planes do not fly regularly; they fly only when passengers are available. The fare is Rs. 75 for outward and return journey (110 miles by footpath and 67 miles by air)—a moderate amount in comparison with other conveyances available there.

The 'plane took off at about 7 A.M. and flew for about 50 minutes to Agastyamuni. The whole of Hardwar with the Ganges was under our feet. Soon it disappeared and vast plains with forests replaced it. The trees seemed like bushes. The pilot said he generally flew at a height of 7000 feet. Soon we were lost in the wilderness of mountains. One after another the mountains raised their heads like so many waves. All around us were only mountains, most of which were barren, reddish. Those which were fertile, have been cultivated from top to bottom. Gradually the snow-covered peaks of the Himalayas peeped out of the thin white clouds. Long ranges of perpetually snow-clad mountains glittered in the clear sun. Below some villages could be seen, now and then, on the banks of the Ganges and the Mandakini, whose course we were following. The small ridges were soon replaced by high mountains. All on a sudden our 'plane slided on one side. Soon we saw ourselves surrounded by lofty mountains on all sides. Our 'plane took another swift turn and flew lower. We were a bit alarmed. I said to my companion, "We are flying very low."

In a depressed voice the old man of 68 said, "Yes, so it seems. It may dash against some mountains."

Soon we heard a peculiar hissing sound of the propeller and the ground below seemed closer. The 'plane dashed against the land but that was but a safe landing. Dropping us at Agastyamuni, the 'plane left the place within two minutes.

The Postmaster of Agastyamuni, who is also a man of the Airway Company, took charge of arranging for a horse for me and a "dandi" for Mr. P. Ayaswami Shastri, my old Madrasi companion. Having a pleasant cold bath in the Mandakini, we took some 'puri' for the day. At about 4 o'clock our conveyances were ready and we started to stop at Bheri, 7 miles from Agastyamuni. There was no big 'chadai' (ascent) or 'utrai' (descent) but some 'mamuli' (ordinary) ones.

Bheri is a small village. Milk, rice, 'dal' and some potatoes were available. A river flows just at its feet.

Next morning we started at dawn and at Gupta Kasi (6 miles) took our breakfast. Gupta Kasi is rather a big village having Post Office, Dharmsala and Dispensary. This is said to be the 'Secret Benares,' having Siva Bisweswar, Mani-Karnika Kund and Gomukhi dhara. The Pandas urge the pilgrims to make some secret gift here. It is needless to mention that this secrecy is confined to the Pandas. Here the Pandas try to secure their clients for Kedarnath.

The next halt, for lunch, was at Phata, 7 miles from Gupta Kasi. Here 'puri' was not available and I, being lazy and not accustomed to cooking, had to remain without food. These 'chaties' or halting places are not permanent

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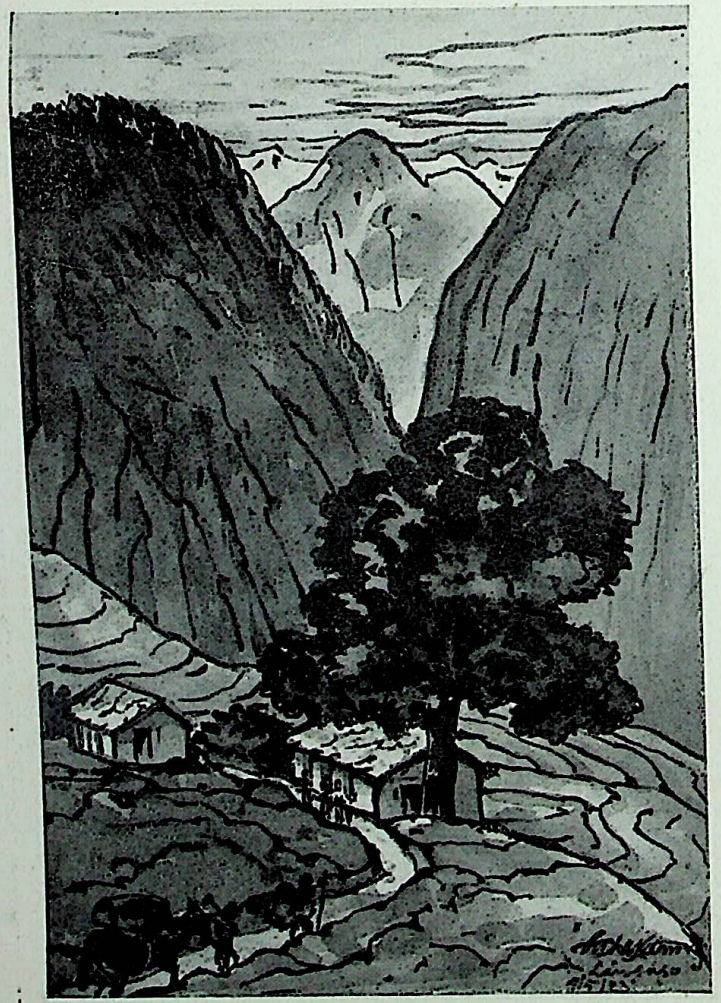
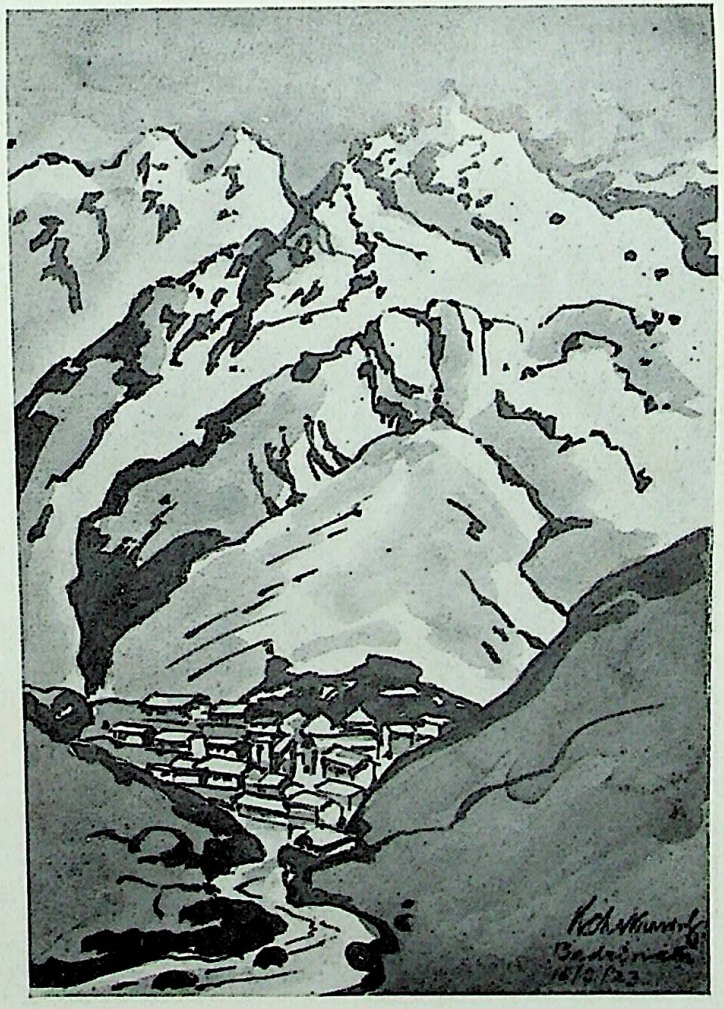


A school and a *chatti,* Langaso
Sketch By Ramendranath Chakravarti



Badrinath Temple and Alakananda
Sketch By Ramendranath Chakravarti

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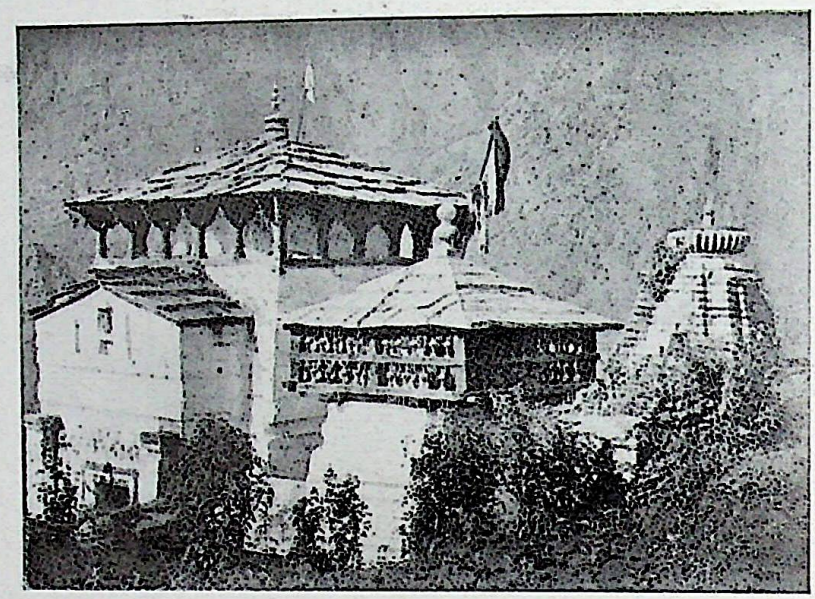
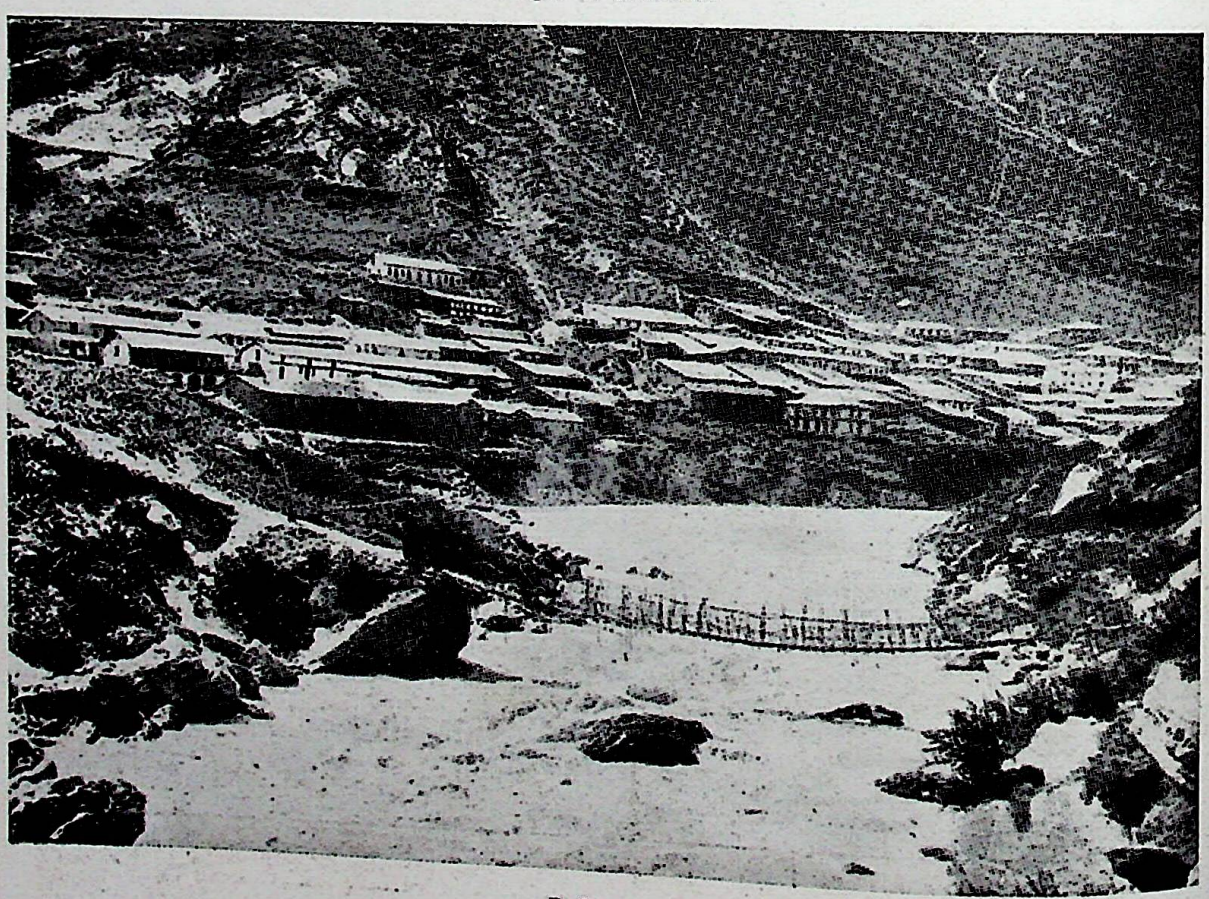


The Temple of Jashimath



Badrinath

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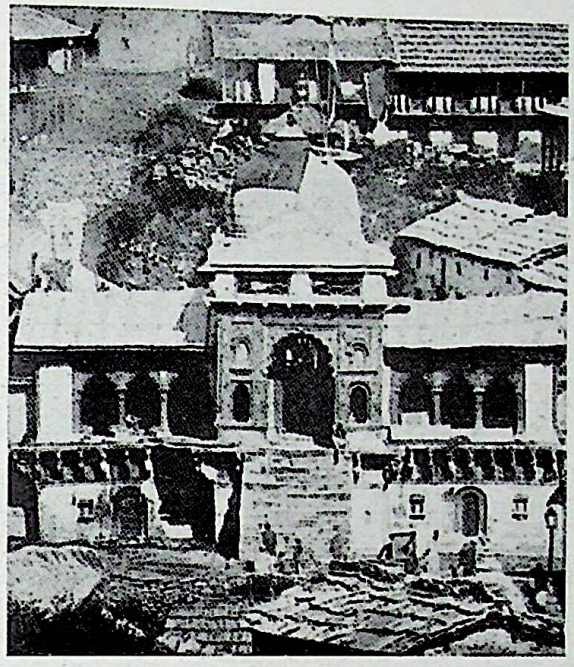
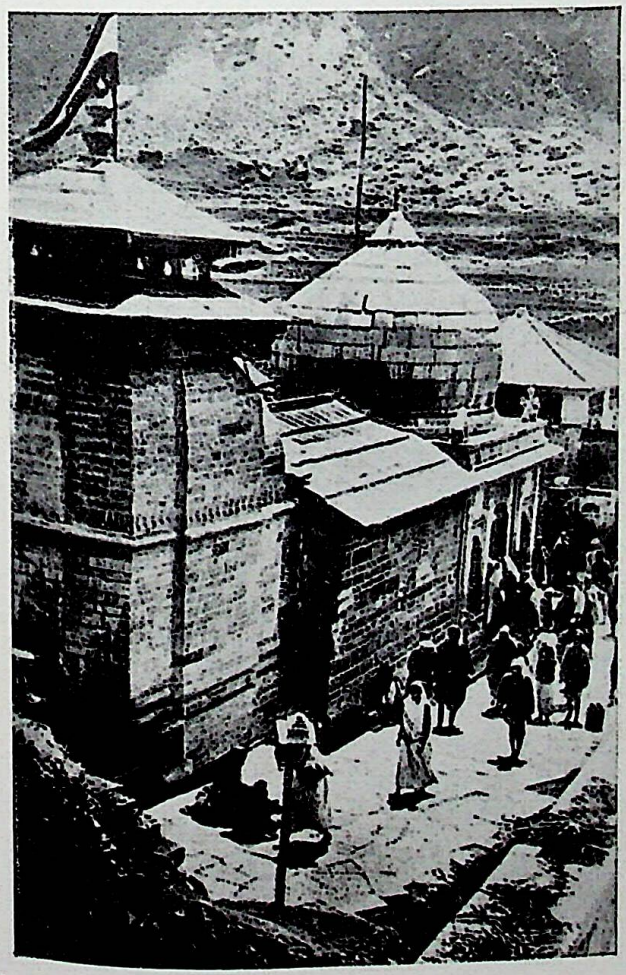
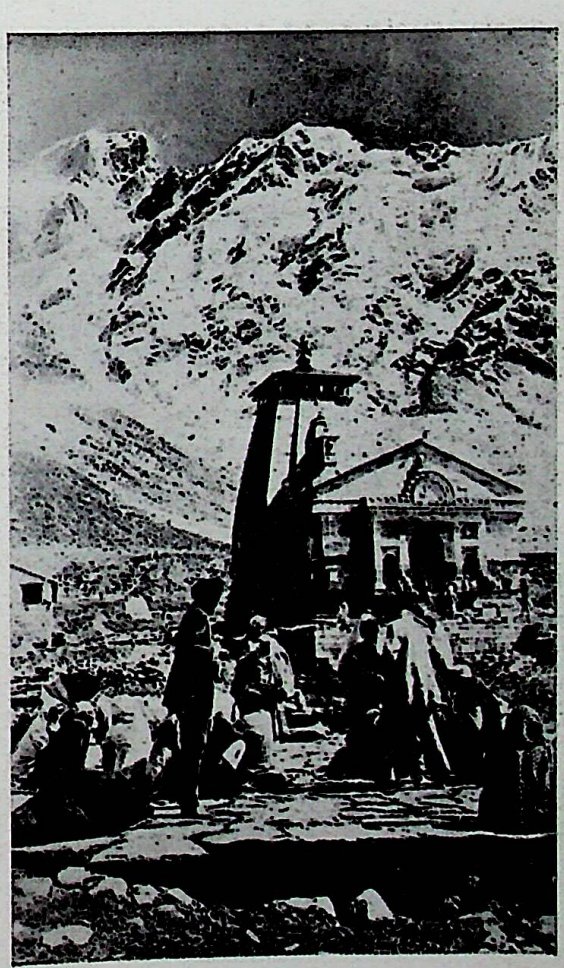


The Temple of Vishnu



Badrinath Temple



Kedarnath Temple

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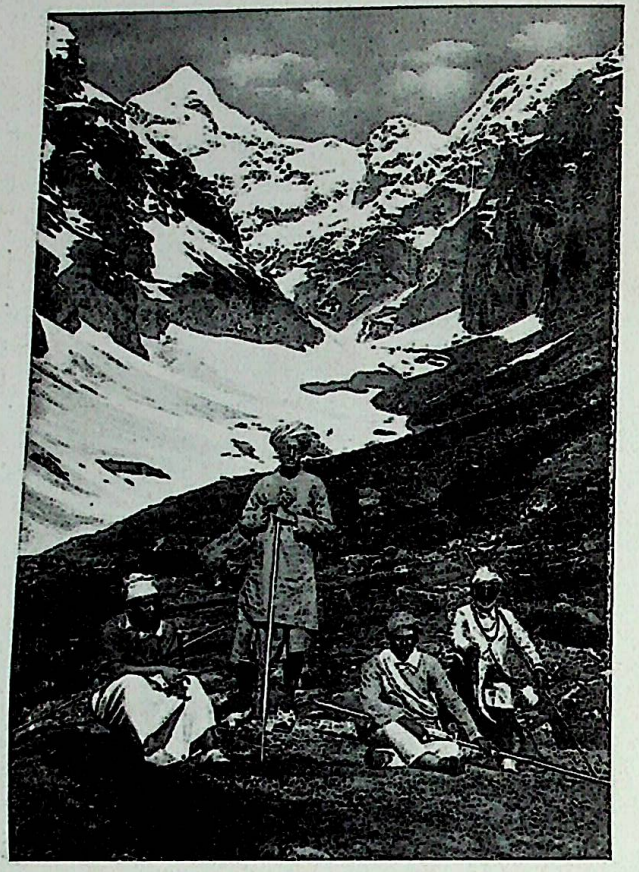
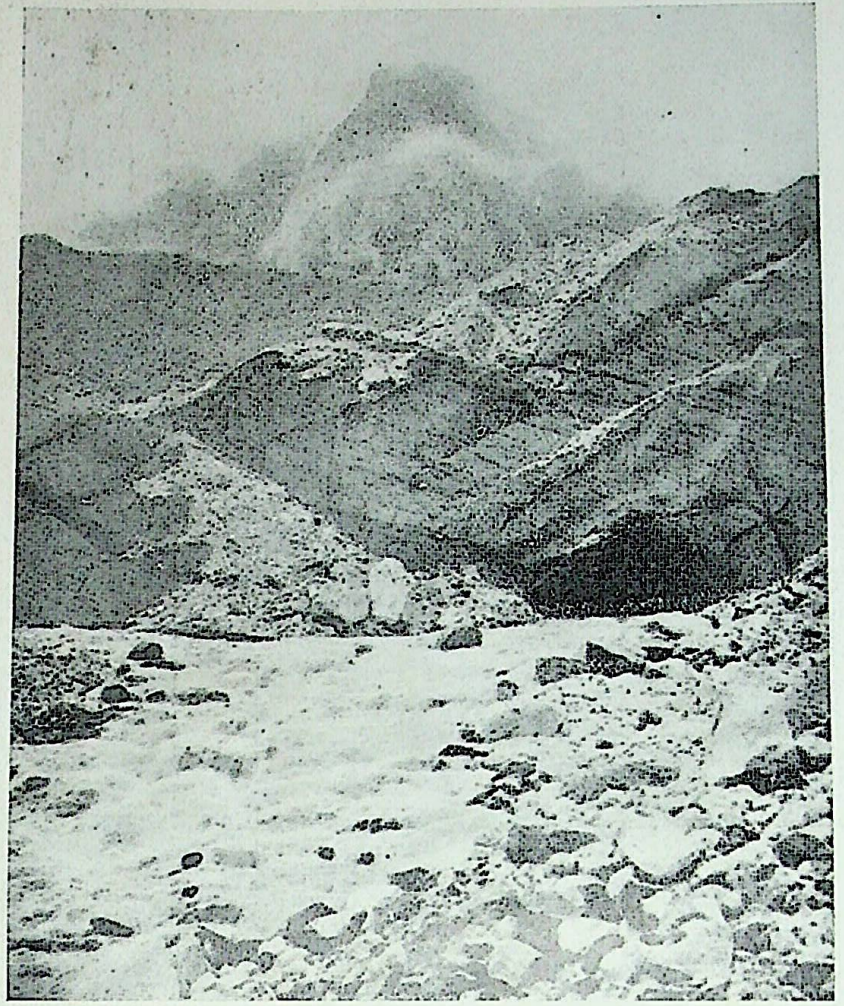


A road-side View to Badrinath



The source of Alaknanda

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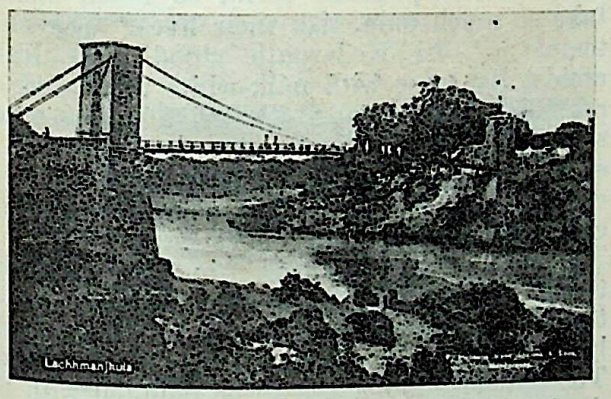
villages but are constructed at the beginning of the pilgrimage season and remain open for 6 months only, the period for which the temple of Kedarnath remains open. I had gone there rather early, and so could not see all the 'chaties' at full swing. I was told that later on milk, 'puri,' rice, 'dal,' potatoes and such other main items of food-stuff could be available in almost all the chaties. No rent has to be paid for accommodation. The huts belong to the shop-keepers and you have only to buy food from them. The price of the food materials is so high that it includes the rent. On our way we learnt that the Government has fixed the prices of all the articles required by the pilgrims, but probably for lack of proper supervision the fixed prices are never maintained. The price per seer of rice varies from 5 to 12 annas, per seer of milk 4 to 12 annas, per seer of 'puri' 10 annas to Re. 1-4, kerosene oil per pot of small size hurricane lantern (about $\frac{1}{8}$ seer) -1-6 to -|3|- according to the distance of the 'chati' from the plains and the rush of pilgrims. Government should have taken more strict measure in fixing prices.

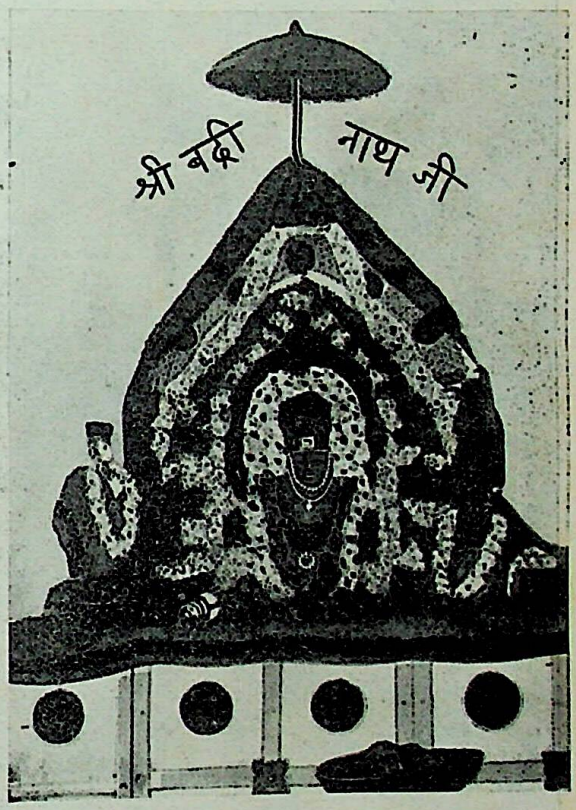


Lachhmanjhula—the suspension bridge on way to Badrinath

We halted for the night at Rampur (5725 feet), 5 miles from Phata, comparatively a big 'chati' having a big Dharamsala. On the first day we thus covered 18 miles.

On the 30th April, 1936, we started for Kedarnath. After about 2 miles from Rampur, steep 'chadai' began. This ascent continues up to Kedarnath covering about 10 miles. This is the most difficult part of the journey. The road is better and wider in comparison with that of Manas-sarowar, but it is a risky one no doubt. If by chance anybody slips, certain death awaits him. There is also the danger of landslide. The road was not without the sign of small landslides and we learnt that almost every year some unfortunate pilgrims lose their lives, being crushed to death on their way to or return journey from Kedarnath. But accident of this nature is more frequent on the way to Badrinath.

At Gouri Kund (5 miles from Rampur) I halted for breakfast. The altitude of Gouri Kund is 6800 feet. So Gouri Kund is quite a cold place. There is one very hot spring at Gouri Kund which is called 'Tapt Kund' and pilgrims generally take a dip first in Gouri Kund a lukewarm spring, and then bathe at Tapt Kund. There is a temple of Gouri here. At noon I



The image of Badrinath in Srinagar

lunched at Rambara, only 4 miles from Gouri Kund, but placed at an altitude of 8850 feet. This 'chadai' of 2000 feet in 4 miles is quite fatiguing and steep. There is one Dharamsala of Baba Kalikamliwala at Rambara, from where blankets can be had free for use. Many halt here for the night and start for Kedarnath next morning to return to Gouri Kund the same day. The temple of Kedarnath is on an altitude of 11950 feet, and the place is generally covered with snow. So pilgrims prefer to return from Kedarnath the same day, instead of passing a night there. As my time was short and as I could hardly resist the temptation of reaching the destination earlier, I started from

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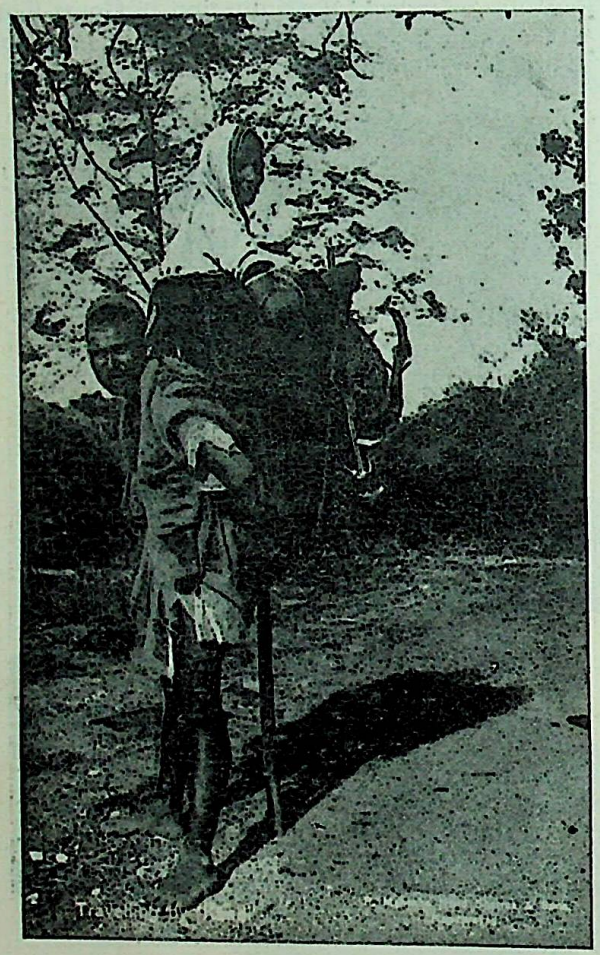
Rambara, taking some 'puri.' The road has climbed to the height of 11050 feet from 8850 (Rambara) in a distance of only 3 miles. So the difficulty in ascending the height can easily be surmised. Hardly can one cover a mile per hour. The fatigued womenfolk, panting old men, dog-tired youths all trudged the way Owing to their thirst they searched for water but in vain. Some pinched out snow beside the



Kundiwala

road, where available. Those who had the good fortune of seeing the god of Kedarnath and were on their way back, were looked upon as heroes, having conquered the great difficulty and achieved their goal. They were hailed and congratulated by the weary but enthusiastic shouts of 'Kedarnath Ki Jai' and the fortunate heroes acknowledged and returned the congratulations by a nod or salute and with the same words.

After passing about 1½ miles, patches of snow beside and covering the road could be seen. But the last six furlongs of the road were completely covered with snow. All the surrounding peaks were also milk-white from top to bottom. There was no trace of any living vegetation all around. As we traversed this part by the end of the day, the ice being softened by the hot sun of the whole day, the legs of men and horses plunged into the ice and stuck to it. Many fell on the slippery ice. While we were shivering in this extreme cold, many 'Sadhus' with naked feet and only a blanket on, some with completely bare body, crossed the ice with shouts of "Kedarnath Ki Jai, Badri Vishal Ki Jai." That is really a scene worth seeing:—Men and women, lame and blind, healthy and deformed, old and young, all were patiently marching through the difficult way towards the same goal. Already the ascent of five miles had taken away every bit of energy in them. Now this bitter cold with biting wind was about to freeze every drop of their blood Everybody was walking like a snail, like a machine. Scarcely anybody had time, energy or desire to look after another; everybody was trying to keep himself alive to reach the destination safely, it was impossible for them to see who was falling or ailing.

After crossing a small bridge on the Mandakini we reached the place for which thousands of pilgrims spend so much money, take so much pain, risk their lives. The stone temple of Sri Kedarnath stood majestically amidst the snow with milk-white mountains all around. There were a few private houses and some Dharamsalas too. All were buried in snow, only the hard ice of the front side was cleared. The terrible cold in these ice-chambers can easily be imagined.

The temple did not open in the evening due to the death of a Sadhu on the previous day at the main gate of the temple. The Sadhu was lying stabbed, either a case of murder or suicide. The temple was deemed to be polluted with the dead body, which was still lying there, as the police did not turn up till then. So the evening 'arati' was not performed and 'bhogas' were not offered.

Next morning under compulsion of nature everybody had to go out against his will. Due to terrific cold outside and icy cold water, some came with aching hands, some with reddish nose, many lost the sensation of their fingers, my old companion had his right hand completely benumbed, it was as if paralysed. But many devout ladies bathed in that dreadful cold, of course in hot water.

At about nine o'clock, when the clear sun was up above the peaks and the whole plateau was flooded with the warm rays of the sun, the temple door opened. The main gate being closed, pilgrims entered by the second gate.

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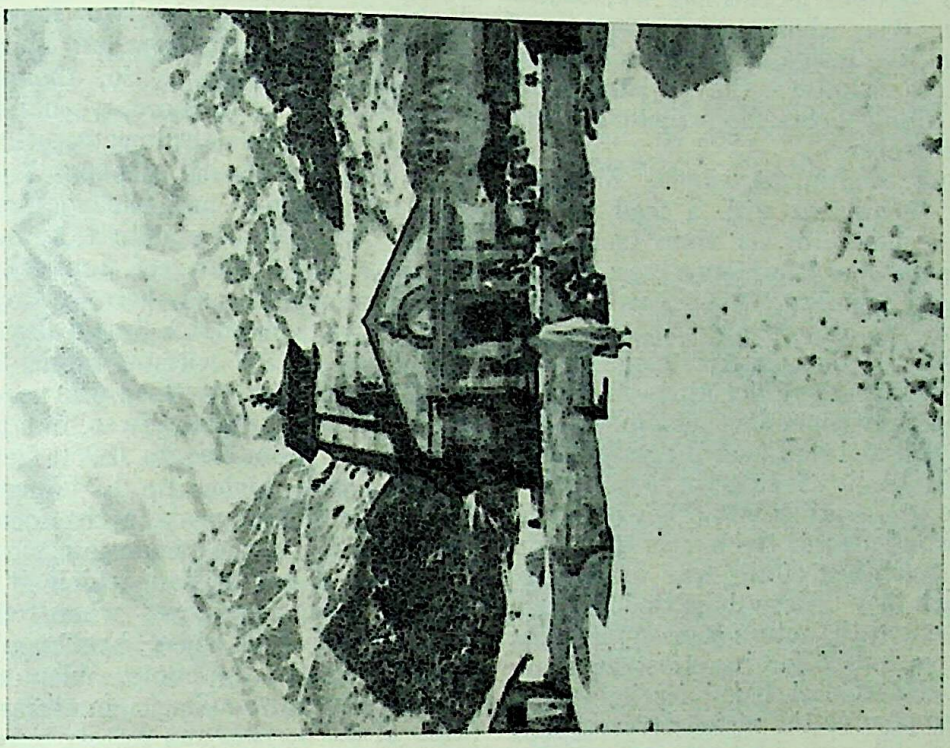
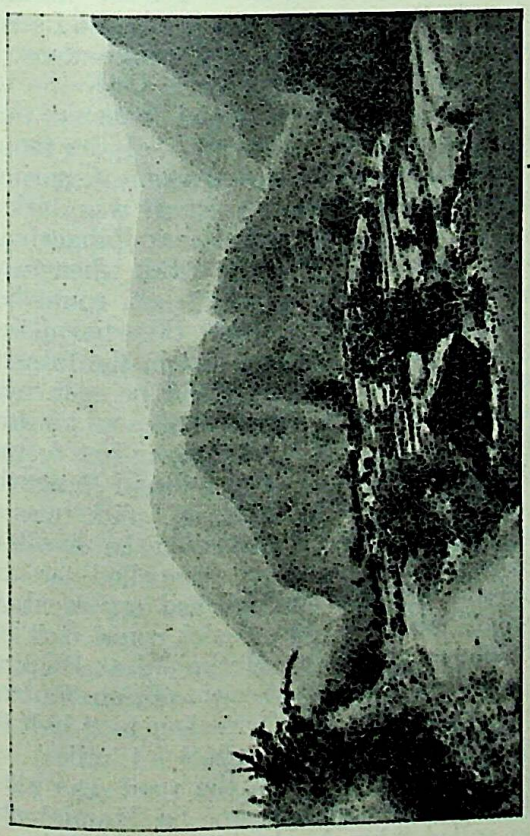


The Temple of Kedarnath



Cornfields in the Himalayas

Panaromic View of Chopta

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Three pice are charged as entrance fee; Sadhus are exempted. The whole temple consists of three chambers, the image of god Siva is in the last and darkest chamber. Only a lamp (with ghee burning) dimly lights the perpetually dark and icy-cold chamber.

What frantic zeal in the temple! Men and women throw themselves with a mad passion over the rough surface of the stone block, god Kedarnath. Some kiss it, some embrace it with the whole body, some cry, some chant slokas (verses) from various religious books. The whole atmosphere of the cold dark chamber was charged with warm sincere devotion—it was all sincerity, blind passionate love of God. They have come to God and that God is personified in that rough big block of stone. They do not mind its shape or size, they would not judge the fineness or uncouthness of the image, they have borne all the sufferings of the way to come to this stone, which they believe to be God Himself.

We commenced the return journey at about eleven. Having 'puri' for breakfast at Rambara, we halted at Gouri Kund for lunch and stopped at Rampur for the night, covering only twelve miles.

Next morning, taking some milk at Phata (5 miles) we proceeded towards Ukhimath. From Nala, a chati one mile before Gupta Kashi, another road goes eastward towards the banks of the Mandakini to Ukhimath. Up to the Mandakini, the whole road was 'utrai,' so it was rather easy to walk. Very steep 'chadai' began from the other bank of the Mandakini stretching to about 1½ miles. This 'chadai' after walking about 13 miles seemed a terrible one. Many were sitting, some lying beside the road, many asked for water. I reached Ukhimath (only 14 miles from Rampur) at about one o'clock; the dandi of Mr. Sastri came more than an hour late. The dandi coolies were dog-tired and cursed me for covering such a long distance during the morning. Generally they cover 10 to 15 miles during the whole day.

Ukimath (4550 feet) is a big village having an imposing temple of 'Ukhi Devi,' where Kedarnath is worshipped during the 6 winter months when the Kedarnath temple remains buried under snow. There are a police station, post office and some fine private buildings. The 'Rawal Sahib' or the 'Mahanta' of Kedarnath lives in this temple. So Ukimath has some religious importance. Taking some 'puri' here and having rest for about 2 hours, we started again. There was some more 'chadai' and after that slow 'utrai' began. In the afternoon clouds threatened us with roars and a few drops of rain. On the way we found some very small chatics having one or two houses. So we proceeded. When we reached Durga Chati it began to rain heavily. So, though we could proceed a mile or so more, we halted at Durga (5000 feet). Next morning steep chadai awaited us. Continuous chadai of about 7 miles slowed down our progress and the road was through jungle. We had a mind to take our breakfast at Baniya Kund (8325 feet, 5 miles) but no milk or sweets could be had there. They said every thing would be available 3 or 4 days hence. So we had to proceed without food. Except in a few chatics on the way there was no water all the way. So this 'chadai' was a strenuous and trying one. From Chopta (8950 feet, 6 miles) a road has gone higher up to Tunga Nath (2½ miles), the highest peak in the locality. From Tunga Nath a grand panoramic view of several miles around can be had, which is a very rare sight in the mountains, where the sight is obstructed on all sides by huge groups of mountains. From Chopta, even the general view of the surrounding mountains, snow-clad peaks at the horizon and forests below, is grand.

After a few furlongs from Chopta 'utrai' commenced. The next chati is Bhokna (9000 feet). It was already past noon and I was too hungry, but my programme for the morning was to halt at Pangarbasa (8000 feet). So I advanced. Soon the road proceeded through dense forest and I was the only traveller. Only the rustling sound of dried leaves which covered the road broke the silence. That part of the mountains was then enjoying the season of spring; old leaves had fallen and the forest was dark green. In the guide book I found that Pangarbasa was only 2 miles from Bhokna. But when two miles had passed, no sign of any chati could be seen. I was awfully hungry and this disappointment made me afraid. Was I lost in the forest? All along the way pilgrims could be seen now and then, but I did not meet a single soul on this way. There was no way left however but to proceed. Covering 5 furlongs more I found Pangarbasa—a very small chati. Milk or 'puri' was out of the question. No man could be available to cook. Extreme hunger compelled me to cook myself. When I had finished my meal, it was about 3 o'clock. Mr. Sastri could not join me during the morning. He halted at Bhokna and at about 4 he caught me. From Pangarbasa we again started together. Our next halt for the night was at Mandal chati (4 miles). From Pangarbasa to Mandal the road was all along utrai and through jungle. So Mandal chati is also called "jungle chati." The booklet of the

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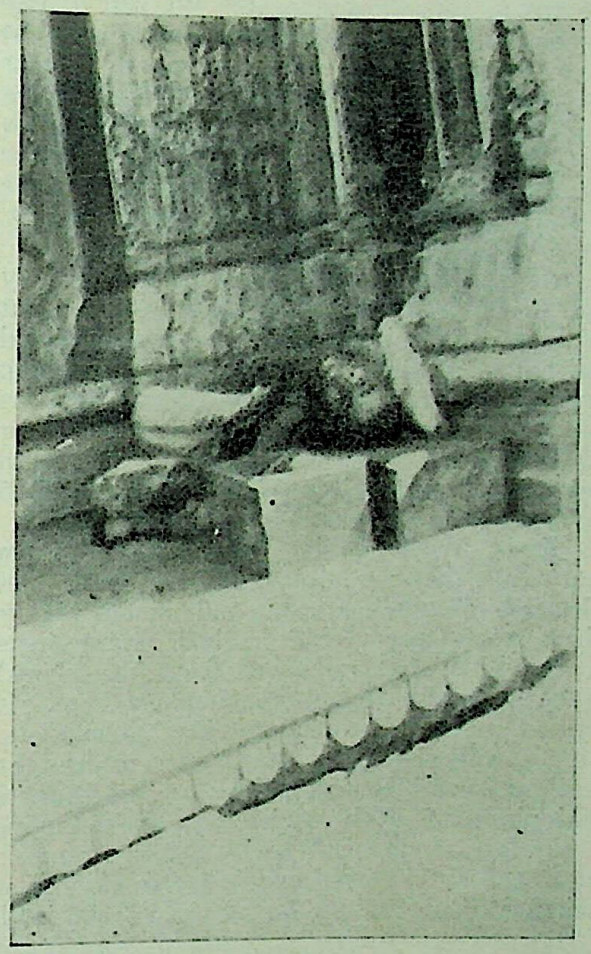
Himalaya Airways Ltd., from which I quote here the altitude and distance, records its altitude as higher than that of Pangarbasa. But this is certainly a mistake. Because from Pangarbasa all along we descended and from Mandal almost a plain road leads to Chamoli (3650 feet). I should say another word about this company.

Next morning we started from Mandal. The old road was destroyed by landslide and a new road has been made; some part of the road and a bridge was under construction. Gopeswar, a small village on the way, is noteworthy for an old temple of the god Gopeswar. In this temple there is a huge 'trisul' which bears inscriptions of the victory of the Hindu King Anekmalla of the 12th century. At about eleven we reached Chamoli (9 miles)—the junction of three roads, one leading to Badrinath, another to Kedarnath and the third to Deva Prayag and thence to Hardwar. Chamoli is a big village, almost a town, having Post & Telegraph Office and the police head quarters, Collectorate, Law Courts, Hospital, etc. There is quite a number of stationery and other shops. The Dharamsala was full, and with much difficulty we secured some place on the upper flat of a grocer's shop. When we ordered for 3 chhataks of rice and 1 chhatak of 'dal' for both of us, the shopkeeper flatly refused to supply the same and requested us to leave his house, as it was most unprofitable for him to accommodate poor eaters like us, as the profit would not cover his rent. So we were forced to buy half a seer of rice and a quarter seer of dal though we did not require so much. We had to meet such misfortunes like this several times later on. To be a poor eater is a curse here. In the afternoon there were heavy rains with hail-storm. Next morning we started early in the morning. On the way we saw some dead sheep, which had died of the hail-storm. Sweets and milk could be available at Math chati (2 miles) and other chaties on the way. For the noon we halted at Pipal Kuthi, a fairly big village having signboards in English hanging on the shops. There are post office, forest bunglow and many shops for Himalayan herbs, musk, tiger skin, etc. Here we tried to get one pawa (¼ seer) of 'puri' for both of us, but the shopkeeper refused to prepare it. We had to order for half a seer, paying its price at the rate of 1 rupee in place of 12 annas per seer.

From Pipal Kuthi the road was almost plain, the 'chadai' and 'utrai' being 'mamuli,' *i.e.*, ordinary. During the afternoon we covered only 4 miles up to Garur Ganga and had to halt there owing to the rains. We covered today only 13 miles. Next morning we had to climb a 'chadai' of about more than a mile and then the road was plain till Kumar Chati. It should be mentioned here that the ascents of Badrinath are far easier than those of Kedarnath. They are less steep and the road is wider. At Kumar Chati fortunately we got a man to cook and had a good meal. While we were taking our meal, a thin, tall, black man with hungry looks,



The Dead Sadhu at the main gate of Kedarnath

shabbily dressed, made his appearance at the door and with gesture of being hungry begged something. This is rather a nuisance on this journey. You cannot take your meal without the uneasiness of one or more persons casting hungry looks on it. They are mostly "Sadhus" who come without a pice to live by begging. It is hard to believe that they come out of devotion to God, rather I think they come here to have better alms. I say this because there is the grand arrangement of Baba Kali-Kamliwala for supplying all Sadhus with rice or 'ata' (flour), 'dal,' salt, kerosene oil, etc. They have only to show their tickets to the Kamliwala centres which spread over the way

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to Kedar and Badrinath at reasonable distances and these tickets are given free to them. They have to show only ten rupees with them, which are to be kept with them for emergency purposes, such as illness, accident, etc. But generally a group of Sadhus utilize one unit of ten rupees for all of them. So when we see the other Sadhus beg, what other conclusion can we arrive at? We had to pay the Sadhu the price of half a seer of 'ata,' to have an easy meal. The climate of Kumar Chati is pleasantly moderate, the altitude being 5600 feet. We started from Kumar Chati with dense black clouds over us. According to our programme we were to reach Joshi Math in the evening. From Chamoli I had to travel on foot, my horse being unable to walk.

At Singdar the rains came on quite heavily and we took shelter in a chati. After about an hour, the rains ceasing, we again started and halted at Joshi Math (6500 feet), covering 15 miles during the whole day. Apart from the cloudy afternoons there was another reason for our slow speed. The temple door of Badrinath was to open on the 10th May. So there were 5 days left from Chamoli to cover 47 miles only.

Joshi Math can be called a town in the heart of the mountains, having post and telegraph offices, dharamsala and a public library where newspapers could be had. Newspapers in the hills, 160 miles off from the plains! What a delight to get a newspaper here! It seemed we were in our familiar atmosphere. Here Jawaharlal talks, the country mourns the death of Ansari, Bengal suffers for drought; here Ethiopia weeps, Italy rejoices, war stares Europe in the face, Japan and Soviet Russia wrangle: the whole world moved and talked to me in that secluded silence of the Himalayas. Joshi Math is the 'Uttar dham' (northern shrine) of Sankaracharya, the great reformer. During the winter months god Badrinath is worshipped in the temple of Joshi Math, where there are also some other gods. The Rawal of Badrinath lives here.

Early in the morning I started. That morning seemed to me one of the lovliest and happiest moments in my life. I do not know why but it brought to me such delight that I thought myself to be the happiest man in the world at the time. The sky was clear blue, the road was plain, with green bushes of rose and other flowers here and there. Snow-clad peaks could be seen afar, the gentle breeze was refreshing and soothing. I had fresh energy—spring reigned all over at the height of her youth. What a lovely morning!

But that feeling of pleasure led me to take a wrong road. When I had covered about two miles, it suddenly struck me that no other pilgrim was going that way. I halted and pondered. It struck me again that I did not notice any furlong or mile stone on the way as before. I met a Bhutia woman on the way who was leading a flock of sheep and goat and asked her if that was the way to Badrinath. She said I had taken the road to Tibet instead of to Badrinath. The road to Badrinath goes downwards from Joshi Math towards the North-west. This mistake, which meant loss of four miles in the day's walk, depressed me. I turned my steps and again came to Joshi Math. While I was going to take the right road at the junction, I saw the groom of my horse standing there with a new horse. I was glad. Had I taken the right road, my groom would have missed me. After a steady 'utrai' of about 2 miles we reached Bishnu Prayag, the meeting place of Alakananda and Dhabaliganga and then proceeded to Pandukeshwar. We had to take 'chapati,' no Brahmin cook or even 'puri,' being available. My old companion was a staunch Brahmin and did not take Sudra's cooking. At about half past three we left Pandukeshwar for Hanuman Chati (6 miles). From Pandukeshar 'chadai' begins. Hanuman Chati is 8650 feet, so quite cold. We reached there to see the only Dharamsala and chaties filled with pilgrims. Many old invalids (by strain of the journey) and children were shivering, sitting beside the road without any shelter. We were hopeless. To stay outside in that terrible cold during the night meant collapse or at least pneunomia. After much searching I found a house locked. I learnt that the house was of a Bhutia who had not yet turned up from his winter resort down the hills. I went up the hills in search of the key from the Chowkidar. Fortunately I got the key, but on opening the room I found it uninhabitable. It was full of dirt, dust and sheep and goat's dung. It was so damp that its interior seemed colder than the outside. After 6 months of its burial in the snow it had just peeped out and had not yet been opened. So the terrible damp can easily be imagined, but still it had four walls and a roof. It would protect us from the terrible biting cold wind of outside.

Next morning we found our lower blanket so damp as to be almost wet. We did not leave our bed till the sun was quite high, as that day we had to cover only 5 miles.

But these 5 miles are all 'chadai' and the worst part of the journey to Badrinath. The mountains on the lap of which the serpentine

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road proceeds have loose earth and stones on the surface. Every year the road has to be made anew and constant repairs have to be carried on. On our way we passed several places where the road had been torn and broken by landslides, and pilgrims had to follow only the foot-prints of their predecessors. Almost every year many lose their lives in this part of the journey. On this way, while making the ascent on horseback, suddenly a portion of the road, more than one square foot, gave way from under the left hind leg of my horse. The horse with its rider was about to go down straight to the frozen river hundreds of feet below and not to reach the place of god with this body of flesh and blood. But probably God did not want that, and with great effort the horse saved his and my life. A passerby remarked that God wanted me to walk on foot before I entered His holy city. I took his advice. At about ten we reached Badrinath (10200 feet), our destination, for which we had taken all these troubles.

Badrinath can be said to be a town in the heart of the Himalayas. It has post and telegraph offices, hospital, police station, a large number of dharamsalas and quite a number of various shops. Food-stuff and other things seemed cheaper here than on the way. Rows of houses went up like steps on the sides of the mountains; where the roof of one house ends the floor of another begins. The main parallel roads are connected cross-wise by flights of steps. The place is beautifully situated on a wide plateau bordered on the north by the white snow-covered ranges, on the south the icy-cold Alakananda river dances merrily on and the whole place basks in the clear sun. The place is cold, but for the sun the temperature is agreeable. It was not completely covered with snow-like Kedarnath. On the way we crossed only patches of snow covering a furlong at most. Two miles north of Badrinath is the village Mana, the summer residence of the Bhutias. These people are a kind of nomads having flocks of sheep and goats and a few horses as their property. Very few have landed property. During the winter they come below and during summer some of them go to Tibet and some to Mana. But all round the year they live with snow around and they fear heat very much. They will never agree to come below Deva Prayag even if offered a hundred rupees. These people have a fair complexion, but are very dirty. Throughout the year they wear woollen garments woven by themselves. They are very fond of colour, which is displayed in their dress.

As the temple door of Badrinath was not open on the day we arrived, we had to halt there for the night. On the 10th May the temple was thrown open to the public at about 12 o'clock, though it was announced that it would be open at ten. It was evident that the Rawal Sahib and the Pandas were not on good terms. There was heavy rush on the first day and my old companion could not enter the temple in spite of all his attempts. At about 2 o'clock I had to

The Snow covered path to Kedarnath

accompany him and with much difficulty pushed our way into the temple. The image of the god was too far from the place where the pilgrims were allowed to enter and could hardly be distinctly seen. To me the 'darsan' of Kedarnath was much more appealing than that of Badrinath. The pilgrims here were hurriedly forced out of the temple to make room for those who waited outside. I was told that later on when the rush would decrease, a better 'darsan' could be had.

That very day we commenced our return journey and stopped for the night at Pandu-

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keshwar. There is a proverb that the King Pandu lived on one of the mountains surrounding Pandukeshwar and there is a copper plate in the local temple having some inscriptions which have not yet been deciphered. Next day we reached Patal Ganga (19 miles) and halted for the night. The climate of Patalganga (5000 feet) was very pleasant and moderate. Our programme for the next day was to halt at Mathyna, 22 miles from Patalganga, but due to the rains and threatening clouds, we were forced to stop at Chamoli (17 miles). One thing strikes the tourist very much on this way. The whole of India is represented here, in this difficult dangerous mountain footpath. Men and women from all parts of India—from Bengal, Bihar, U. P., the Punjab, Marwar, Rajputana, Madras, Bombay, C. P. from Kashmir to cape Comorin, could be seen here with their varied dresses and complexions, different languages, peculiar customs and etiquette, but all united by one tie—religion. All of them know the stories of the great epics—the Ramayana and Mahabharata, they chant the same slokas of the Gita, only with different intonation. Here one can feel what a great language was Sanskrit, which the people of a sub-continent used even when there was no press or printing. From Chamoli we took the new road to Gouchar, from where we were to fly again to Hardwar.

On the way fell two important places, Nanda Prayag and Karna Prayag. Though Karna Prayag has a hospital, dharmasala, post and telegraph offices and forest bungalow, Nanda Prayag seemed to be a bigger and better place. From Nanda Prayag a newly built road has gone up to Garur from where motor buses to the plains are available. From Karna Prayag one road leads to Mail Chouri and thence to Rani Khat from where motor bus to Kath Gudam (Railway station) is available. The other road goes to Deva Prayag and thence to Hardwar (by bus).

From Nanda Prayag we sent a wire to the Airways Company to send the 'plane to Gouchar next morning at 8. For the night we halted at Karna Prayag, covering 20 miles during the day. That day too we were threatened very much by the sobbing and weeping clouds. Both Nanda Prayag and Karna Prayag have religious significance. Next day, being anxious to reach Gouchar in time, we decided to start during the latter part of the night. But as unfortunately we had no watch we could not ascertain the hour of the night and started too early. After covering about 4 miles we came to realize our mistake, as till then the mountains were covered with the silver beams of the shining moon. Mr. Sastri was now too tired to walk further. But he dared not use the dandi during the night. So we had to stop on the way about half an hour till the dawn. We reached Gouchar (6 miles) early in the morning. The landing place of Gouchar is one of the wonders of Nature. Seldom can such a big plain in the lap of the Himalayas be seen. It is as if prepared as a landing ground by Nature herself. I was glad to learn that a Bengalee, the late Mr. B. Das, first thought of utilizing these places as landing and contemplated Airways service for this difficult pilgrimage. Unfortunately for us he died in the sad air crash of Dum-Dum and it grieved us to hear that he could not see his project materialise.

Gouchar is a very small place, and with much difficulty milk could be procured. Punctually at 8, the 'plane roared above our head and soon we took off, bidding goodbye to the labyrinth of the mountains. On the morning of the sixteenth day I returned to Hardwar but I am sure if the temple of Badrinath were opened earlier and if our progress had not been hampered by clouds, rains, and hailstorm, this difficult journey to Kedarnath and Badrinath, which generally takes about a month on foot, could easily be completed within less than a fortnight. I should mention here that my whole journey, including the fare of the 'plane and the horse as well as remuneration for the baggage coolies and the price of my food cost me Rs. 150 from Hardwar and back. I think many of us spend more in their pleasure trips to hill stations and other sight-seeing. To them I recommend a trip to Kedar and Badri. Those who are not particular about the time spent, can go on foot, which will cost them barely Rs. 50 for the whole journey. The youths of other nations go on mountaineering, ski-ing and skating, whenever they find the opportunity. Fortunately the youths of our country have now a tendency to see the country. But it must be remembered that India is not only rich with its historic Delhi, Agra, Peshawar, or religious Benares, Madura, Dwarka, or with the lovely plateau and lakes of Kashmir but also with the ever mysterious Himalayas.

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IS MODERN SCIENCE OUTGROWING GOD?

Answers of Eminent Scientists

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

THERE are today considerable numbers of men, some of them persons of intelligence and high character, who deny the existence of God, who affirm that, in a scientific age like ours, belief in God (theism in all its forms) has been passed by—modern science has given it a death-blow. Some of these persons call themselves atheists, some materialists, some agnostics, some humanists; but all agree in repudiating the God idea, and generally they repudiate it in the name of science.

Are these persons right? Must God go? Has science made it impossible for intelligent men longer to believe that there is Mind, that there is Intelligent Purpose, at that heart of the universe?

There seems no truer way of answering these questions than by obtaining the judgments of scientists themselves. Of course, all cannot be consulted. It will be enough for our present purpose if we limit ourselves to the following seven, who represent different important departments of science, and who will be conceded to be as eminent as any now living in America, Great Britain, or Germany, namely: Albert Einstein, Germany and America, mathematician, originator of the theory of relativity; John S. Haldane, Oxford and Birmingham Universities, England, physicist; Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard, geologist; Arthur H. Compton, University of Chicago, physicist; Sir James H. Jeans, Cambridge and Princeton, mathematician and astronomer, secretary of the Royal Society of Great Britain; Sir Arthur S. Eddington, Cambridge, England, astronomer; Robert A. Millikan, Institute of Technology, Pasadena, physicist. Under the name of each of these scientists we quote enough from his published writings and public addresses to constitute what clearly may be regarded as his authoritative answer to the question: "Has Science Outgrown God?"

Albert Einstein

I believe in God, the God of Spinoza; who reveals Himself in the orderly harmony of the universe.

I believe that intelligence is manifested throughout all nature.

The basis of all scientific work is the conviction that the world is an ordered and comprehensible entity, and not a thing of chance.

J. S. Haldane

The material world, which has been taken for a world of blind mechanism, is in reality a spiritual world seen very partially and imperfectly. The only real world is the spiritual world.

I think that we have reached a turning-point, and that a new physiology is arising in place of the physico-chemical physiology which has held sway for so many years. To the mechanistic physiologists it seemed that there were probably simple physical and chemical explanations of the various physical and chemical changes associated with life. The progress of experimental physiology has shown that this was only a dream, and physiologists are now awakening from the dream. One cannot get round the fact that the mechanistic theory has not been a success in the past, and shows no sign of being a success in the future.

The new physiology is biological physiology—not bio-physics or bio-chemistry. The attempt to analyze living organism into physical and chemical mechanism is probably the most colossal failure in the whole history of modern science.

Imagine a member of the school of thought to whom all values are measured in terms of physical quantities, seeking to appraise the worth of such personalities as Plato, Michelangelo, Dante, Francis of Assisi, Newton or Einstein, by analyzing the chemical constituents of his body. He will find, as Dr. A. L. Sachar has ingeniously figured out: "Enough fat to make eight bars of soap, enough iron for four or five ladies' hairpins, enough sugar to fill an average size sugar bin, and enough salt for a few cellars. There will be enough potassium to fire off a little toy cannon, and enough magnesium to whitewash four and a half square inches on your back-yard fence. These and other elements taken together would bring about $73." When reduced to these plain terms, is there anyone who does not see the ludicrousness and the mockery of trying to weigh the human personality on the scales of material values?

The truth is that not matter, not force, not any physical thing, but mind, personality, is the central fact of the universe.

The fact that man has been able to reach out a hundred million light years into space, to measure, weigh and chart the orbits of the myriad worlds that course through the vast reaches of interstellar space, should be sufficient evidence that man cannot be adequately described in terms of neurons, blood vessels, lungs and bones, or in any merely quantitative terms. The chasm which separates the two outermost rims of the universe is not half so broad nor half so deep as the gulf which yawns between the physical and the mental, between the material and the spiritual.

Sir Arthur Eddington

Materialism and determinism, those household gods of nineteenth century science, which believed that this

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world could be explained in mechanical and biological concepts as a well run machine, must be discarded by modern science, to make room for a spiritual conception of the universe and man's place in it. The old atheism is gone. Mind is the first and most direct thing in our experience; all else is merely remote inference. Religion belongs to the realm of spirit and mind, and cannot be shaken.

Kirtley F. Mather

For several decades the results of scientific investigation appeared to be leading directly toward a mechanic explanation of the nature of cosmic energy. All that has changed in the last few years. We now know that the latest results of the analysis of material objects, when we penetrate as far as we may into the secret of the nature of things, give no wholly different impression from that which our fathers had a generation ago. With deeper understanding and truer knowledge, we find that the cosmic energy which operates within the atom has the attributes and characteristics of mind rather than of mechanics. The announcements which have been made by Sir James Jeans are of great significance here. As he puts it, the world now appears to be more like a great thought than like a great machine. The facts which have been observed, the events which have been noted, are explainable not as the operations of a mechanical device, but as the expressions of mentality. The nearest approach we have thus far made to the ultimate in our analysis of matter and of energy indicates that the universal reality is mind. Matter becomes simply an expression of mind. This represents my belief about God. It leads naturally to a statement about personality. For me God is everything in the universe which tends to produce a fine personality in a human being.

Does God, as thus defined, deserve to be called good? If you believe that there are good human beings, then you must attribute to the cosmic energy (God) the necessary power to produce those results. The power which has produced righteous, kindly personalities, must be at least as valuable and significant as its product.

Arthur H. Compton

The old-fashioned evolutionary attitude was that the world as we know it developed as a result of chance, variations of all kinds occurring, some of which would be more suited to the conditions than others, and therefore surviving. More recent thought has found this viewpoint increasingly difficult to defend.

To the physicist it has become clear that the chances are infinitesimal that a universe filled with atoms having random properties would develop into a world with the infinite variety that we find about us.

This strongly suggests that the evolutionary process is not a chance one, but is directed toward some definite end. If we suggest that evolution is directed we imply that there is an intelligence directing it.

In some reflex actions and habitual acts we may behave as automata, but where deliberation occurs we feel that we choose our own course.

In fact, a certain freedom of choice may, it seems to me, be considered as an experimental fact with which we must reconcile our theories.

If freedom of choice is admitted, it follows by the same line of reasoning that one's thoughts are not the result of molecular reactions obeying fixed physical laws. For if they were his thoughts would be fixed by the physical conditions and his choice would be made for him. Thus, if there is freedom there must be at least some thinking possible quite independently of any corresponding cerebral process.

On such a view it is no longer impossible that consciousness may persist after the brain is destroyed. An examination of the evidence seems to support the view that there is no very close correspondence between brain activity and consciousness. It seems that our thinking is partially divorced from our brain, a conclusion which suggests, though of course does not prove, the possibility of consciousness after death.

Robert A. Millikan

God is the unifying principle of the universe.

No more sublime conception of God has ever been presented to the mind of man than that which is furnished by Evolution, when it represents Him as revealing Himself through countless ages in the development of the earth as an abode for man, and in the age-long inbreathing of life into constituent matter, culminating in man with his spiritual nature and all his God-like powers.

Sir James Jeans

Today there is a wide measure of agreement, which on the physical side of science approaches almost to unanimity, that the stream of knowledge is heading toward a non-mechanical universe; the universe begins to look more like a great thought than like a great machine. Mind no longer appears as an accidental intruder into the realm of matter; we are beginning to suspect that we ought rather to hail it as the creator and governor of the realm of matter. . . . . The universe can be best pictured, although still very imperfectly and inadequately, as consisting of pure thought, the thought of what, for want of a wider word, we must describe as a mathmetical thinker. In watching the metamorphosis of the old picture of nature or the universe into the new picture which science today is giving us, we do not see the addition of mind to matter so much as the complete disappearance of matter. Nothing in matter survives. The background of the universe, the reality, is mind.

Supplement

Just as the writer is completing the manuscript of this article, an important volume appears from the press of the Macmillan Company, New York, entitled *The Great Design,* consisting of fourteen essays written by fourteen scientists nearly or quite as eminent as those quoted above. These scientists give their various answers to the following important questions :

Is the world a soulless mechanism?

Is it the work of blind chance?

Is materialism true, or is it not?

Is there everywhere order and intelligence in nature?

Is the universe (as Huxley asked) a mud pie, made by two blind children, Matter and Force?

Or, is it something great, rational and wonderful; something worthy of respect; something moving steadily on and on and up, to the completion and fulfillment of God's sublime plan of Evolution, the plan by which He has already created the world and man, and by which He is going majestically forward, now

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with man's help, to create an ever better world, and an ever higher and nobler humanity?

This book, *The Great Design*, is edited by Francis Mason. Its great significance lies in the fact that Sir William Thompson, who writes the Introduction, and all the fourteen scientists who contribute the chapters, *take unequivocally the theistic position.*

The names of the fourteen are: Robert Grant Allen, director of Lick Observatory, California. James Arnold Crowther, lecturer in physics, University of Cambridge. Arthur Stewart Eve, professor of physics, McGill University. Baily Willis, geologist, lecturer, Johns Hopkins University and University of Chicago. C. Lloyd Morgan, University of Bristol, England. Ernest W. MacBride, professor of geology, Imperial College of Science, London. C. Stuart Gager, director Brooklyn Botanical Gardens. Henry E. Armstrong, formerly professor of chemistry, City College, London. Maynard M. Metcalf, formerly professor of zoology, Oberlin College, research associate, Johns Hopkins University. Sir Oliver Lodge, Oxford and Cambridge, England. Sir Francis Younghusband, distinguished English traveller, scientist and writer. D. F. Fraser-Harris, formerly professor of physiology, Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia. Hans Driesch, professor of philosophy, Leipzig, Germany.

All persons interested in the question, Has science outgrown God? are advised to read this important book. They will find in it powerful support of the contention of Professor Einstein, Professor Compton, Professor Haldane, Professor Mather, Sir James Jeans, Sir Arthur Eddington, and Dr. Millikan, that the most approved and trustworthy science of today fully justifies religion in its age-long faith and belief that at the heart of the universe is not blind fate and meaninglessness, but Mind, Spirit, Intelligence, Purpose, Goodness, God.

TRAVELLERS IN THE NIGHT

By SITA DEBI

(9)

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world could be explained in mechanical and biological concepts as a well run machine, must be discarded by modern science, to make room for a spiritual conception of the universe and man's place in it. The old atheism is gone. Mind is the first and most direct thing in our experience; all else is merely remote inference. Religion belongs to the realm of spirit and mind, and cannot be shaken.

Kirtley F. Mather

For several decades the results of scientific investigation appeared to be leading directly toward a mechanic explanation of the nature of cosmic energy. All that has changed in the last few years. We now know that the latest results of the analysis of material objects, when we penetrate as far as we may into the secret of the nature of things, give no wholly different impression from that which our fathers had a generation ago. With deeper understanding and truer knowledge, we find that the cosmic energy which operates within the atom has the attributes and characteristics of mind rather than of mechanics. The announcements which have been made by Sir James Jeans are of great significance here. As he puts it, the world now appears to be more like a great thought than like a great machine. The facts which have been observed, the events which have been noted, are explainable not as the operations of a mechanical device, but as the expressions of mentality. The nearest approach we have thus far made to the ultimate in our analysis of matter and of energy indicates that the universal reality is mind. Matter becomes simply an expression of mind. This represents my belief about God. It leads naturally to a statement about personality. For me God is everything in the universe which tends to produce a fine personality in a human being.

Does God, as thus defined, deserve to be called good? If you believe that there are good human beings, then you must attribute to the cosmic energy (God) the necessary power to produce those results. The power which has produced righteous, kindly personalities, must be at least as valuable and significant as its product.

Arthur H. Compton

The old-fashioned evolutionary attitude was that the world as we know it developed as a result of chance, variations of all kinds occurring, some of which would be more suited to the conditions than others, and therefore surviving. More recent thought has found this viewpoint increasingly difficult to defend.

To the physicist it has become clear that the chances are infinitesimal that a universe filled with atoms having random properties would develop into a world with the infinite variety that we find about us.

This strongly suggests that the evolutionary process is not a chance one, but is directed toward some definite end. If we suggest that evolution is directed we imply that there is an intelligence directing it.

In some reflex actions and habitual acts we may behave as automata, but where deliberation occurs we feel that we choose our own course.

In fact, a certain freedom of choice may, it seems to me, be considered as an experimental fact with which we must reconcile our theories.

If freedom of choice is admitted, it follows by the same line of reasoning that one's thoughts are not the result of molecular reactions obeying fixed physical laws. For if they were his thoughts would be fixed by the physical conditions and his choice would be made for him. Thus, if there is freedom there must be at least some thinking possible quite independently of any corresponding cerebral process.

On such a view it is no longer impossible that consciousness may persist after the brain is destroyed. An examination of the evidence seems to support the view that there is no very close correspondence between brain activity and consciousness. It seems that our thinking is partially divorced from our brain, a conclusion which suggests, though of course does not prove, the possibility of consciousness after death.

Robert A. Millikan

God is the unifying principle of the universe.

No more sublime conception of God has ever been presented to the mind of man than that which is furnished by Evolution, when it represents Him as revealing Himself through countless ages in the development of the earth as an abode for man, and in the age-long inbreathing of life into constituent matter, culminating in man with his spiritual nature and all his God-like powers.

Sir James Jeans

Today there is a wide measure of agreement, which on the physical side of science approaches almost to unanimity, that the stream of knowledge is heading toward a non-mechanical universe; the universe begins to look more like a great thought than like a great machine. Mind no longer appears as an accidental intruder into the realm of matter; we are beginning to suspect that we ought rather to hail it as the creator and governor of the realm of matter. . . . . The universe can be best pictured, although still very imperfectly and inadequately, as consisting of pure thought, the thought of what, for want of a wider word, we must describe as a mathmetical thinker. In watching the metamorphosis of the old picture of nature or the universe into the new picture which science today is giving us, we do not see the addition of mind to matter so much as the complete disappearance of matter. Nothing in matter survives. The background of the universe, the reality, is mind.

Supplement

Just as the writer is completing the manuscript of this article, an important volume appears from the press of the Macmillan Company, New York, entitled *The Great Design,* consisting of fourteen essays written by fourteen scientists nearly or quite as eminent as those quoted above. These scientists give their various answers to the following important questions :

Is the world a soulless mechanism?

Is it the work of blind chance?

Is materialism true, or is it not?

Is there everywhere order and intelligence in nature?

Is the universe (as Huxley asked) a mud pie, made by two blind children, Matter and Force?

Or, is it something great, rational and wonderful; something worthy of respect; something moving steadily on and on and up, to the completion and fulfillment of God's sublime plan of Evolution, the plan by which He has already created the world and man, and by which He is going majestically forward, now

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with man's help, to create an ever better world, and an ever higher and nobler humanity?

This book, *The Great Design,* is edited by Francis Mason. Its great significance lies in the fact that Sir William Thompson, who writes the Introduction, and all the fourteen scientists who contribute the chapters, *take unequivocally the theistic position.*

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truly that I feel much better this way. It makes me absolutely ill to sit with nothing to do."

"Why cannot you go out for walks or to visit some friends?" asked Satyasaran.

"Oh, plenty of friends I have got in this God-forsaken place, have not I?" said Tapati with a pout. "I have been living here since I was four years of age, but I have never made any friends. Father was busy with his business and mother with her rheumatism. So who was there to take me about? As long as my sisters were here, I could at least talk to them. After that it had been virtual solitary confinement for me."

At this time a maid-servant appeared in the room and said, "The mistress wants you in her room, miss."

Tapati departed with her books. Satyasaran felt a bit awkward at this sudden call for Tapati. Was he getting unduly familiar with Tapati, and was her mother feeling displeased at it? But he had been prepared from the first to keep his distance. It was Tapati's mother who prevented him from doing so.

He finished his cup of tea and rose from the table. He took a bundle of papers, relating to the office, from his desk, and went in search of the master. It was his duty to report to him every evening.

Bireswar Babu was enjoying his *albola* then reclining in an easy-chair. This thing had been inherited by him from his father and he had remained true to it all his life, never forsaking it for Western methods of smoking. "This truly befits an aristrocrat," he would say. "Cigarettes only suit boys."

It was getting dark and Bireswar Babu's eyesight was bad. "Shall I read the accounts to you?" asked Satyasaran.

"No, my dear boy," said the old man taking the pipe from his mouth. "What's the use of listening to it every day? If there is anything specially important, then you may tell me. I am gradually developing a distaste for all these things. It is time for me to give up earthly entanglements."

Satyasaran stood silent with the papers. Should he go away now, or should he wait for Bireswar Babu's permission? The latter pulled at his pipe for a few minutes, and then said "Why don't you get a chair and sit down?"

So Satyasaran had to sit down. He did not know what to talk about to this half-blind old man in this dark room. But Bireswar Babu began the conversation himself. "Is Tapati very busy with her studies now?" he asked. "Other tutors have to encourage their pupils, you will have to discourage her. The doctors ordered her to stop studying completely. Instead of that she is working positively harder. This is not good for her."

Satyasaran began to feel very much ill at ease. Things were taking just the turn, he was fearing they would. If they had begun to notice that Tapati was working harder, they would soon notice that she was spending too much time in his company.

But he must reply to Bireswar Babu's words. So he said, "Yes, she is working rather hard. But she does not listen to anyone."

"She is very obstinate in certain things," said the old man. "As she was the youngest of the children, she had things very much her own way. So now she never listens to anyone. But if you explain things to her gently, perhaps she might listen to you."

"Very well, I shall speak to her," said Satyasaran and left the room.

He switched on the light in his room and flung himself down on the bed. Already three weeks had gone by, since his arrival here. The days seemed to be flying on wings. Ever since the break up of his home, these were the first days he had spent in peace and joy. He had to work hard at the office and there were many unpleasantnesses too, with his subordinates, but inspite of all that he was happy. Bireswar Babu's home was not well managed, there was considerable lack of comfort there, but Satyasaran found ineffable peace and joy here. It was enough that he could work for his living, that he was not having to depend on anyone for his daily bread. At least this was what he had been telling himself so long. But today for the first time he began to feel that something else than independence and freedom from care might be at the root of this feeling of joy and peace. But he upbraided himself for the merest supposition of any such thing. These feelings were not for him, not for him either the path strewn with roses. He would have to travel a long time yet with only one goal before him—an ascetic renouncing the joys of the world. It would be hideous treachery for him to think of anything else, before paying off to the full the debt he had incurred in that land beyond the seas.

Ever since his arrival at Allahabad he had refrained from writing to Rangoon. He had written once to Gopal Chowdhuri from Calcutta. He had told Gopal Babu that he was trying to get a job in Calcutta. Satyasaran promised to send him some money as soon as he could, so that Gopal Babu might have enquiries made for

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Kanakamma. Gopal Babu had written to him in reply, assuring him of his best help.

After that, Satyasaran had left for Allahabad, and new surroundings and new thoughts had driven away the older cares from his mind. Today he upbraided himself again and again as a thoroughly worthless man. A man who could drive away the thoughts of so great a tragedy from his mind and indulge in rosy dreams, was worthy of no respect. He took a vow to send some money at once to Rangoon. He would ask for an advance on his salary. Bireswar Babu had empowered him to draw money at will, so he could have sent money to Gopal Babu even earlier. He took another vow, but with some diffidence. He was not sure whether he would be able to keep it. He was bound to teach Tapati for two hours in the morning. He would not spend any more time in her company, besides those two hours. If Tapati felt sorry about it, it would be extremely unlucky for Satyasaran. But he must be firm against temptation. Otherwise he would fail in his mission.

That evening Tapati did not come again to him. Satyasaran did not know whether she stayed away of her free will or at her mother's command. He lay on his bed thinking and thinking and at last dropped asleep. No one called him for dinner, as the servants ran the house very much their own way.

Next morning at the tea table Satyasaran found Tapati sitting with an ominously grave face. As her father was present, Satyasaran could not ask her the reason for so much gravity.

Bireswar Babu took a long time over his tea. He would put on his spectacles and try to read his letters and the papers. Then his servant would prepare his *albola* for him and help him to his room. The tea table would then be cleared away and Tapati would sit down there with her books and commence her study.

As soon as her father had left, she turned to Satyasaran and asked, "Are you free now, or have you got anything to do?"

"I never have anything to do before tea, you know that very well," said Satyasaran.

Tapati turned her face away from Satyasaran and said, "I don't know anything. I heard that I pestered you too much, and do not let you do your work properly."

Satyasaran attempted to laugh it off. "I never said anything like it to anybody," he said.

But still Tapati would not turn towards him. Her voice too sounded a bit unnatural. "You may not have said anything," she said, "Still I ought to be careful, since people have got these ideas."

Satyasaran did not dare to let this conversation proceed further. "Oh, let us drop this topic," he cried and got busy with her books. On other days, there would be welcome intervals of light talk and laughter, but today Satyasaran gave himself no rest. Tapati, too, fell in with his mood.

That very day, he drew some money and sent it to Rangoon. He wrote to Gopal Babu to get news of Kanakamma somehow, even by bribery, if necessary, and to send the news over to him. He must also get the address of the fat Madrasi who bought her, as that might be found necessary afterwards. Satyasaran decided to save half his salary each month, so as to be able soon to rescue Kanakamma. Beyond that he could not think now.

That day he returned rather late, intentionally. He might have saved himself the trouble, as he never saw anything of Tapati. He did not know whether to be happy or sad about this. He sat alone in his room, which gradually grew dark. He was too much preoccupied to think of turning on the light.

Suddenly he saw the figure of Tapati before the door. "Have you gone on hunger strike?" she asked with a good deal of heat.

Satyasaran rose up in alarm at the sign of anger in her voice. "Not at all," he replied, "Why should I go on hunger strike? I had too much of compulsory hunger only very recently, to go in again for it voluntarily."

He followed Tapati to the dining room. There was no one else in the room. Her father had probably gone to the garden. Her mother never came here for her meals, which were served in her bed-room for her.

Tapati arranged some food on a plate and pushed it towards Satyasaran. She then began to pour out the tea. "What made you go without your dinner last night?" she asked.

"I did not want to go without it," said Satyasaran. "But I fell asleep. If anyone had called me, I would have had the dinner all right."

"Oh, you expect too much of this house," said Tapati with a pout. "Call you indeed! They would not call anyone, if he went without food for a whole year. And they want me to take rest! Can anyone rest, if such things go on around her?"

Satyasaran did not know what reply to make. He finished his tea in silence.

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Satyasaran gradually assumed full charge of Bireswar Babu's business. He discovered now for the first time that he had inherited, if not the whole, at least a part of his late father's business acumen. He began to like his work bit by bit, and felt a strong urge to make the whole concern better and more paying. But the men who worked under him became too much upset at this. There were rumours, comments and unkind criticism. Satyasaran was described as an interloper, who was creating unnecessary trouble for everybody. These comments became so loud at last, that they reached even Satyasaran's ears.

He felt very disheartened at this. Still he had come to know the world and its ways, rather early. He knew that people did not always like those persons, who tried to do good to them. But he wanted to know whether his master, too, was thinking him officious. Though he had given Satyasaran absolute control over the business, he might not like drastic changes. Satyasaran must know whether he had meant all that he had said.

In the evening, on his return, he asked to see Bireswar Babu. The master was in the garden, he was told. Satyasaran proceeded to the garden, straight. Bireswar Babu was there, reclining on an arm-chair and Tapati sat on a low seat, by his side, with her Sitar. She was playing to her father. She was wearing a deep blue sari, whose borders of gold flashed like twin flames, in the falling light. Her hair was unbound and streamed down to the ground. Her eyes were like those of a dreamer, she seemed to be seeing nothing, she was wholly immersed in the sea of music, she herself had created. Satyasaran forgot the business, he had come on and stared entranced at Tapati. It was not the first time that he was seeing her, but she appeared to be completely new to him. Sometimes she seemed a quite young girl, little more than a child, at other times it seemed that she already possessed the calmness and the depth of feeling of a full grown and mature woman. Satyasaran did not know what to make of her.

Tapati finished the piece she was playing and put down the Sitar. She now became aware of Satyasaran. Her father had begun to doze. She now gave him slight push and said, "Father, Satyasaran Babu is here."

Her mother had told her to address Satyasaran as Dada (elder brother), but she had not done so.

Bireswar Babu sat up with a start, "Where is he?" he asked.

Satyasaran came and stood by his side. A servant had been sitting at a little distance. He ran forward with a cane chair for him. "Sit down, my dear boy," said Bireswar Babu. "Have you had tea?"

"No I have not had it yet," said Satyasaran. "Will you be able to spare me a few minutes at night? I have something to say to you."

Bireswar Babu got flushed at once, "Why at night?" he cried. "Let it wait till the morning, if it is anything bad. If you say it now, it will keep me awake the whole of the night."

"No, no, it is nothing so bad as that," said Satyasaran, getting up from his chair. "But I shall speak about it in the morning."

As soon as Satyasaran had gone, Tapati began to fidget. "Shall I play any more, father?" she asked.

Bireswar Babu, too, was not feeling very pleased at being so rudely roused from his doze. "No more, my little mother," he said, "Let us go in. We might catch cold."

"How can you, father?" cried Tapati with a laugh. "There is no cold in the land now."

Bireswar Babu got up from the chair with the help of his servant. "You can never be sure of that," he said. "Even in summer we are always having cough, cold and influenza.

Tapati picked up her Sitar and went back to her room. She put it down in a corner of her room, and stood by rather undecided. She sat down with a book, then put it back again. She came out of her room and proceeded slowly to the dining room. Satyasaran sat there, sipping his tea, "Was the hot water all right, or are you having your tea cold?" she asked.

"It was not quite all right," said Satyasaran, "but nearly so. You should not expect more from these people, at so short a notice."

Tapati drew up a chair and sat down. "These servants will never be good for anything" she said. "There must be someone to guide them."

"Why cannot you do the guiding," asked Satyasaran. "Did not you run the household before your health broke down?"

"I don't know anything myself," said Tapati, with a pout. "How can I teach or guide others? I never ran the household. It ran of itself, as it pleased. Before my third sister got married, everything was well managed. She was a very good housewife. She was the best of the lot."

Satyasaran did not agree with her, of course, but he could not say so to Tapati. He had seen her sisters in Nikhil's house in Calcutta some years ago. They were just like other girls from

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rich families. He had not marked any difference. But as soon as he had seen Tapati, he had known that she belonged to a different class. One met them very seldom in this world, but Shakespeare, Kalidasa, and other great poets have painted them frequently in their immortal works.

"There must be some difference between one person and another," he said to Tapati. "You had to spend much of your time on your studies, your sisters never had to do it."

"That is true," said Tapati. "My eldest sister was given away in marriage when she was reading in the fourth class. My mother insisted on the marriage. She said she might die any day, and was she going to die without seeing even one of them married? My second and third sisters appeared for the matriculation before their marriage. But the second one failed to pass."

Satyasaran did not reply but poured out another cup of cold tea. "How can you swallow such stuff?" cried Tapati in protest. "Throw it away. I am sending for hot water again." She got up and called out for the servant.

Satyasaran pushed back the cup and said: "I don't like throwing away so much milk, tea and sugar. There are many people in this world, at this minute, whom this cup of cold tea might save."

"If you think in that strain," said Tapati with a smile, "then the throwing away of a handful of rice even becomes a sin."

"It is a sin," said Satyasaran, "At least in our country."

The servant came in with the hot water at this moment. Tapati poured it into the tea pot and asked, "You suffered very much in Rangoon, did not you?"

Satyasaran's face turned dark with suppressed emotion. "Who told you that?" he asked.

"I think my younger sister-in-law said something like it," replied Tapati.

Satyasaran remained silent for a while, then he said: "It does one good to suffer now and then. It makes people more hardy and self-reliant."

"How funny you are!" said Tapati, her eyes wide with amazement. "Do you like to suffer? I don't like it, and I cannot bear it at all."

"You are too young to have known any suffering as yet," said Satyasaran with a laugh.

"Oh, have not I?" said Tapati, shaking her head wisely. "I cannot express in words how bad I felt, when my sisters left one by one. My heart felt like being torn in two."

Satyasaran looked at her with eyes full of pity. "But that is past and done with," he said. "You won't have to suffer any more."

"But people do not suffer only for parting from their sisters," said Tapati, with a laugh. "I may have to suffer from many other reasons."

"That is possible, of course," said Satyasaran. "That is the worst of being a human being."

"If God had not given love in human hearts," said Tapati, stirring the tea with a spoon, "then they would not have suffered half as much."

Satyasaran looked at Tapati greatly amazed. Were these the words of an unsophisticated young girl? Or was it something deeper? What did she mean by it? Should he say something in reply or should he change the topic? Tapati's expression had not changed at all. It was impossible to judge from it what lay in her heart.

After a while he said, "Love does not bring suffering alone. It also brings happiness. God created it for the happiness of man, I think."

Tapati nodded in assent, without speaking. Satyasaran too finished his tea in silence and prepared to get up. "Have you got anything to do now?" asked Tapati.

"No, nothing," replied Satyasaran.

"Then can we not study for a while now?" asked Tapati. "My English is being sadly neglected."

"But you know as much English as I do," said Satyasaran.

"Oh, don't I?" said Tapati. "I was only in the third year class, while you are an M.A. of the University.

"These years mean very little," said Satyasaran. "Many eminent people in our land had never been inside a college."

"But you are talking rot," said Tapati. "Those people are exceptions, I was speaking of ordinary people. Now tell me plainly that you don't want to teach me."

"You know very well that I like it immensely," said Satyasaran.

Tapati went out without saying anything more and returned with her books. The servant cleared away the table.

Silas Marner by George Eliot was one of the books selected that year for the English course. Tapati opened that book and began to read. After a while she said, "It would have been fine, if I could have written like this."

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"If everyone wrote, there would have been no readers," said Satyasaran.

"There would soon be an end to writing, if everybody refrained on that account," said Tapati.

"That is true," said Satyasaran. "It is better to write, if one feels like writing. Why don't you write, if you want to?"

"I want to write a really good novel," said Tapati. "But I know very little about men and society. I have hardly seen any person who does not belong to the family. You are about the only person unrelated to us whom I know."

"Very well then, write a novel about me," said Satyasaran. "It would be quite easy, as the history of my life is rather interesting."

"I know very little about it, and I don't know you very well either," said Tapati. "Moreover, your life is only half spent. How am I to end my story?"

"End it the way you like best," said Satyasaran.

Was it the electric light which spread such a glow over Tapati's features? "I am not much good at making up stories," she said, after a while.

"Then how can you become a writer?" asked Satyasaran. "You must be able to imagine every sort of good and evil that can befall a human being."

"I can imagine things about imaginary people," said Tapati, "but I feel afraid to imagine evil befalling those I know."

"Then let my life history rest now," said Satyasaran. "Write it after I am dead, then you won't have to imagine things. There are some things which you don't know about the first part of my life. I shall write out an account of that, and leave it with you."

Tapati had been sharpening a pencil while Satyasaran was talking. Suddenly the penknife dropped on the table with a clatter. Satyasaran looked up and was amazed to find tears in Tapati's eyes. Her hand was shaking too.

"What's the matter Tapati?" he asked in consternation.

"Why did you say such things to me?" she cried in a trembling voice.

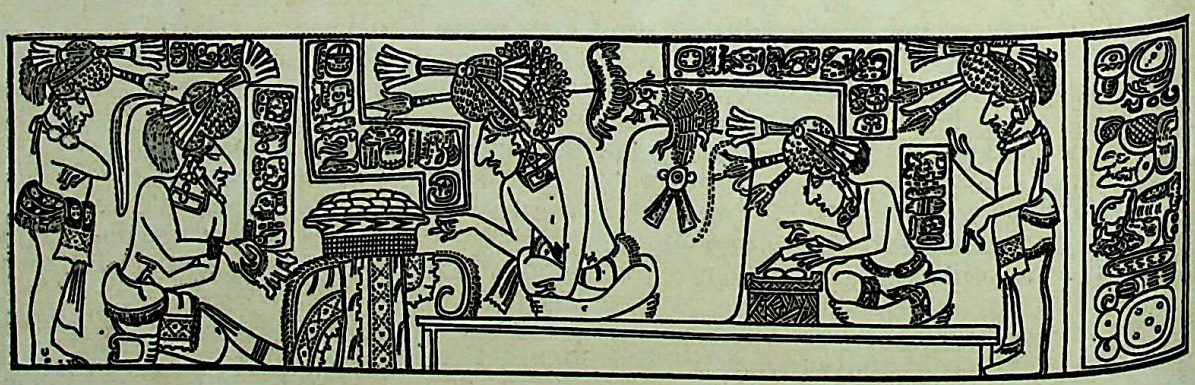
Satyasaran felt rather embarrassed at first; then his heart began to tremble. A strange new feeling pervaded his whole being. "One says many things in the course of conversation," he said, trying to console Tapati, "You should not feel so upset about them."

Tapati did not reply. She got up suddenly with her books and left the room, saying, "I am not feeling like studying any more today."

Satyasaran went back to his room and flung himself on his bed. What was this unseen tie that was gradually binding him body and soul? How can he set himself free from it? But did he really desire to be free? Would he feel happy, if Tapati disappeared for ever from his life? His heart grew heavy at the very thought. His happiness did not lie that way.

Next morning he told Bireswar Babu about the state of affairs at the shop. He toned it down as much as he could, but even that was enough to make the old man furious. "Kick out those ungrateful wretches," he cried, "every one of them. They eat my salt and then try to ruin me. They are dissatisfied because they cannot steal any more. I shall deal with them as they deserve, don't you worry."

(To be continued)



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SALUTATORY

By NICHOLAS deROERICH

One cannot read without joy the beautiful article by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji about the great artist Nandalal Bose. This article describes the noble character of the artist and at the same time is filled with those definitions of art, which at present are so necessary for wide circles. Not only in Europe, but also in the East, by far not all know the highly significant Vedic statement : "'Verily the arts are for the culture of the soul.' The arts exalt the emotions, they improve the mind; the senses and the final sensibilities find their culmination in the Art." Let somebody find such profound expressions in some other ordainments. It is clear that now, when there has been found a happy synthesis between the most ancient and the most modern, precisely in India there takes place a renaissance of art.

In connection with this I wish to quote the deeply just and inspiring passage from the article by Prof. Chatterji :

"I should say that Nandalal Bose's greatest achievement in Art has been both in rediscovering the Spirit of Ancient and Medieval Indian Art and in expressing what Modern India wishes to say through Art, in a manner that is distinctly national for India, and yet it is, like all truly national things, international and universal at the same time—has in fact its appeal for all those, who irrespectively of race and period can appreciate great things in Art".

Further, just as correctly, Professor Chatterji states :

"The name Nandalal Bose is of course well-known to all who have watched the history

A Sketch By Nandalal Bose
[Collection : S. M. Ghose]

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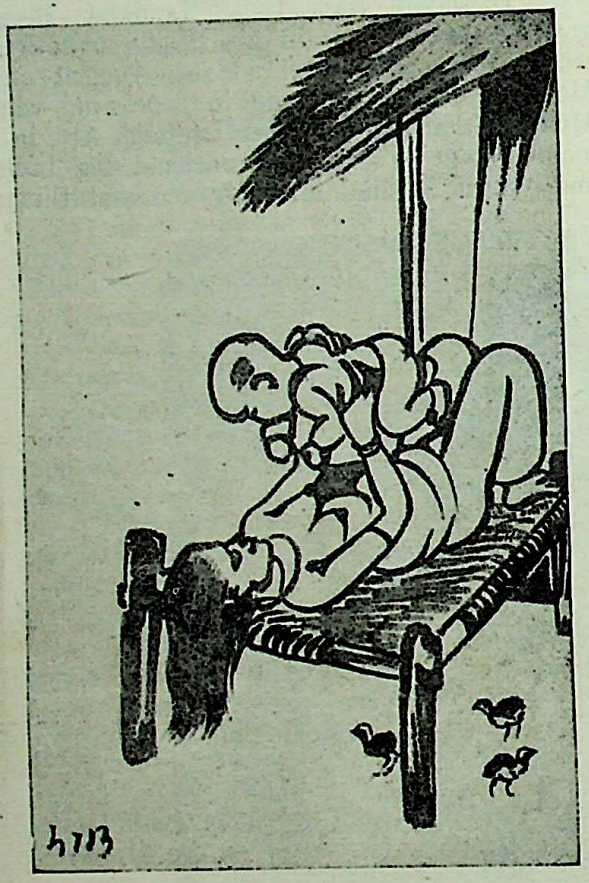
of Art in India during the last quarter of a century and thousands of people love and admire his pictures."

Indeed, everyone who is interested in the art of India continuously underlines the most refined mastership of Nandalal Bose. The artist was lucky to find such a teacher as Abanindranath Tagore and such an inspirer as the great poet Rabindranath Tagore. Nandalal



A Sketch By Nandalal Bose
[Collection : R. N. Chakravarti]

Bose proves to be a successor of the truly national school of India, and as a true son of his Motherland he develops these principles. Prof. Chatterji rightly says that such great artists should be widely shown, their creations should be published and be made accessible to the many millions of compatriots. Many contemporary manifestations appear as self-understood and only later people begin to value these unrepeatable characteristic conceptions.

It is a great pleasure to note that at one end of India there flourishes the Indian Society of Oriental Art, whereas in another centre there grows the All-India Fine Art Society under the enlightened presidentship of Mr. N. C. Mehta. At the same time in the South there are being opened new State Art Galleries, which remind that everywhere similar galleries should be opened and everywhere there could be founded new art groups, which by their very existence would already create mutual success. These are all signs of the renaissance.

In all creative constructiveness let us think of the youth. Sensitive young hearts require not so much dry biographies but masterful strokes of thought, in which the precious stone of creativeness is multifacedly revealed. This beautiful radiance of creativeness should be felt in the heart. Therefore the masterly essay of Prof. Chatterji in our opinion represents that clarion call which can arouse a true appreciation of the nation's treasures. People should know what their Motherland gave in ancient times and with what powers it can enrich present progress. In various magazines I had occasion to read numerous articles about the art of India. Every time I rejoiced that different voices in their own language and understanding expressed praise to real values of the nation. The readers should respond to such interesting features in magazines.

As an old friend of the Art of India, I wish to send this Salutatory both to the great artist Nandalal Bose and to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji. When we witness such a renaissance of art, we should rejoice jointly and send our best wishes to those cultural centres where a beautiful creative ideal is being accomplished.

Urusvati, Himalayas.

June 9, 1936.

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BUDAPEST

By E. SCHENKL

Wonderful is the view when the ship reaches Budapest at night, coming down from Vienna. A flood of light greets the visitor.

Budapest was not one town originally. It consists of two towns which were only lately united under one Municipality. The city on the right bank was Buda and the one on the left bank Pest. When these two were united, their names also were united into one—Budapest. Even today people talk about the two parts

Budapest

separately. Buda is hilly. The two hills specially to be mentioned, are the Gellert-hill and the Castle-hill. Both are crowned with wonderful buildings. The Gellert-hill bears the Citadel. Before 1848 there was an observatory in place of the latter. But after the victory over Hungarian freedom, it was destroyed by the Austrians and in its place the Citadel was built. This Citadel served them as a military centre from where they could control the town. But in 1867 it was bought by the Municipality of Budapest and since that time it has lost all significance as a military centre. The Gellert-hill bears also a wonderful memorial of St. Gellert. This man was the son of a wealthy Venetian family. But already in his young days he gave up the world and lived a pure and religious life. He came to Hungary and became one of the greatest bishops under King Stephen, Hungary's holy king. After the king's death, the heathens tied St. Gellert to a cart and threw him down the hill into the Danube, where he was drowned. Today his monument looks over the town where he once served his God and where, though only later, the religion for which he fought, became victorious. The second hill, the Castle hill, is crowned by the Royal castle. Nicholas Horthy, the present Regent of Hungary, lives there now. On this hill are all the Ministries. A very quiet and fashionable part of the town. Further on is the Coronation Church, where the unhappy last Emperor, Charles IV of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was crowned. The Fisherman's Bastion is simply a wonderful building, but does not contain any flats or bureaus. From there one can have a marvellous view over Pest. Also the monument of St. Stephen has found its place there.

Near the Royal Castle an elevator brings

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Millenium Column with the Memorial of The Unknown Soldier

us down to the Suspension Bridge which was built by Adam Clark. We go now over the bridge to Pest and are at once absorbed by a huge crowd on reaching the other side, who are promenading there in front of all the big hotels of Budapest. Cafe-terraces are in the open and sweet gipsy music sounds from everywhere. If we now look at the Buda side, the illuminated row of the hills stretches before us. On walking a little further on this side, one meets the Parliament. Style and situation remind one of the Houses of Parliament in London. Behind the Parliament is the Freedom-Square. Four monuments on each corner commemorate the Dismemberment of Hungary after the Peace Treaty of Trianon in 1920. In the middle of the square is a mast and a flag flying on half-mast, as a sign of mourning because of the Dismemberment. On walking further away from the Danube one meets the wonderful Andrassy-street. This is one of Budapest's finest avenue. The Opera House is situated there, in style an imitation of the Vienna opera. Below the surface of this street is the Underground railway of Budapest and so the traffic is not disturbed by trams on the street itself. Walking along the Andrassy-street one reaches the City-Park. At its entrance there is the wonderful Millenium Column with the Memorial of the Unknown Soldier. The City-Park itself is the place where there is held the annual fair and one is touched by the wonderful exhibition that shows clearly that Hungary, though today a small country only, has been able to reconstruct her industry. In the Park there is a little lake and a very beautiful castle containing the Museum for Agriculture.

Budapest has many beautiful avenues and buildings. The city is also rich in monuments. The traffic in the streets is tremendous and one is reminded of Paris and London at several crossing points.

But the town is also famous as a bath place. Budapest has more than eighty hot healing springs, nine thermal-baths and about four hundred bitter-water springs. One of the most famous baths is the Gellert-bath on the foot of the Gellert-hill. The bath is connected with a fashionable hotel. It has two big swimming pools, one in the open and one in a hall. The building is a copy of the ancient Roman baths. A big terrace connects the building with the open-air swimming pool. On that terrace is a coffee-house and bands of music are amusing the visitors. The bath in its present form was built at the beginning of this century but already in the ancient Roman times, people used to bathe here. During Turkish rule many baths were built in Budapest. Two of them are still used today. One is the "Rudas-bath", built in 1560 by Pasha Sokoli Mustapha. The second is the "King's-bath", built under Kara Mustapha, who also besieged Vienna.

But not only for bathing you can find

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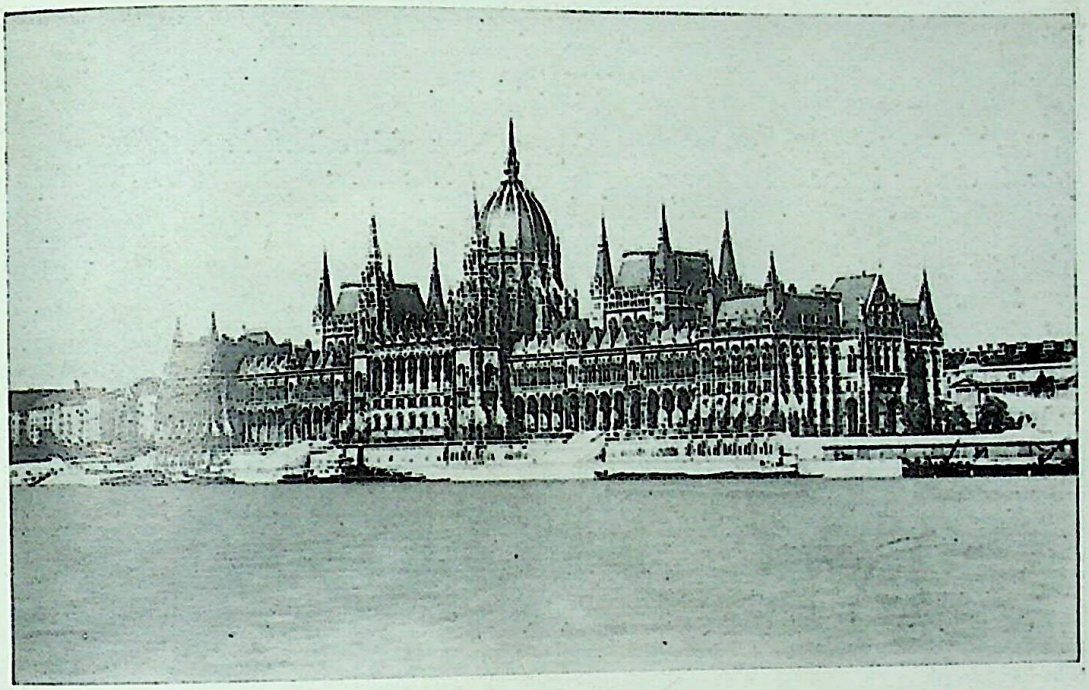

The House of Parliament—Budapest

The Royal Castle—Budapest

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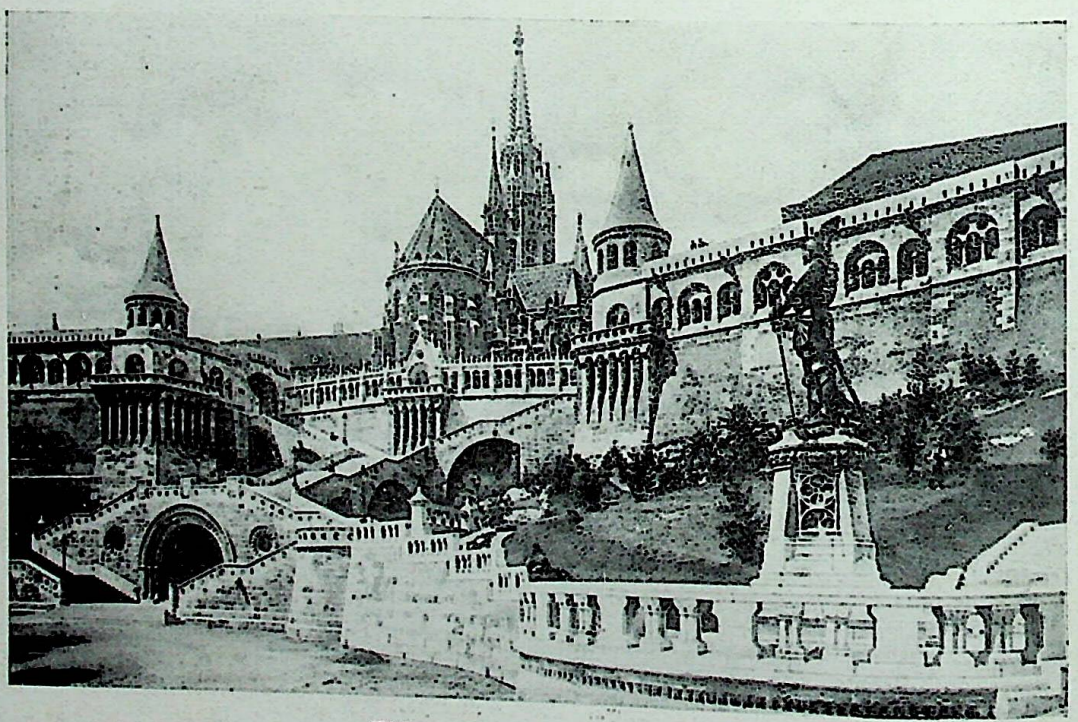
Royal Hungarian Opera House—Budapest



Fisherman's Bastion—Budapest

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establishments. There are also hot-water springs for drinking. In Buda, near the Danube, there is a little park and people come there in the morning to drink their glass of water, like in Carlsbad (Czechoslovakia). The water has the same property as that in Carlsbad.

Budapest has also the hottest spring in the whole of Europe. It is in the Szechenyi-bath in the City-Park. It has a temperature of 73 degrees Celsius. (The famous "Sprudel" in Carlsbad has a temparature of only 72 degrees).

People are coming from all parts of the world to Budapest to seek and find healing for their troubles. Gall-bladder, liver, and stomach complaints as well as rheumatism has been healed by the radio-active springs of Budapest.

In the middle of the Danube is St. Margarethe's Island. Formerly this island was only inhabited by nuns. But in modern times the nunnery has disappeared and sporting places have been made where, centuries ago, pious nuns lived a holy and quiet life away from the sinful world. One can find there every branch of sport, tennis, polo, swimming etc. Also splendid cafes have been built up there.

Budapest ranks today among the first cities of Europe. Though her population is small, she can rival every modern town.

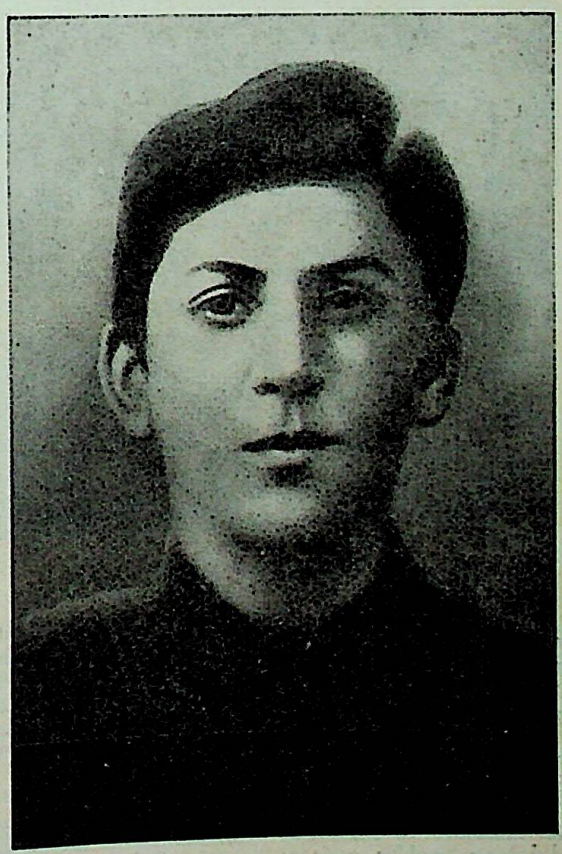
HENRI BARBUSSE ON STALIN

(A Review)

"A New World seen through a man"—such was the characterization of his book on Stalin by the great French writer Barbusse,* whose sudden death in Moscow last year was lamented by all who admired him for his ardent championship of social justice and world peace. He was one of the privileged few respected and loved by Stalin, who ordered the greatest specialists of Russia to try to save the life of Barbusse sapped by pneumonia. This posthumous tribute to Stalin has more than passing interest. It is more than a flattering dramatization *a la* Ludwig or an antithetical biography in the vein of Strachey. Henri Barbusse was too great an artist to condescend to *artistry* while drawing the quick portrait of a man whom he adored as a veritable saviour of mankind. Was there already the premonition of approaching death? How he was finishing with frantic swiftness and certitude, the outline drawing of Stalin, the man "inflexible and yet flexible as steel"!

Thanks to the worldwide propaganda of the capitalist press, this arch-enemy of capitalism looms ominously on the mental horizon of the general public, as a monster! Barbusse has thoroughly demolished that superstition, artificially created, and left us this portrait of a colossus who is intensely human. Stalin welcomes doubt, doubts himself now and then and yet works furiously with a gigantic faith that defies disillusionment and defeat,—faith in the future of our 200,000,000 souls who are striving to build a Socialist Republic and who are condemned as revolutionaries by the capitalists. It is a great experiment which has been holding the world-stage for the last 20 years, since 1917, and which would leave an unprecidented record in social and economic reconstruction with the completion of the Second Five Year Plan (1932-1937). It is childish to protest against an experiment on such an universal scale; it is cowardly to traduce and distort its positive achievements. The anti-capitalist Soviet experiment can only be rationally and adequately met by a more sincere and effective undoing of social evils and economic injustices of the capitalistic regime.

The First Five Year Plan (1928-32) synchronized with the worst depression in the post-war world where the victor and the vanquished nations were equally demoralized, developing an army of the unemployed,



Stalin as a boy

* *Published by Ernest Flammarion, Paris, Price 12 frs.*

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running to millions as the result of the total dislocation of the structures of production and distribution. Soviet Russia on the other hand, after ten years of civil war, (1917-'27), of drought and famine and what is worse, of worldwide campaign of calumny, could stand erect under the masterly guidance of Lenin and the expert direction of Stalin. When Lenin suddenly died in 1924, Stalin with telling brevity expressed the soul of the nation :

"In leaving us Lenin has left to us the duty to hold our head high and to guard our noble title purely. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin! to accomplish thy will with honour."

Entered Stalin, great disciple of a great master, and he felt the storm of opposition brewing with Leon Trotsky the doctrinaire leader dreaming of World revolution, while the thousand pressing problems at home were crying for immediate attention. Abstract brillance and Trotsky were eliminated and Stalin, the realist, firmly brought the whole Socialist Republic into a line of concrete realization through the First Five Year Plan (1928-32). It was advertized by the capitalistic press as

Stalin in his room at the Kremlin, Moscow.

a "failure" and yet without obliging their hostile prophets, the Russian people under Stalin triumphantly carried it through, opened the Second Five Year Plan punctually in 1933 and, as it was reported in this latest book by Barbusse, the results of the Second Plan already go beyond expectation even before the close of the scheduled year 1937. A few salient figures may be quoted below :

Between 1928-32 the number of labourers increased from 9,500,000 to 13,800,000 with the result that strikes and labour troubles came to be things of the past. The national revenue was augmented by 85 per cent or more than 45 milliard roubles. The salary fund of labourers went from 8 to 30 milliards. The number of those who could read and write was 70 per cent in 1930 and 90 per cent in 1933. Scientific institutes and learned societies were lavishly patronized. The population of U. S. S. R. increased by *three* million and the same number was added to the school-going population. One out of three persons in the Union or about 60 million of students was subsidized by the State. In the domain of Art, especially in Theatre and Cinema, because of their great educative value, so much progress has been shown as to beat all record. The vast perspective, visual and idealistic, of human progress and apothesis of human duty in the face of all degradation and suffering of the majority of workers ignored so far by the capitalistic regime, such was the gigantic dramatization of the U. S. S. R. Not a single country of the post-war period, says Barbusse, has shown such a record of colossal rationalization. He quotes Stalin as saying : "Each period of national development has its epic. Today in Russia it is the Epic of Construction. We have seen the practice of impetuous rhythms gradually expanding." Very characteristically Stalin emphasizes the *social* role of writers, whom he calls "the Engineers of Souls"! Such an apparently mechanistic conception of writing profession must provoke (as we know it did from the interview of H. G. Wells and from the bitter attack of Max Eastman: *Artist in Uniform*) violent criticism. But Henri Barbusse was also a great writer of contemporary Europe and he found nothing in Russia to get scandalized.

But the greatest stumbling-block as well as the most formidable challenge to the pioneers was the Russian peasantry. This was anticipated by Lenin who noted clearly that "the small peasant proprietors are more oriented to capitalism than to socialism." How to educate the conservative agricultural labourers after the progressive industrial labourers? That fundamental question, shelved so far in most countries, was boldly tackled by Stalin, whom Barbusse quotes in the following terms : "The alliance between the peasant and the labourer is indispensable. To re-educate the peasantry, destroy its individualistic psychology, and transform it into Collective spirit, preparing thereby the way for a Socialist Community,—these could only be achieved by collective work, nationwide production on the basis of a new "technique". It is not by a mystic sentiment but by interest, *self interest* alone, that the peasants would be drawn toward socialism. Hence the unique experiment of a new rural economy that of collectivization in which the crude exploitation of private individuals (the *Kulaks*) would be transformed into a grand co-operative Union of agricultural production. The State helped the peasants by establishing 2,860 stations of machine tractors costing 2 milliard roubles, by advancing 1600 million roubles of agricultural credit; by distributing seeds and food grains, and by spending over 370 million roubles on remission of imposts and poor insurances. At the end of 1934 the economic prosperity of U. S. S. R. permitted the Government to liquidate and wipe out the huge agricultural indebtedness amounting to 435 million roubles! Even such a brilliant record was relegated to the back file by Stalin when he submitted his monumental Report to the XVIIth Congress of January 1934; saying: "What has been done is nothing compared with what could be done!"

The Second Five Year Plan already promises to be more encouraging. Heavy industry would be *twice* bigger : 43 milliard 400 million roubles; and the industry will be 69.5 milliard, in rural economy 15.2 roubles. The agricultural production would increase by

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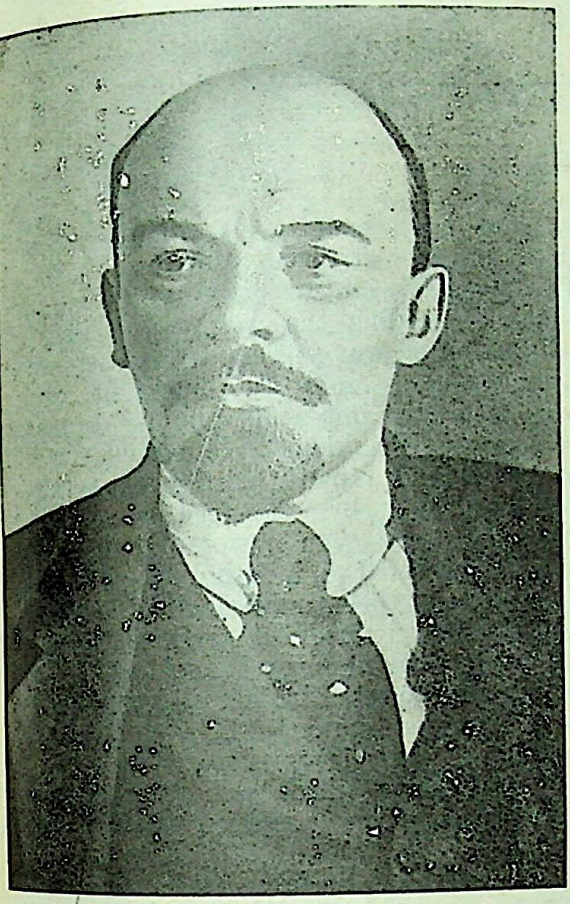
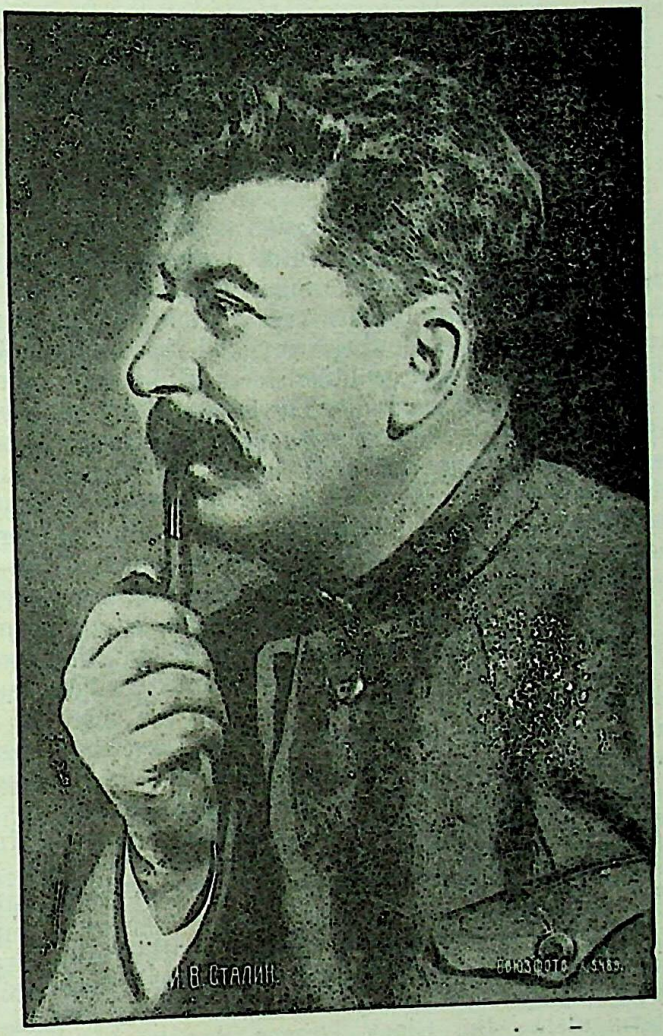


Lenin



Stalin

05 per cent (*i.e.*, 26 milliard roubles). Investments in ndustry will be 69.5 milliard in rural economy 15.2 nilliard and in transports 26.3 milliard roubles. A eritable revolution in transport will be effected by the completion of the canals between Volga-Don, Moscow-Volga and White Sea-Baltic. Sibaria, the continent of convicts, will be transformed into a grand *terrain of* productive work. The social insurance funds would be doubled and the actual salary of labourers in 1937 would be 2½ times more than that of 1932. And just as unemployment and the Strike problem was completely removed through the First Plan so Illiteracy will be liquidated in the Second (The number of the school-going students will rise from 147 to 197 per 1000 of the population). While every citizen of the Soviet Republics would be able to read and write. The estimated national revenue will increase from 45 (1932) to 55 milliard roubles (1937). Thus within 20 years of the first Revolution of 1917, U. S. S. R. will be one of the biggest and most progressive countries with a new political economy and a new philosophy of life and its values. Lenin was born in 1870 and passed away at the age of 54 in 1924. Stalin who calls himself a loyal disciple of Lenin, is past 57, having been born in the village of Gori in Asiatic Russia in 1879, when Tolstoy and Dostoievksy were dreaming of a New Russia awaiting a Resurrection. Within seven years from the death of Tolstoy (1910), Tzarism collapsed before the great upheaval of the people led by Lenin and Stalin. What they have already achieved is marvellous and the "Man of Steel" the super-realist Stalin cannot help exclaiming in mystic vein: "The time has come once more when great men would be the principal creators of history." It is probably this cosmic aspect of the Russian experiment that attracted master minds like Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse no less than the level-headed Sydney and Beatrice Webb couple, who in their latest publications hail the Socialistic programme of U. S. S. R. as a "unique" thing. Its repurcussions on the "foreign politics" of the capitalistic powers may be dangerous and hence they call Russia a world menace. But it has been welcomed into the League of Nations as a world power and as such U. S. S. R. may yet be the determining factor to ensure, as she professes to do justice to the millions of the exploited, equity in the distribution of wealth and peace in the international relations of mankind.

"World Citizen"

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THE BLACK DRAGON SOCIETY OF JAPAN

By SIVAPRASAD MITRA, M.A., B.L.

Not many people outside Japan have heard of the Black Dragon Society. But those, to whom the ways of Nippon are familiar, know it to be the most powerful political association in that country. Along with the Army and the Navy, it is the most potent political force in Japan.

The Black Dragon Society is essentially an association of patriotic super-gangsters. Its aim is to remove any one, who in its opinion, is standing in the path of the good of the country, as they understand it, through intimidation, if necessary through assassination. Such a method is entirely contrary to the spirit and idealism of India, which we prize. Sometime ago, a staff writer of the American newspaper in Tokyo, the *Japan Advertiser*, interviewed a number of the chiefs of this Society. One of the most important among them, Mr. Uchida, described to him the purposes of the Society thus :

> "Our Society is concerned mainly with the foreign relations of Japan. But it is inevitable that domestic affairs also should come into our consideration. In both fields, we adhere to the tradition of the great Japanese race."

It is this devotion to what it considers to be the tradition of the Japanese race, as distinct from any personal or sectional interest, which distinguishes the Black Dragon Society from similar brotherhoods in other countries, like the Camorra in Italy, the Mafia in Sicily or the Ku Klux Klan in U. S. A. And it is again this unflinching devotion to what they consider to be the good of their country and the knowledge that it is so devoted, that makes the Black Dragon Society too powerful and so dangerous. It is not merely the apathetic Japanese attitude towards assassination, growing out of their fatalistic, light regard for life, which explains the real respect, which the Japanese people as a whole bear for the Black Dragon Society and its chief, Toyama, but also the knowledge that the Society will be actuated by no selfish or personal interests. All Japanese might not agree with Toyama, as to what is the great tradition of the Japanese race, but all know that Toyama remains true to that tradition. It is the general recognition of this unflinchingly selfless character of the man, which has enabled him to make assassination a respectable political weapon in Japan ", as a well-known Japanese writer put it a few years ago, though it is rightly not so considered in other civilized countries.

The Black Dragon Society arose during the years just preceeding the war with China in 1895—Japan's first war as a modern power—and sprang immediately into the lime-light, when Toyama made two implacable public demands upon Japan's officialdom. He asked for a summary ending of Japan's inferior status internationally, created by the treaties granting foreign governments veto power over increases in her Customs tariff and authority within her boundaries over their subjects and citizens. And he demanded immediate war with China to acquire Korea and perhaps Manchuria, before Russia had time to establish herself impregnably in those mainland regions. To emphasise its second aim, the Society adopted its present name, Black Dragon, which is the Chinese name of the Amur River, between Russia and Manchuria.

Since then, the Society has moved from strength to strength, till today, it is the most important political force in Japan after the Army and the Navy, and its eighty year old chief, Toyama, is the most powerful personality in the country, after the Mikado and Prince Saionji, " the last of the elder Statesman." Today its membership, including those of its affiliates like the Retired Officers' Association or the Veteran's Association, reaches into millions, and its influence on the nation's political and social life is unlimited. It draws its recruits chiefly from the peasants and the military circles—the junior officers are its most passionate followers, but has its representatives among the most exclusive industrial and political circles, too, in Japan. It is said that the great Togo himself was one of Toyama's disciples from his home district in the southern islands

From the day of its birth, the aim of the Society had been to aid the rise and expansion of Japan in the international world. It has aligned itself with the Army and the Navy, and has always pressed for Japan's military expansion and political prestige. Throughout its long career, it has been the greatest political ally of the Army and the Navy, and they have been its most effective recruiting ground. In conjunction

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with the Army and the Navy, it has devoted itself to the task of keeping intact the warrior tradition of Japan, the tradition of her Samurai, and whenever any one has come,—whether in the shape of a great liberal Statesman like Takahashi or of a great commercial magnate like Baron Dan, the head of the great house of Mitsui, who was shot dead in broad daylight in the streets of Tokyo, a few years ago—who has threatened to endanger the dominance of the Samurai spirit, the Society has acted and acted ruthlessly. The great enemies of a powerful military tradition are liberalism and commercialism, and the Society is determined that neither of these will ever be allowed to acquire a dominant hold on the country.

In every critical period of Japanese history, the Black Dragon Society has lent a hand to shape the course of events. When Japan signed the London Naval Treaty, Lieutenant Kusukara, committed hara-kiri as a protest against this tame surrender of Japan's rights to England and America. Following this, a wave of assassinations of premiers, plutocrats and liberals, swept over Japan, culminating in the assassination of Inukai, the premier. And the success of those assassinations is to be judged by the fact that they started the agitation which swept the Shidehara Cabinet from office, brought about the military "coup" in Manchuria, Japan's consequent withdrawal from the League of Nations and her present preparations against Russia and U. S. A.

The Japanese Army, which had been so successful in its Manchurian coup, had been getting ready for some time past for the second stage of the drama to be played in Mongolia. The Cabinet however, had not been quite encouraging to them, particularly Mr. Takahashi, the Finance Minister, who proved very reluctant to provide the huge sums demanded by the Army and the Navy. The politicians were proving very obstinate, and so there was another purge some time age to bring them to a more chastened mood. The 1931 shootings prefaced the Manchurian adventure; the 1936 shootings are to preface a similar "coup" in Mongolia. Moscow, at least, has read it in that light, and Stalin has already issued a clear warning. Despite it, incidents are piling thick and fast upon the Manchukuo-Mongolian border, and war may come any day.

The most amazing incident in the whole history of the Society occurred, however, some time before the commencement of the Russo-Japanese war. A short time ago, June 1934 a leading Japanese magazine, *Hinode,* published an account of an incident which, if true, reveals something of the power of the Black Dragon Society and its chief. Relations between Japan and Russia had become strained, and the Army and the Navy were eager for war. There was, however, a powerful anti-war group who were in favour of a bargaining with Russia. And it was believed that Prince Ito, the foreign Minister, the drawer of Japan's Constitutions and the most powerful man in the Cabinet, favoured this group and was preventing the war. A conclave of army and naval officers decided that war must be declared and declared quickly, before Russia had time to complete her preparations, and Ito must either agree to it or be removed. Then Toyama came and took a hand in the game. Accompanied by four friends, he called on Pirnce Ito, and bluntly asked him to choose between war and life or peace and death. Ito yielded and the war came.

Such is the inside story of the making of the decision by Japan's officialdom which took the nation into its greatest war.

Toyama's amazing influence has not been confined to the violent enterprises of his own nation, but has reached out into revolutionary movements in India and China. When in the first decade of this century, Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen fled to Japan from the tortures prepared for him by the Manchu Empress Dowager in Peking, it was Toyama who gave him refuge from Chinese and Japanese officials and protection from the assassins hired by the Empress. Under Toyama's roof Sun-Yat-Sen recast his revolutionary programme, created his great revolutionary party, the Tung Min Hwei, and from Toyama he received the encouragement and some funds to go back and succeed.

The British Empire as well as China has felt Toyama's influence. In 1915, after Japan joined Great Britain as her ally in the war, England demanded the arrest of two Indian revolutionaries operating in Japan. Toyama, through his Black Dragon Society, stirred up a furore of protest in the country. England's pressure, however, was so great that the Japanese Police began hunting for the Indian refugees. They, however, had disappeared. The Police made a careful search, but made a point of not looking into Toyama's house. Even Japanese police know where valour should end and discretion begin. The British Ambassador fulminated, but in vain, and when it had all blown over, the Indians emerged as full-fledged Japanese subjects, quite beyond the reach of England's arm.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

FOREIGN POLICY IN THE FAR EAST: *By Taraknath Das. Longmans, Green & Co. 1936. Pp. 272. Price 2 dollars.*

The author was appointed Special Lecturer on Far Eastern Affairs in the Department of Politics of the Catholic University of America in October, 1934. It was in this capacity that he delivered in 1935 a series of lectures which have now been embodied in the book under review.

The first three chapters, which cover seventy-three pages, will perhaps require some abridgement in a second edition. For, as the author is now addressing a different audience, their subject-matter need not be so elaborately discussed. In the later chapters there is some repetition. But as the attitude of the different powers has been separately discussed and their policies separately studied, such repetition could not be avoided. The whole arrangement of the book may have to be changed, if this repetition is to be got rid of.

The origin of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance signed in 1902 has been traced in some detail and the real reasons for the enthusiasm of the British Foreign Office for such an alliance have been clearly brought out. The later history of this Alliance has also been narrated. The author has told us in an interesting way how under difficult circumstances Great Britain had no alternative but to enter into this alliance with Japan. But even at the time that such friendship was contracted, the English Government was conscious of Japanese competition and its potential rivalry. It was no wonder therefore that when the war with Russia was brought to a close, Japan found that English friendship was touching almost the freezing point and the understanding with France was made in consequence in 1907. Anglo-Japanese alliance was all the same renewed from time to time. But long before it was discontinued two decades later in Washington, it had lost its significance.

The relations of the great powers, especially of England and the United States of America, with Japan at the present day have also been brought out into clear relief.

The general reader will read the book with profit.

Naresh Chandra Roy

LIFE AND EXPERIENCES OF A BENGALI CHEMIST: *Vol. II. Acharyya Prafulla Chandra Ray. Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1935. Rs. 4.*

The reminiscences of Acharyya Deva as published in Vol. I of the book under review were read with appreciation by an admiring public. The Bengali chemist has never been a student in the cloisters; in spite of busy days spent in the laboratory, he has come out again and again for rendering more than a yeoman's service to society. His contributions to the cause of education, politics, practical economics, industry etc., are too well known to require more than a passing mention. Here in the second volume we have his views on the educational, social, political and religious movements of the times seen through the perspective of history and personal experience. Incidentally we have a brief compendium of the nineteenth centuary life in Bengal, with special emphasis on education, sanitation. and the economic condition of the people. Acharyya Ray's views on the present-day Indian politics and on its prospects are clear and definite and he states with conviction his criticism of the New Constitution:

"This is no constitution but *autocracy in reality*—though under the camouflage of constitution—which is going to be thrust upon India against her consent. The essential thing in a constitution is the control over the purse but under the new regime the spenders of the taxes will have the key of the chest while the poor tax-payers will have the privilege of filling it. This represents the political sagacity of a scheme conceived, hatched and nursed in Westminster. It would perpetuate the profligate waste of public money and characterise the Indian administration as a veritable rake's progress." (pp. 416-417).

It is needless to multiply citations. Acharyya Ray's diagnosis is bound to prove true, proceeding as it does from a man who has studied all his life the relation between the cause and the effect, who has never allowed mere theorizing to obscure the aspect of reality, who has pursued the interest of the country in preference to his own and also in a humanitarian spirit.

The book is not a mere record of the author's views and opinions, which of course do credit to him. It is also interspersed with personal reminiscences. The

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Indian reader will doubly welcome it, while others should find it delightful reading.

INDIAN MASTERS OF ENGLISH: *By E. E. Speight, B.A., Senior Professor of English, Osmania University, Hyderabad. Longmans, Green and Co.,Ltd. 1934.*

Mr. Speight has culled together specimens of English written by eminent Indians in different spheres of life. The choice of subjects treated in this book indicates wide catholicity of taste on the part of the editor as well as sympathy with the Indian viewpoint. Mahatma Gandhi and Sir J. C. Bose, Tagore and Sir Syed Ross Masoud, Mrs. Naidu and Dhan Gopal Mukherji,—names like these are a sufficient guarantee of the excellence of the passages compiled,—models of style and rich storehouses of thought.

Mr. Speight has expressed admiration for this astonishing power of adaptation—mastery of a foreign language. Isolation is surely no longer the danger of India,—so much as evaporation or absorption in the welter of the world's forces, and her statesmen will help her more and more to stand on her own legs and speak in her own voice. Mahatmaji and Sir Syed Ross Masoud, educationists in the higher sense, have both emphasised this viewpoint which is indeed the only opinion that we can expect from those who have given the subject so much as a thought.

All the same, Mr. Speight's compilation will attract readers of the best class; such subjects as "God", "Prayer" and "Voluntary Poverty"—to name only the excerpts from Mahatmaji—elevate the soul, and the book is admirably fitted for use in the class-room, provided as it is with notes, questions and subjects for further essays,—in short, judiciously edited for the purpose.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

PRINCIPLES OF ARCHITECTURE: *By Mohendranath Dutt. Published by The Mohendra Publishing Committee. 3, Gour Mohan Mukherjee Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 8. Pp. xi+262.*

The main thesis of the book is that "the principle in the construction of every place of worship is that the architecture must represent the Doctrine of the particular sect". "Accordingly, the Christian Church is made after the pattern of the Cross which is the ground-plan in every Christian place of worship." The author has tried to support the above statement by reference to the architecture of the Hindus, Buddhists, Persians, Greeks and Moslems. Mr. Dutt also holds that the national character of a people is reflected in their architecture. One can tell whether a people are progressive or not, whether they are "masculine" or "effeminate" from the way they build their temples and public offices.

These are suggestive hypotheses, and the author is in agreement with Havell, on the one hand, and with Ruskin, on the other, when he speaks of the symbolism and of the social background of architecture. But we do not think that he has been able to present his thesis in a very logical and systematic manner. As a matter of fact, he himself admits that "in many cases, I have tried to express the feelings and impressions that I got when viewing and sauntering about amidst these structures. I speak out my own mind and my own feelings, I do not know whether other visitors got the same sort of impressions or not." But subjective impressions are undoubtedly very unsafe guides when one is concerned with the principles of architecture, however useful they may be when we confine ourselves to the aesthetic aspects of our subject. And that is exactly the reason why the author has not been very happy in his treatment of foreign architecture, *e.g.*, that of Greece.

It must however be admitted that the book contains some valuable suggestions regarding the symbolism of Indian architecture; and these are worthy of further investigation. For example, Mr. Dutt says that the ground-plan of later Hindu temples were made to represent the Virat Purusha or Narayana who lay asleep on the face of the waters, and from whose navel a lotus sprang to form the seat for Brahma, the divine patriarch. Mr. Dutt identifies the lotus in the ceiling of the *jagamohana* of Orissan temples with the above lotus. Now, this may be true or may be false. In any case, it can be subjected to scientific investigation. We must not, however, rush to conclusions; for it should be remembered that Jaina temples, all over Rajputana, show the same kind of lotus; and they had apparently nothing to do with the Virat Purusha of Hindu mythology. Our object should be to find out exactly whether the architects themselves thought of representing their mythological or philosophical ideas through architectural symbols.

We must thank the author for some of these suggestions, for they constitute the chief merit of his book.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S WARNING AND FLASHES IN HARIJAN TOUR: *By S. Mahadevan. The Journalist Publishing House, Madras, 1936. Price Re. 1-4. Pp. iv+170.*

The author accompanied Mahatma Gandhi in his Harijan tour through C.P., Andhradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnatak in the capacity of a journalist. He has given here a running description of that journey, we hope it will be appreciated by those who are interested in Gandhiji and his Movements.

It is illustrated by more than twenty plates.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE SPIRIT OF GENEVA: *By Robert de Traz. Translated from the French original by Fried-Ann Kindler. Oxford University Press, London, 1935. Pages 188. Price 6s.*

Mr. de Traz has written an admirable book. Much is being said and written these days on the League, on its ideals and illusions, its achievements and failures. These realistic studies regarding the League are bound to show wide differences of opinion. An English philanthropist, a French philosopher, an Indian onlooker will each have a different view about the League. But, very few will disagree with Mr. de Traz. It is in this that his success lies.

Mr. de Traz has not written a thesis on the real working of the machinery of the League. He has merely tried to enunciate and explain the 'Spirit of Geneva.' He shows how this 'City of Refuge' has always been the source of liberal spirit, how Calvin, Rousseau and a host of others had each widened the outlook of the people, and how 'the world has constantly flowed back into Geneva.' The spirit of Geneva has been the spirit of justice, of liberty, and of freedom of opinion. It is this spirit that the author has tried to analyse. He is not unconscious of the many failings of the League, of the new factor of racial superiority-complex, of the lingering conflicts of economic nationalism. But, in spite of all this, he finds that a spirit of universal justice, a spirit on which a 'modern humanism' can be built up, underlies the Geneva experiment. Perhaps, all have not as yet imbibed this spirit, but the author believes that they soon will. After going through the highly interesting pages, one finds himself prepared to agree with the author that 'the fate of our civilization depends upon its

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power to integrate new and conflicting values, while remaining faithful to the affirmation of individuality,' and that to achieve this, 'spirit must be broadened.'

BHABATOSH DATTA

SWAMI AND FRIENDS: *By R. J. Narayan. Published by Harmish Hamilton, London. Pp. 251.*

The story narrates a few incidents in the life of a Madrasi school boy. The facts are commonplace, but the facile and humorous presentation of them sustains interest throughout. The author has true acquaintance with the psychology of school boys. The emotions of Swami and his friends will find echo in the hearts of many youthful readers, and their pranks will delight even the elders.

NEW ZEALAND—LAND OF MY CHOICE: *By Ellen Roberts, with a foreward by A. J. Harrop, Ph.D. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London. Pp. 200, Price 10-6d. net.*

It depicts a fascinating picture of New Zealand and its people. The writer has a genuine liking for the place and her references to its picturesque scenery and hospitable natives have a touch of sincerity not to be found in the accounts of casual travellers.

The book contains many useful information about the conditions of the land and its industries.

S. K. BOSE

MIND AND VISION: *A handbook for the cure of imperfect sight without glasses by Mr. R. S. Agrawal, L.S.M.F. Pages 182. Price Rs. 4. Foreward by Mr. Anilbaran Roy. Dr. Agrawal's Eye Institute, Delhi.*

In his book "Perfect Sight Without Glasses" Dr. W. H. Bates, M.D., of New York, states that the explanations of the phenomenon of sight put forward by Young, Von Graefe, Helmholtz, and Donders have caused us to ignore or explain away a multitude of facts which otherwise would have led to the discovery of the truth about errors of refraction and maintains against reputed authorities that accommodation is controlled by the external eye muscles only. For his theory, however, Dr. Bates was summarily compelled to give up his Post-graduate Lecturership, even the privilege of resigning was denied to him.

Working on lines indicated in that book of Dr. Bates, Dr. Agrawal has become convinced of the efficacy of the methods advocated in that book and he maintains that cases of shortsightedness, longsightedness, presbyopia, astigamatism etc., can be effectively cured without glasses. It is pleasing to note that Dr. Agrawal has obtained a support from a Sanskrit chart which he says he has obtained from a Mahatma in India, and which contained all the eye exercises, advocated in the book. The disadvantages of glasses are exaggerated in the book. Those who are afraid of the optical crutches may try these exercises. We hope some may be benefited by the eye-exercises even if they cannot discard glasses.

Dr. Agrawal claims to have cured cases of Cataract, Corneal opacity, etc., by the method of eye-exercises he has advocated and to have dissolved Cataracts and Leucoma with his own patent medicines. The case records given in the last chapter are not presented in Scientific form and they read like pleasant stories. It is doubtful whether any of them will stand the test of scientific scrutiny.

C. K. GHOSE

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IN SOUTH INDIA: *By T. Adinarayana Chetty, Bar-at-Law. Published by the Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd., Madras. (Pp. 82 with appendices.)*

This interesting brochure is the outcome of an enquiry instituted by Mr. Chetty into the working of thirteen co-operative marketing societies in Madras, carefully chosen, each representing a different type and covering a wide range of articles like ground-nut, paddy, cotton, tobacco, coffee and perishable like fruits and dairy produce. Mr. Chetty is a firm believer in Sir Horace Plunkett's dictum that "better business" must be the pivot for "better farming" and "better living". "It would easily occur that to tell the farmer to cultivate his land scientifically, to enrich his fields with chemical manures and to grow economic crops on a planned countrywide or even an international scale is nothing short of a mockery when we do not provide him with timely or adequate finance and do not raise our little finger to obtain for him even the ruling market rate for the produce of the sweat of his brow" (p. 2). It is no wonder the endeavours of our agricultural department have been attended with so little success hitherto. The Co-operative movement in India has not yet taken up marketing question with a seriousness that the subject demands. The result is that this movement as well has become stagnant and shows no clear lines of advance.

During his enquiry Mr. Chetty has realised that "there is no unanimity of opinion or understanding of the subject of marketing among the officials who have to run or supervise the marketing societies including the higher staff". Inspite of this he has found sufficient data for holding an optimistic view as to the bright future of this important movement in Madras. Mr. Chetty has indicated the main problems that confront the Marketing societies and made practical suggestions for tackling the same. The most important is that of finance and experience has taught many co-operators in Madras that the alarming growth in the overdues of the co-operative credit banks (both primary, central and apex) can be effectively tackled by the system of making groups of solvent ryots in selected areas members of a Trading Society and advancing crop loans to them. We make an offer of this suggestion of a practical co-operator to the authorities of the Co-operative Movement in Bengal and particularly to the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank. This is at least an intelligent approach to the problem of overdues and is well worth trying. It is high time that other provinces should also institute similar enquiries and take up the question of co-operative marketing in right earnest.

B. R. BISWAS

THE WORK OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE MYSORE STATE AND BRITISH INDIA: *Further Reflections and Thoughts: By G. Rudrappa, M.A., (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Mysore Civil Service, The Public Library, Bangalore, 1935, Price Four Annas.*

This booklet, is like its predecessor of the same name, a speech delivered by the author. According to Mr. Rudrappa, the three most important rural problems are, (1) education and propaganda, (2) improvement of material conditions and (3) control of population. The author lays the greatest stress on adult education. "The great task" he observes "is to educate the adults, men and women, and create a will in them to improve their condition and live a better life." He advocates restriction of population with all the zeal of a neo-Malthusian. He believes, it is possible to "pulverise this mountain of debt" by following the policy of voluntary debt conciliation

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tion which has been so successful in the Bhavanagar State. From his account it appears that little has been done in the Mysore State to tackle the problems of adult education and rural indebtedness though a lot of money has been spent by the Panchayets on works of public utility and sanitation. Though apt to be carried away at times by an excess of enthusiasm, Mr. Rudrappa has faith and transparent sincerity, qualities which are sorely needed in these days of cynicism.

SOME ASPECTS OF RURAL ECONOMY IN THE PANJAB: *By B. K. Madan, M.A. Research Scholar in Economics, University of the Panjab.*

This is an economic survey of the village Haripur in the Sheikpura district. In 1933, the village possessed the magnificent population of 372 souls and was according to the author "fast heading towards extinction." The author seems to be a gifted young man who can observe things and express what he sees in a telling manner. It is thus all the more regretable that he has wasted his talents over a village whose conditions are in no way representative of the Punjab countryside. We confidently look forward to more useful studies from this able scholar.

AMARENDRA PRASAD MITRA

SANSKRIT

SHREE SHEEKHA GURU CHARITAMRITAM: *By Shripad Shastri Hasurkar, Principal, Sanskrit College, Indore City. Publisher, Shripal Waman Hasurkar, Saraswati Nivas, Rambag, Indore City, C. I.*

Pandit Shastri has planned to narrate in Sanskrit the life-stories of some of the notable historical personages of old India in a handsome series of publications styled *Bharata-nara-ratnamala.* The book under review forms number 6 of the series. Works already published in the series deal, it is stated, with the lives of Rana Pratapa Sinha, Vallabhacharya, Sivaji, Ramdas, and Prithviraj. It is announced that the forthcoming volumes will be devoted to Vardhaman Svami, Buddha, Sankaracharya, *Satis* of Rajasthana and Maharastra as also of Brahmin and Kshatriya heroes of Maharastra. The present work describes the stories of the lives of the ten *gurus* of the Sikhs. It is true, older works in Sanskrit relating to some of thse people are known. It is, however, proposed in the series in question to place in the hands of the readers narratives conceived in an up-to-date fashion divested from exaggerations, rhetorical embellishments and other mannerisms characteristic of the style of Sanskrit works of the medieval period.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

SAMKHYA TATTVA KAUMUDI: Vachaspati Misra's Commentary on the Samkhya-Karika, translated into English *by Mm. Ganganath Jha and with an historical introduction and critical notes by Vidyasudhakar Hari Dutt Sarma M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, S. D. College, Cawnpore; Published by the Oriental Book Agency, Poona.*

The translation is worthy of the illustrious translator and the editor's notes are in line with it.

SAMKHYA-KARIKA: With Gaudapada's Commentary translated into English and with critical notes, *by Vidyasudhakar Hari Dutt Sarma, M.A. Ph.D., Published by the Oriental Book Agency. Poona.*

This is an admirable edition of the book under review. The translation is lucid; while the editor's notes, embodying nearly all important points of other commentaries, as well as the result of modern researches, are proofs of his scholarship.

The cheaper editions of these books, intended for students of Tols, will be appreciated by them.

ISAN CHANDRA ROY

HINDI

CAITANYACARITAVALI: *By Prabhudatta Brahmacari. Volumes I and II. Gita Press, Gorakhpur, Pages, Double Crown 1-306 and 1-436. Price, 14 annas and Re. 1-2.*

We have here the first two volumes of a proposed work in Hindi in five volumes giving a popular and comprehensive account of the life and teachings of Caitanya—the great Vaisnava teacher of Bengal. The story in this portion of the work runs up to the renunciation of the world by the great master. The language is forceful and lucid. It bears the stamp of the author's deep reverence for the master. The book when completed will be regarded as an important contribution to Hindi literature possessing permanent interest. It is gratifying to note that as in the case of other publications of the Gita Press the price of the present book also has been fixed at a very cheap rate.

It is principally based on medieval Vaisnava texts in Bengali. As such the exaggerated description found in them of the chaotic condition prevailing in the religious and social life of Bengal at the time when Caitanya was born has been reproduced here without any critical examination. But the details of this description should be accepted with caution. Reference should also be made to a number of slipshod statements. It is, for instance, stated in one place (p. 13, Vol. I) that fish is a taboo among Bengali widows only on the eleventh day of the fortnight (*ekadasi*) implying thereby that it is used by them on other days. This will however be a news to the people of Bengal!

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

MARATHI

HISTORY OF THE GHORPADE HOUSE OF MUDHOL: *By D. V. Apte, B.A. Bharat-itihas. 184. Rs. 4.*

The Maratha house of Mudhol traces its origin from one Sujan Singh Sisodia (a younger brother of Maharana Hamir of Mewar), who with his son, Dilip Singh, migrated to the South toward the close of the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. Sujan rose to prominence as a partisan of Hasan Gango, founder of the Bahamani Empire. His son, Rana Dilip Singh received the title of *Sardar-i-Khaskhel* and a grant of ten villages in *iqta,* in the district of Mirat, Taraf Devgadh from Alauddin Hasan Shah in 1352 (Firman no. 1). His son Siddhaji was also a valiant and trusted officer of the Bahamani Sultan Mujahid Shah. The powerful support of this family often decided the issue of disputed succession in the Bahamani kingdom. In the year 1398 one Bahirav Singh got from the Bahamani Sultan the jagir of Mudhol with 84 villages. Sixth in descent from Sujan Singh was Rana Ugrasen. Rana Ugrasen had two sons Karna Singh and Subhkrishna, surnamed Bhonsle. Karna Singh's son Bhim Singh received from the famous minister Muhammad Gawan the title of Rajah Ghorpade Bahadur for having captured an inaccessible fort by employing a trained iguana. The present ruler of Mudhol is a lineal descendant of this valiant chief. Thus

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Ghorpades and Bhonslas are cousins descended from the same stock.

The compiler of this volume has taken great pains to prove that Bhonslas and Ghorpades are by their origin Rajputs and Marathas by domicile only. This is a common fact that the Deccan has been the nursery of many Indo-Aryan tribes who are extinct in their original home in the North. During the Mughal rule, Rathors and Sisodias outside Rajputana founded many ruling families, which are flourishing till now. One of present ministers of Bengal comes of a Bundela *gotra*, namely Banafar which boasts of Alha and Udar heroes of 56 fights against Prithviraj Chauhan. It is not unlikely that a century after no historian will accept such claim of Bundela lineage of the family as some historians today doubt the authenticity of this geneology of the Mudhol Raj. Though it is difficult to vouchsafe the authenticity of the family geneology of Mudhol, it is not improbable that their ancestor originally migrated from the North. The Ghorpades, as it appears from historical documents published in original in the Appendix, were clever diplomats and clean fighters, and possessed all the characteristics of noble-born Rajputs.

Another important point is an attempt to derive the cognomen Bhonsla from Bhairav Singh. M. M. Gaurishankar Ojah (*Rajputanaka Itihas* IV pp. 1379) has accepted on the testimony of some *firmans*, mentioning Bhairav Singh. Mr. Apte emphasises this view in the that Bhonsla was a surname or a corruption of the name Bhairav Singh, son of Sidd Raj, the Maratha contention present volume. But we should like to point out that the reading is not Bhairav Singh but Bharu or Baharo Singh. If Bhairav Singh had been popularly known as Bhonsla, in subsequent *firmans* the words *alias Bhonsla* would have perhaps been added; but this is not the case. From the *firmans* printed in the text, Bhonsla for the first time occurs as the cognomen after Sahaji only. No proof has been alleged that Bhonsla and Bhairav are identical. To hold such an opinion is ridiculous. If Maratha writers are prepared to go so far as to create Bhonsla out of Bhairav, the poet Bhusan may be credited with greater historical accuracy when he says that Bhonsila was a *birud* (title of praise) of Maloji "steadfast as piece of rock on the field of battle" (*Ranbhu-sila su Bhaunsila*), as Ghorpade is indicative of achievements of the other branch of this family.

The enlightened chief of Mudhol has earned deep gratitude of scholars by publishing valuable family documents throwing side-lights on the political history of the Deccan from the second half of the fourteenth to the close of the seventeenth century. The editor has spared no pains to make this history useful and interesting. We hope this noble example of Mudhol will be followed by other States.

K. R. Qanango

TELUGU

HINDUJIVANAPATHAMU: *By Sir S. Radha-Krishnan M.A., Translator—Kamaraju Hunumantu Rao —Editor "Sast and West Series." Rajahmundry. Pp. 216. Crown 8vo. Price Rs. 1-4.*

The book is a Telugu rendering of Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Upton Lectures on "The Hindu View of Life." It explains the loftiness of the Hindu ideal in question with its characteristic hospitality to the trends of newer systems, that have arisen from time to time. There is a clear exposition of the points of agreement as well as disagreement between the outlooks of East and West. While every important aspect of Hindu Dharma receives its due measure of notice, it is remarkable; that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls is somehow dropped out of view. As attested by Sir S. Radhakrishnan himself in a brief prefactory note, "Mr. Hanumantha Rao has done his work with great care. Throughout we perceive an earnest attempt to keep faithful to the original." Indeed, to translate books on scientific philosophy with the vernaculars, demands a particular talent and experience, to hold upon the related moulds of thought and terminology. And this qualification is well brought to bear upon the work before us. It is to be hoped, the Andhras will not fail, adequately to appraise this new contribution to a thin section of Telugu literature, namely that of broad and practical philosophy on modern lines.

A. Rajagopala Rao

GUJARATI

CHAMKARA (FLASHES): *By Jehangir Manekji Desai, M.A., Navsari. Printed at the Khadayta Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 236. Price Re. 1 (1936).*

Amongst the very few Parsi writers who handle the Gujarati Language and especially Gujarati verse, in the orthodox or approved style followed by Hindu writers, Mr. Desai takes a prominent place. This book is a collection of verses written by him on subjects all and sundry, beginning with *Chintan*, (Cogitation) and ending with *Vandan* (Obeisance); in between he has thrown in *Krandan* (Weeping) and *Manthan* (Efforts). The verses are of a high order, and fully carry out the object—"Poetry has been to me its own exceeding great reward" (Coleridge)—which the author has set out to accomplish. He is at home in the philosophy of the Hindus and knows their customs and manners as well as themselves, though belonging to an alien religion. We have nothing but praise for Mr. Desai's work.

NAV YUGA NO JAIN: *By Motichand Girdharlal Kapadia, B.A., LL.B., Attorney-at-Law, Bombay. Published by the 'Jyoti' Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 245. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1936.)*

As its title shows the book relates to the tendencies, in various fields, of the new Jain Youth *i.e.*, the youngman of the present times. It is a store house of information on the present state of Jain polity, Jain society, and Jain religion, with thoughtful observations interspersed here and there. It ought therefore, to prove very useful.

HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS OF GUJARAT: *Edited by Acharya Girjashankar Vallabhaji, M.A., M.R.A.S., Curator, Archaeological Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay. Thick card bound. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 4-0-0 (1936).*

The Forbes Gujarati Sabha has undertaken very valuable work, in the shape of publishing the Inscriptions —stone, copper plate etc., of Gujarat. Text and translation—from the earliest times to the end of the Vaghela dynasty. The work has been entrusted to Mr. Acharya, than whom no one else is more fitted for the job. He has very creditably aquitted himself in the first part. This is the second part and it takes up the period beginning with the Gurjar dynasty and closes with the close of the Chalukya dynasty. The translation is well done, but the notes are very important, even though in some cases they fail to come up-to-date. He has in all up to now dealt with 206 such inscriptions. The treatment in spite of being technical has successfully made the subject interesting.

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GITA JNYAN KOSHA: *By Chandulal B. Patel, B.A., Vidyadhikari, Gondal. Printed at the Bhagvatsinghji Electric Printing Press, Gondal, Kathiawad. Pp. 380. Paper cover (1936).*

This is a novel way of spreading the knowledge (Jnyan) imparted by the Gita, in so far as certain predominant words from each verse of the Gita are picked out, and their implications set out in the words of different well known commentators, whose number is legion—selection being exercised here too. We thus get focussed in one place the ideas and observations on a particular word, individual or phrase, of various writers and can thus appreciate the wide range over which they roam and the pregnant significance they carry. A very wide study of the subject by the compiler is disclosed and we are of opinion that students of Gita will find their study greatly facilitated by these booklets, which at present relate to the first three sections.

SAHITYA PATHAVALI: *By Jhinabhai R. Desai and Chhaganlal L. Bakshi, B.A., L.T. Published by the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Thick Card bound. Illustrated. Pp. 184. Price 0-8-0 (1936).*

This is the first part of a series planned by two practical educationists to give learners in schools an idea of the present state of Gujarati literature. It contains forty lessons culled from the writings of mostly young writers, male and female, both in prose and verse. Each "lessons" has a head note, explanatory and informative, and thus the path of the teacher and the taught is made easy. The get-up is nice and the price low enough for a work of this category. It will, for these reasons, make its way.

GUJARAT NO BUZATO DEEPAK: *By Narmadashankar Vallabhji Dwivedi. Published by the "Gujarati" Printing Press. Bombay. Cloth cover. Pp. 343. Price Rs. 3-0-0 (1936).*

Hindu rule came to an end and Islam's influence to raise its head in Gujarat with the close of the reign of Karan Waghela. The writer of this historical novel is at pains to show that the impression left in the minds of readers of a prior novel, called "Karan Ghelo" about the rape by King Karan of his minister's brother's wife, the treachery of his ministers Madhav who is said to have induced Alauddin Khilji to invade Gujarat to avenge the rape that Karan was defeated by the Mahammedan army and his queen taken to the Sultan's Harem and daughter married in the Sultan's family, is not supported by history or chronicle. He tries to paint a picture of Gujarat in those days, when Islam was sought to be propagated by means of an insidious propaganda, and that the attempt met with success because of internal dissensions, political weakness, and disunion in matters religious. The three hundred and old pages furnish very interesting reading and incidentally correct many wrong notions. We consider it a welcome attempt in the direction of popularising the past history of Gujarat.

SATYA NI SHODHA MAN ATHA VARSHNO MHARO VAIRAGYA: *By Framuz Jahangir Mithuji, B.Ag., Bombay. Printed at the Fort Printing Press, Bombay. Thick Card Board. Pp. 267. Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1935).*

The title means "My Retirement from the world for Eight years in search of Truth". Mr. Mithuji is a Parsi —Zoroastrian—by birth but by inclination a deep student of Hindu Philosophy, Vedant etc. In order to find out the real secrets underlying these subjects and the truths taught by them, in a practical way, he became a Hindu ascetic (vairagi) and mixed with numberless sadhus, saints, sanyasins, to get at a genuine Guru. The experiences he relates are marvellous as in almost every case he found these saints to be frauds and hypocrites. That a Parsi gentleman should take so intimately to Hindu philosophy and express himself in very good Gujarati, and correctly use technical, philosophical and Vedantic terms is very creditable to him because it is so unusual. We are so glad to notice this book.

PALTATO SAMAJ: *By Ram, printed at the Manhar Karyalaya. Tower Road, Sind. Cloth bound. Pp. 256. With an Illustrated Jacket. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1936).*

This is a collection of 19 short stories all bearing on the subject which is the title of the book, *viz.*, "Society in Transition". Our society really is in a stage of flux, and that state is vividly brought out in these stories, which are written in simple and colloquial language. The writer studiously avoids the subject of sex appeal, at present so much in vogue, in order to respect the objections of those who still are not reconciled to the new fangled notions of sex affairs. The foreword contributed by Lady Vidya Gauri Nilkanth sums up very tersely the functions of short stories, and in the light thereof she reviews the work of the writer, emphasing his experience of worldly matters, which she finds to be both wide and varied.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

A FEAST OF FACTS: (*Bhai Amar Singh, 5, Mcleod Road, Lahore*).

BUDS AND BLOSSOMS: *By Tanguturi Sriramulu, Rajahmundry, Price Rupee one.*

THE LIGHT OF IRAN OR THE COMING OF ZARATHUSTRA: *By D. M. GORWALLA (J. B. Karani & Sons. Parsi Bazar St., Fort, Bombay) Price annas Five.*

POEMS: *By K. V. Amembal, Sirsi,, N. Kanada.*

HEALTH, NATURE AND RELIGION: *By Dr. Chintalal N. Desai, Baroda, State, Price Annas Twelve.*

MUSIC OF THE EARTH: *By M. Sanyal (The Book Company, Calcutta), Price Rupee One.*

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CENTENARY OF CHANDRA-SEKHARA, AND A REFORMED HINDU ALMANAC

By Prof. JOGES-CHANDRA RAY

I

Khandapara is a small Tributary (now Feudatory) State of Orissa, some fifty miles west of Cuttack. Like several other States of Orissa, it is hilly and in most parts clothed with forest. Until recently communication with the outside was difficult, and the Rajas and their people lived a traditional life of their own. On January 11, 1836, just a hundred years ago, a son was born to the cousin of the Raja. He was Chandra-sekhara Simha Samanta who was destined to be a remarkable man of the latter half of the last century.

At an early age after leaving his Oriya Primary School he began to learn Sanskrit and went through a wide curriculum. While he was thus engaged, his father gave him a few lessons on astrology. Astrological predictions are based on *lagna,* the rising point of the ecliptic, and the places of planets at the moment of birth. Astronomy gives rules for computing them, and young Chandra-sekhara was led to the study of the Science.

He studied the Surya-siddhanta, the standard textbook of astronomy, with the help of commentary, learnt the rules and computed places of planets. The question next presented itself: Are the calculated places true? Do they correspond with observation? This scientific attitude of mind to test truth by observation marked him off from the ordinary run of mankind who as a rule take things on trust. Young Chandra-sekhara was, however, confronted with difficulties. Astronomy is Jyotih-sastra, and, like other Sastras, has to be learnt from a 'guru'. The textbooks do not give reasons for rules. They do not describe in detail the construction of instruments and the method of observation. Bhaskaracharya praised *dhi-yantra,* 'the instrument of intellect' above all others. Chandra-sekhara applied his intellect and constructed instruments with his own hand from meagre descriptions contained in the textbooks and tested the degree of accuracy obtained by each. We know these are of two classes. One for measuring time and the other for measuring angular distance. He did not possess even a cheap clock, and had to resort to the time-honoured copper basin for time. This requires constant attention. He longed to have a Svayamvaha, literally, a self-revolving instrument. But the textbooks finish the description by merely mentioning a few things required for the construction. After repeated failures Chandra-sekhara constructed one, and found to his regret that it had to be frequently regulated and could not be trusted for long intervals. Some Western critics relying merely on the meaning of the name have ridiculed the Hindus for their attempt, so they imagine, at solving the problem of perpetual motion by the Svayamvaha. There is, however, nothing of the kind. It is a water-clock and as automatic as a modern clock. It appears to have been in extensive use in ancient times under various names according to the shape given to it. (The reader interested in it may refer to my article in the Bengali monthly *Prabasi,* for Bengali era 1315, 1908 A.D.) Nothing can, however, surpass the simple Sanku (a vertical rod usually nine inches long) in usefulness. Very few know that with a bit of mirror it is also useful for night observation. It measures time as well as angular distance, and Chandra-sekhara made much use of it in solving many of the practical problems of astronomy. But it has its limitations, and he devised and constructed the handy Tangent-staff, his favourite instrument. Every educationist knows that the best method of teaching science to a boy is to present him with problems which interest him and are within his capacity and to ask him to solve them in any way he can. If he wants instruments he must make them himself. In this way the training becomes real, the failures compel him to think and realize the importance of details, and success engenders self-confidence. It is far better to discover a few facts oneself than to repeat what has been done by others. Chandra-sekhara was compelled to go through this training and thus became a consummate practical astronomer. His unit of length was the breadth of his finger, and by mere inspection he could tell angular distance within a degree.

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He found that the observed places of the planets did not conform to their calculated places, and that the places of stars were out by several degrees. He was convinced that the constants of the Siddhanta had undergone changes and were no longer true. After systematic researches carried on for decades he embodied the results in Sanskrit verse in his *Siddhanta-darpana*. This treatise remained unknown to the public until it was published in 1899, when he was sixty-three years old. In June, 1904 he passed away before the outside public had time to know him and realize the importance of the work he had done. A full account of his life and work will be found in the long English Introduction to the work.

About his success it will be enough to quote a few opinions from foreign scientific journals. Thus *Nature* (March 9, 1899) in the course of a long review of the *Darpana* wrote :

> Prof. Ray compares the author to Tycho. But we should imagine him a greater than Tycho. * * * We get some notion of the success that attended the work, and of how much it is in one man's power to accomplish, if we examine the differences between the values he assigns to some of the constants of astronomy and those in use with ourselves. The error in the sidereal period of the sun is 206 seconds;* of the moon, 1 second; Mercury, 79 seconds; Venus, about 2 minutes; Mars, 9 minutes; Jupiter, an hour; and Saturn, rather more than half a day. The accuracy with which he determined the inclination of the planets to the ecliptic is still more remarkable. * * * The effect is to leave us at every page [of the Introduction] with a higher opinion of the author laboriously recording his observations on a palm-leaf, and unselfishly devoting his time to the service of his countrymen, who do not appreciate the nobility of the effort and the entirety of his devotion, etc.

Knowledge (Nov., 1899) wrote :

> Of all the numerous works on astronomy that have been published within the last few years, this [Siddhanta-darpana] is by far the most extraordinary, and in some respects the most instructive. * * * With rude instruments the author has obtained an astonishing degree of accuracy. * * * The work enables us to watch, as it were, one of the astronomers of hoary, forgotten antiquity at his work before us to day.

Mr. E. Walter Maunder, F.R.A.S., contributed an article to the same Journal on Modern Tycho, a modern naked-eye astronomer, in which he compared the equipments and achievements of Raja Jai Singh of Amber who built five pretentious observatories in five towns two centuries ago with those of Chandra-sekhara and gave the palm to the latter (The article was later incorporated in his book, *Astronomy Without a Telescope* 1902).

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, C.I.E., M.D., D.L., felt proud of the compliments paid by scientific men of the West to one of his countrymen and wrote in his *Calcutta Journal of Medicine* :

> We notice it [Siddhanta-darpana] to show what in our heart of hearts we believe and have never been tired of repeating that the intellectual life of old India has not yet died out and may be revived for the benefit of India and of the world.

II

The importance of a correct almanac to a Hindu cannot be exaggerated. The purpose of Chandra-sekhara's researches was the correction of our almanac, in which he found errors. Since very early times our ancestors have been defining days by the position of the moon with respect to the sun called the *tithi*, and by the place of the moon in the path of the sun, called the *nakshatra*. The place of the sun in his path determines the equinoxes and solstices which were and are held sacred. Practically, therefore, an almanac has to give the places of the sun and moon day by day. All Hindu festivals which number more than a hundred are accompanied with religious rites and worship of God in some aspect or other. The days of festivals are fixed in Smritis. So a Hindu almanac is the joint product of astronomers and Pandits of Smritis. And since the responsibility rests with the latter, they have a hand in judging the data used by the former. More than half a century ago it was noticed that the times of eclipses and of sun-rise and sun-set as observed with a correct watch did not agree with those recorded in the almanac. Some computed *tithis* from data given in the British Nautical Almanac and were surprised to find wide discrepancies with our almanac. The conclusion was that it was wrong, at least in *tithis*, and fasts and festivals were being observed on wrong days and in wrong hours. This was a serious matter and conferences of Pandits who professed *Smriti* and of those who were engaged in the preparation of almanacs were held to discuss it. As might be expected, opinion was divided. Some admitted necessity of correction in some direction, but did not know how to proceed; while the majority were opposed to interference with the existing order of things. Some could not believe that there could be error in the Surya-siddhanta after which the Bengali almanacs were computed, seeing that it was revealed by the Sun-god himself. They could not acknow-

*It is to be noted here that Chandra-sekhara did not re-determine the sidereal period of the sun. He adopted the value given in the Surya-siddhanta, because he was afraid of the disturbance a new value would create in our chronology. J. C. Ray.

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ledge the authority of a foreign *Mlechchha* almanac in matters of religious practices. They argued that once a correction was borrowed from a foreign source, there was no knowing where the process would end. It is certainly far better for peace of mind to live in ignorance than to be tossed about in waves of uncertainty whose outline was vague and undefined. There was no one who could demonstrate the errors and set matters right. An Almanac Committee was, however, formed in 1893, and Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Mahes-Chandra Nyayaratna, C.I.E., Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcuuta, who took a leading part in the conferences was deputed to collect opinion. The Mahamahopadhyaya had heard the name of Chandra-sekhara and in 1897 came to Cuttack to discuss the matter with him. Chandra-sekhara was then fifty-seven years old and it was the first time that he came out of his seclusion. The story has been told in detail in my *Reminiscences of Chandra-sekhara* published in the April issue of the College Magazine, Cuttack. Till then no one had any idea of his remarkable achievement. The Mahamahopadhyaya was delighted to meet him. For here was a man, a stunch Hindu, innocent of Western knowledge and full of reverence for the ancient scriptures, who had practically answered the questions over which his Committee were quarrelling. Indeed an almanac based on his work had been in actual use regulating the daily rites in the Puri temple. There was opposition from the Pandits of the temple, but to quote an expression of Chandra-sekhara " arguments can never defeat the result of direct knowledge." Not that his *Darpana* gives values as accurate as those of the British Nautical Almanac. That is impossible. But it presents a complete view of the situation and opens the door to further correction without infringing the authority of the scriptures. The pity is the Pandits of Bengal had no opportunity to meet him.

The great service which he has thus rendered to society will be better appreciated if one remembers the failures of conferences, and there were many held since the eighties of the last century. More numerous were acrimonious controversies in the press arising out of the publication in every province of almanacs based on the British Nautical Almanac. This was a direct challenge to the Pandits, practically a revolt against the existing order and the just and natural pride of inheritance. In the heat of the moment the opposite parties almost forgot the main issue and directed their attacks against points which arose out of wrong and careless adjustment. Moreover, the reformists had not agreed amongst themselves on fundamental points. In Bombay appeared two reformed almanacs which did not agree in them. In December, 1904 an All-India Conference of Astronomers was held at Poona under the patronage of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda. His Holiness Srimat Sankaracharya of Sarada Pitha presided. But it proved a failure. Indeed a conference is useful and necessary for concerted action but it cannot compel dissenters to accept its resolutions. The wrangling between the two parties continued and the public was bewildered. Those who have been denationalized by Western education and have lost sight of the long and hoary historic background of our culture can hardly enter into the feeling of those who have faith in religious Sastras when they find divided opinion of Pandits regarding the day and hour of, say, the Durga, Puja. Different dates impair solemnity of social institutions. In Bengal there was an additional cause of difference. We reckon dates of solar months for civil affairs. These dates often differ by a day in the old and new almanacs. Which almanac was to be followed in giving dates to documents and correspondence? The new school failed to carry the general public with it and the old enjoyed its confidence, though everyone was now aware of existence of errors. The situation was intolerable, and in 1921 the Brahman Sabha of Bengal convened a conference of astronomers and Pandits to remedy it under the patronage of the late Maharaja Manindra-Chandra Nandi of Kashimbazar. Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee presided. But even his master mind failed to grasp the situation. Other provinces have experienced similar difficulties. In October 1934 there was a Second Karnataka Astronomical Conference under the patronage of Their Highnesses the Maharaja and Yuvaraj of Mysore. From the proceedings it appears that our Mysore friends are at the first stage of the march and seem to think that the establishment of an expensive and up-to-date Astronomical observatory is a necessary preliminary. If the Mysore Government remains neutral like the British Government, the opinion of Shastris is bound to prevail. In November last year there was an All-India Astronomical Conference held at Indore under the patronage of His Highness the Maharaja and was presided over by Pandit Madan-Mohan Malaviya. The programme was varied and included astrology and horoscopy. The proceedings are

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not before me, but it may be safely predicted that the result of the conference will not be different from that of many others held in the past.

At the beginning of the movement and long afterwards there were really two difficult points to decide. One was whether the length of the sidereal year should be the same as in the Surya-siddhanta, which, as we know from European astronomy, is about 3 minutes too great. There are weighty reasons on either side. Any change in it disturbs chronology unless it be adopted in a definite year in all provinces. It seriously affects the almanacs of Bengal and other eastern provinces where solar calendar is in use. The other was the determination of the First Point of the ecliptic from which the places of the planets were to be measured. This is a knotty point. The present writer has reviewed the position and believes that the point opposite to the star Chitra (Spica) is historically the Firest Point of the ecliptic. (See *The First Point of Asvini*, Prabasi Press, Calcutta).

But these are, so to say, minor points in comparison with the great problem of the introduction of the reformed almanac and its acceptance by the public at large. The difficulties in the way are two-fold. Our Pandits and Shastris are naturally reluctant to be dictated to in matters religious and social by foreign publications and the publishers of almanacs are not willing to sacrifice their vested interests. There is no Ataturk Kemal Pasha to issue a peremptory order to shut up almanac shops and to place the preparation of an Indian almanac in the hands of a body of astronomical experts. In 1915 the Bengali Literary Conference held at Burdwan adopted a resolution moved by the present writer to meet the difficulties of the situation. It was to open a school of astronomy equipped with two or three simple instruments as described in Siddhantas with a modern clock in addition for practical trainning of students selected by the Pandits and comparison of the almanac places of the sun and moon by observation. Our astronomers of old worked with simple instruments under the open sky. It was intended to be a centre for propaganda. The late Maharaja Manindra-Chandra Nandi of Kashimbazar, the noble son of Bengal ever ready to promote the welfare of his countrymen, offered to bear the expense which was estimated at Rs. 200 a month, and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad was entrusted with the execution of the scheme. But it is sad to reflect that in spite of the best endeavour of its energetic and respected secretary, the late Mr. Ramendrasundar Trivedi, none competant and enthusiastic in the project was found to act as the Director on a small honorarium. Had the scheme been carried out, the publication and actual demonstration of the results would have convinced the opposite party of the necessity of reform, and the publishers of almanacs would have got trained men able to handle new tables. In course of time the school would annually issue an astronomical ephemeries for the use of the public and publishers for preparing their calendars in any way they liked.

Happily the Government of Gwalior has taken up the question on a wider scale. Of the five observatories built by Raja Jai Singh one was located at Ujjain (Ujjayini), the Greenwich of India. It was lying idle since its erection two centuries ago.

> "It was the desire of His Highness the late Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindhia to make the best use of this observatory for correction of the Hindu almanac by enlightening the Joshis (astronomers) and enabling them to verify the results of their calculation by observation."

The Observatory was renovated and placed under the control of the Education Department of the State and regular work has been going on for the last four years under the able superintendence of Rao Saheb Principal G. A. Apte, M.A., B.Sc. The days of naked-eye astronomy are not yet over, and important results have been already obtained and published in Marathi and Hindi papers. It is hoped the Government of Gwalior will take steps to publish them in all important vernaculars. Mr. Apte has written a hand-book, entitled *Sarvanandakarana*, in Sanskrit on the lines of Grahalaghava for use by Joshis in preparing an almanac.

The protagonists of the Hindu almanac reform thought that they would be able to win the day by publishing a corrected almanac on the strength of its accuracy. Some looked upon the publishers of widely circulated almanacs as enemies and the Pandits who supported them as perverts. But impatience to consider the viewpoint of the oppositionists and aggressiveness never succeed in leading a movement. There is nothing mysterious about *tithis* and *nakshatras*, but few are able to take an intelligent interest in them. There are thousands of matriculates coming out of our schools every year, but they are not taught to read the astronomical part of our almanac, far less to watch the movements of the heavenly bodies. There was a Chair of

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Hindu Mathematics and Astronomy in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, but it has been lately abolished, because there is no money for teaching a useless subject! When such is the attitude of those who direct the education of our country, when the public are kept in ignorance of what affects them daily in their homes, there is no wonder that our almanac is left to the judgment of computers. The problem was attacked and solved by Chandrasekhara seventy years ago, and Orissa is the only Province in India which possesses a reformed almanac. The Oriya almanac may not be very accurate. But it is certainly an improvement, and accuracy is a relative term.

THE MAHAPARINIBBANA AND THE BUDDHA'S LAST MEAL

By Professor LALIT MOHAN KAR, kavyatirtha, M.A., B.L

About 33 miles east of the town of Gorakhpur, on the southern side of the Gorakhpur-Kasia Road, lies one of the most sacred spots on the earth; for, it was here—at Matha Kuar[1]—that Sakyamuni Buddha breathed his last, in 543 B.C. according to the orthodox Buddhist tradition, or 487 B.C. in the opinion of the European Orientalists. Millions of Buddhist pilgrims have visited that place since then; and, even today visitors from all parts of the world come there, where the 'Light of Asia' obtained his Great Extinction (Mahā-parinibbāna).

The place is now a mass of ruins of once splendid structures, the only remaining ones being a temple, a *stupa* and a few scattered buildings. In the temple which is of the shape of Dasaratha cave of the Barābar Hills in Gaya, there is a reclining image of Buddha with his head to the north resting on the right hand. It is about four times the size of an ordinary man and of the same dimensions as the seated figure in the Buddha Gaya temple. It is covered with gold and silk presented by Burmese devotees, possibly in imitation of the golden cloth given by Pukkusa, a wealthy follower with which Ananda, the chief disciple, had wrapped the body of the dying Buddha. There is a tablet on the southern wall describing the discovery of the place by Carllyle, Assistant to General Cunningham, in 1877. The *Stupa* by the side of the temple was originally erected by the Mallas[2] of the place, reconstructed by the Imperial devotee, Asoka, and, quite recently, substantially repaired. The reclining figure stands on the spot of Buddha's death, between two Sāla[3] (Sorium robusta) trees. The cremation took place on the bank of the Kakutstha, also called Hiranya and Ajitavati, a small tributary of the Chhota Gandak, now generally dry, about half a mile away.

There are still to be seen the walls of two rows of small rooms, with a passage between them, meant for Bhikhus. All other buildings are now a mass of debris. About a mile to the south there are the uncared for ruins associated with Anuruddha, Buddha's cousin and disciple.

Kasia, a small town, a mile and a half to the east, has been identified with 'Kusinārā' of the Buddhists: It can also be approached from Tahsil Deoria Station, 40 miles south-east of Gorakhpur, on the B. N. W. Rly., by bus, of which there is a regular service, the distance being 22 miles due north. On the Vaisākhī Purnima (Full-moon day in April-May), the thrice sacred day of the Buddhists—being that of the Birth, Enlightenment and Pari-nibbāna of Buddha,—a fair is held there, and people collect there in large numbers in buses from Gorakhpur, Deoria, Padrauna and the adjoining places.

The place of the death of Buddha naturally

1. Also called Debisthan, like Rumindei, the birthplace of Siddhartha Kumar, in Nepal, about 60 miles north-west of Gorakhpur. 'Matha,' a corruption of 'mata,' means a deified person (male or female). The word 'devata,' a feminine word is applied to gods in general *e.g.*, 'Indra devata,' 'Vayurdevata' etc. 'Kuar stands for 'Kumara,' the Prince (Siddhartha) the pet name by which Buddha was known in his own country.

2. Families of Malls living here trace their descent from the Mallas. The Mads (मद्) of Bengal appear to have the same name.

3. Clay seals, with two 'Sala'-trees are shown there, said to have been locally discovered.

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Mahaparinirbbana—Sarada Ukil

Kusinara ruins

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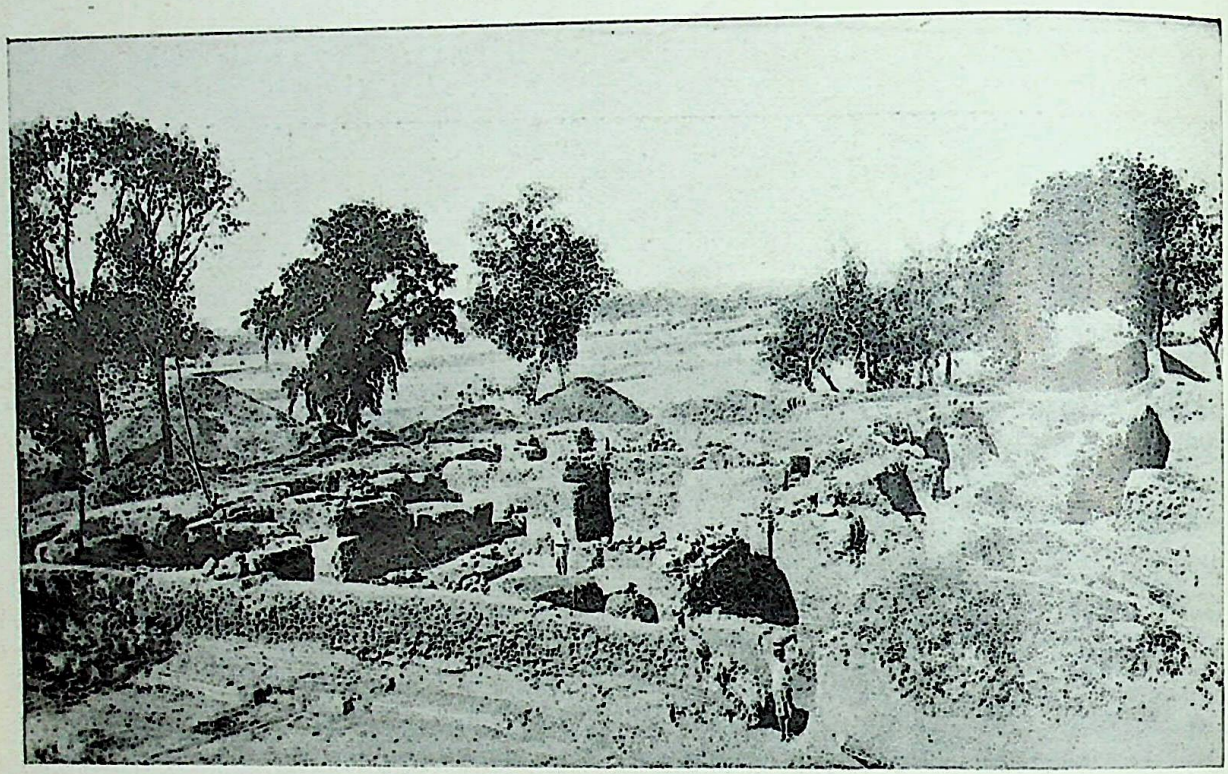
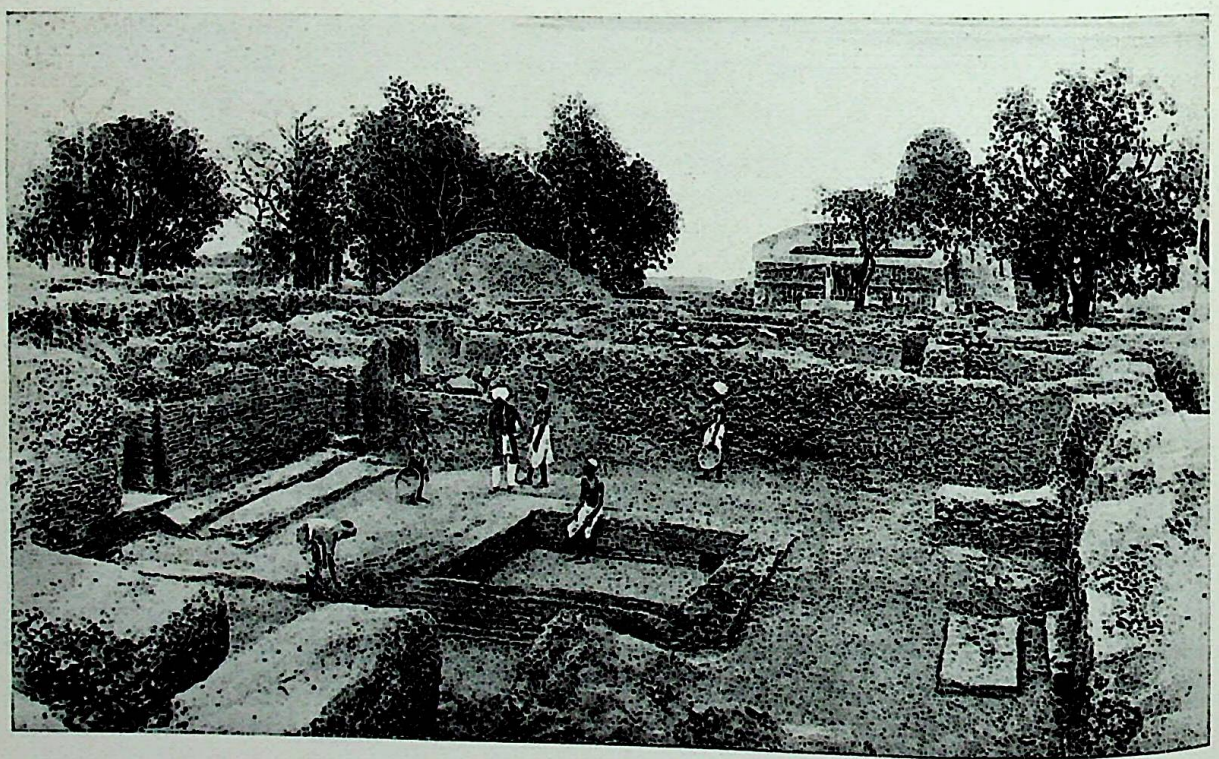


Kusinara ruins



Kusinara ruins

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reminds one of the incidents that led to it. The events of his last days may be thus recounted :

He was already ailing when he came to Pāvā (Padrauna, Gorakhpur District) from Vaisali (Besār, Muzaffarpur District) after several halts. He was staying with his followers, in the garden or, rather, grove of Chunda, who has been called 'a worker in metals' 'goldsmith,' and 'blacksmith,' but was in all probability, a carpenter (Ratha-Kāra)[4]. Conscious of his approaching end, Buddha was probably going homeward to Kapilavastu, but died before reaching the destination. On the way he was born and he died on the way.

The last meal that Buddha took had been prepared by Chunda, the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya (Pali Sutta Pitaka) gives it as 'Sūkara-maddavam.' What this actually was is a puzzle to us.

It has been taken to mean

(*i*) boar's dried flesh,[5]

(*ii*) meal of rice and young pork,[6]

(*iii*) tender parts of pork,[7]

(*iv*) the succulent parts, the titbits of a young wild boar,[8]

(*v*) some tough pork,[9] etc., etc.

Watters says,

The word 'Sukara maddavam' has been generally understood to mean a preparation of pig's flesh. Dr. Rhys Davids translates it at one place by 'dried boar's flesh' and in another place by 'tender pork' (Buddhist Suttas p. 72 : Questions of King Milinda Vol. I p. 243 and note). But he is not satisfied with the interpretations and explanations given of the word, and he is obviously inclined to regard it as a name for some vegetable article of food. This view is also taken by K. F. Newmann, who gives reasons for regarding the word as denoting some kind of edible fungus. Now it is remarkable that neither in the Tibetan nor any of the Chinese accounts of the death of the Buddha is there any mention of pork at the last breakfast. Nor is it mentioned in any of the Maha-yanist books on the Great Decease, nor in the account of Chunda's feast given in the Sarvata Vinaya. In the 'Yu-hsing-Ching' the dainty reserved by Chunda for the Buddha is called 'Sandal-wood-tree-ear' or 'Sandal-wood-ear.' By these names is probably indicated a tree-fungus or some aromatic mushroom. In the Chinese language a common name for any parasitical fungus is 'mu-erh' or tree-ear, and among Buddhist monks and their friends mushrooms are well-known as Ho-Sang-jou or 'monk's flesh meat.' I agree with Newman that the pious blacksmith was not likely to cook pickled pork for the Buddha, and think that fungus or mushroom should be taken to be the meaning of Sukara-maddava'"[10]

It really sounds strange that an octogenarian, recognized holy for forty years, 'sans teeth' in all probability, should be served with the flesh of an animal. Besides, such a food would be quite contrary to his own principles. The 'Silas'[11] or abstentions, which must be kept by all Buddhists (five or eight or ten rules to be observed according to their advancement in piety), start with the abstention from taking life: *pānātipata veramam*. In the Jātakas Buddha has described himself many times as offering his own body to save animals from being killed for food.[12] These sermons would lose all their force if in this life he would act before the eyes of the people in a way contradicting the sacrifices of his past lives. Buddha has been looked upon as an *avātara* (incarnation—one of the ten), for his taking a stand against the killing of animals, by the Hindus.[13]

In the Vinaya Pitaka we find a positive injunction :

"Let no one O Bhikkhus, knowingly eat meat (of an animal) killed for that purpose : Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkato* offence."[14]

The inscriptions of Asoka tell us, that, although a king, he is offering an apology for killing two peacocks and one deer, a minimum reduced from a very large slaughter of animals

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4. There is a large colony of carpenters in the present headquarters of the District which has always been rich in forest timber. Probably they emigrated from old cities of which 'Kusinara' was one. Gorakhpur is famous even now for its palanquins. Carpenters are described in the Jataks as carrying on a flourishing industry. The story of one of them extracting a piece of splinter from the foot of a wild elephant would remind one of Androcles. Compare the case of 'Bankers' of Calcutta who emigrated from Saptagram now in ruins.

5. Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics by Hastings. Vol. 2, p. 884. This interpretation is probably based on Childers who takes 'maddavo' as 'withered' —R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* p. 224.

6. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 80.

7. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 461, 'Sukara,' cognate with the Latin '*suculus*' (little pig). Foot note: Buddha's death was due to a meal of *Sukara-maddava*. which may well mean 'tender parts of pork.' See Fleet, J. R. A. S. for 1906, p. 881, n., though the *Raja-nighantee* vii, 85, gives Sukara as meaning the *Batatus edulis*.

8. Dr. J. F. Fleet, J. R. A. S. for 1909, p. 21.

9. K. J. Saunders, *Gotama Buddha*, (Heritage of India Series) 1922, p. 76.

10. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, edited by Rhys Davids and Bushell. Vol. II, 1905, pp. 27-28.

11. 'The first five Silas are binding on all Buddhists.' Childers' Dictionary p. 476. They are prohibiting the destruction of life, theft, impurity, lying, the use of intoxicating liquor.

12. Such a story being very popular is given on stone. See Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India* (S. N. S.) Second Impression, 1903. p. 193.

13. Cf. Jaydeva, the poet of devotion : "Sadaya-hridaya-darsita-pasu ghatam" (You showed your compassion being a champion against animal killing).

14. Mahavaggo—VI. 31, 14. Dukkata, a grave offence, Sanskrit 'duskrita.'

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for his kitchen.[15] He is holding out a promise that he would stop even this in near future, possibly when he would be able to rise above the rigid tradition of the royal family to make an innovation. Evidently he succeeds in doing so and imposes prohibition from animal killing to a very large extent in his vast Kingdom by royal proclamation,[16] after he becomes a confirmed Buddhist.

Living in an age very remote from Buddha and in places far off from the scene of his death, we are apt to undertake the importance of Buddha's life and treat the cause of his death lightly. The life of the Master (*Sāstā*) was a national asset at that time and all eyes were upon him. He was honoured with the funeral of a monarch and eight kings and ruling princes contended for his ashes immediately after his cremation, claiming him to be one of them. 'Stupas' or solid domes were raised on his relics, as Memorials.

The situation that the disciple Chunda had to face, in offering an adequate food or perhaps sick diet, must have been a grave one; and he could not have offered it without the greatest caution. Buddha was surrounded by a large number of devotees, amongst whom were his near and affectionate relatives. Buddha realised the merit of the food specially prepared for him as conducive not to death but to deliverance, like the milk food given him by Sujātā in Gaya leading to his 'Sambodhi' (Enlightenment). He left a message with his most favourite disciple, Ananda, to be delivered to Chunda as coming from himself in praise of the last repast.[17]

Now, Sūkaramaddavam is a compound word, formed of Sūkara (boar) and maddava (softness). It is the second word which has presented the greater difficulty and is responsible for misinterpretations.

For one thing, 'maddavam' does not mean flesh or meat. It is derived from the word 'mudu' (in Pali) and so 'muduno bhavo maddavam' (maddavam means the state of being 'soft').[18] Nor does the word 'Sūkara' mean boar's flesh. To denote 'boar's flesh,' the word would be 'sokara' (सोकर and not सूकर) as has been expressly mentioned by Kaccayana, the earliest and greatest Pali Grammarian who lived about the 3rd Century B. C.[19] He says that in order to mean 'the flesh of that' there is the affix n (ण) which will turn the first 'a' of a word into 'ā', and 'u' or 'ū' into 'o'. (In Sanskrit this change is called *vriddhi*, 'a' being changed into 'ā' and 'u' or 'ū' being changed into 'ou', but as there is 'ou' dipthong in Pali, it is changed into 'o'). He cites the instances 'mahisassa i d a m, manasam vā'=māhisam' (Something of a buffalo or a buffalo's flesh= māhisam) and 'sūkarassa idam m ā m s a m vā *sokaram*' (Something appertaining to a hog, or a hog's flesh is 'sokaram').[20]

Kalidasa's use of the word 'mārdavam' (the Sanskrit form of the Pali 'maddavam') throws a flood of light on the word, *viz*:—'abhitaptam-ayo-pi mārdavam bhajate'[21]—even a piece of iron when heated gets softness. 'Maddavam' thus means something made soft by heating or cooking.

The Pāka-darpana (Mirror of Cooking) ascribed to King Nala of the Mahābhārata Episode, an ancient work on cooking says about a method of cooking :—'evam pāke krite tasya mrdutvam svādu jāyate' (cooked in this way its softness gets tasteful).[22] Mrdutvam is only another word for 'mārdavam' from the same word 'mrdu.'

According to Panini[23] there is the word 'sauvadu-mridavam' (tasteful-soft-ness) w h i c h coresponds to the idea given in Pākadarpan. If the word mridu is used alone, then in the sense of 'Samokritam bhakshā' (a food prepared in a special cooking pot) there is the word 'mardavam' meaning food prepared in a 'soft' (like mrd=earthen) pot. The Pali form of this word is '*maddavam*.'

The name Sukara (variant Sūkara) is derived from the word Sūka[24] (bristles; piercing or hairy growth). So a pricking spout of grass has been called Sūka, *e.g.*, 'nivisate yadi *sūka*-Sikhāpade' (if the prickly point of sprouting grass pierces the sole of the foot).[25] The caterpillar is called 'Sūka-Kīta', the worm with bristles. The beard of corn because of its

15. Great Rock Edicts (Girnar, etc.). Edict I.
16. Pillar Edicts (Delhi Sivalik etc.). Edict V.
17. Maha-parinibbana-Sutta.
18. Maharupasiddhi (Pali Grammar) of Buddhapiyo Mahathero, Ceylonese Edn., 1897, p. 159.
19. Kaccayana's Pali Grammar, by Mm. S. C. Vidyabhushana, M.A., the pioneer of Pali Studies, published by the Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta, 1901, p. xxviii.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
21. Raghuvamsam, VIII, 43.
22. *Paka Darpana or Nala-Paka*, ascribed to King Nala, charioteer and expert cook. Benares, 1915, Nala introduces himself as 'anna-samskara-mapica janamanyur-visesatah'—(a m o n g other things I know specially the art of cooking. Vanaparva, Mahabharata.
23. Astadhyayi—IV. 2, 16.
24. Vachaspatyam, article Sukara.
25. Naisadhacharitam by Sriharsa—IV. 11.

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prickliness is also called 'sūka.' 'Sūkara' is formed with affix 'ra' like 'madhu-ra' (Sweet, lit., possessing honey) from 'madhu' (honey).[26]

It is a noticeable thing that in ancient India synonyms were very freely used, even for proper names. Kalidāsa has used the word 'Rath-ānga-namā' (one named with *the part of a chariot*) to denote the Ruddy-goose, instead of 'Chakra-vāka, (the wheel-voice). The names of radish, among others, are Chānakyamulakam, Vishnuguptakam and Kautilyam, the different names of the celebrated minister of Chandragupta Maurya.

The different names of Sūkara, given by Moggalana Thero, a Ceylonese Bhikkhu of the 12th Century in his Pali Lexicon, the Abhidhānappadīpikā are [27]: "Sūkaro (tu) varaho (tha)", and "varāho sukare gaja." Pali like the modern vernaculars, follows Sanskrit in lay subjects like grammar, lexicography, alamkāra, chhandas, etc. We notice the synonyms of Sūkara as given by Amara Simha.[28] Who although wrote in Sanskrit, was even an earlier Buddhist than Moggalana Thero, who follows him:

> Varaho, Sukaro, Ghrstih, Kolah, Pottri, Kirah, Kitih, Damstri, Ghone, Stabdharoma, Krodo, Bhudara (ity-api).[29]

There is an excellent bulb 'Sūkarakanda' which possesses many of these names of the boar, such as Ghrsti, Grsti, Sūkarī, Krodakanyā, Varāhi, Krodī, Gristikanyā Varaha-Kanda as well as those of Vishnu who in one of his incarnations took the form of a Boar, *viz.*:—Visvaksenapriyā, Madhavestā, Visvaksenakanta (favourite of Vishnu). Its other names are:

> Varahikanda evanyai scharmakaraluko matah;
> Anupe sa bhaveddese varaha iva lomavan.
>
> "Varahi-Kanda is called by some Charmakaralu (the leather man's potato), it grows in wet or in marshy soil and is hairy like a boar."

Its names showing its properties are 'balya' (strength-giver), 'amrta' (nectar), 'mahāvirya' (of great potency), 'mahausadha' (great medicine), 'vriddhida' (helping growth), and 'vyādhi-hantā (destroyer of diseases). Another name is 'Māgadhī', indigenous of Magadha.[30]

This is Sakara-Kanda (Batatūs edulis) a variety of yam.[31]

Bhāva-prakāsa, the well-known Medical authority says of the plant:

> 'Vidari, Svadu-Kanda ca sa tu Krosti sita smrta;
> Iksu-gandha, Ksira-valli, Ksira-sukla, payasvini.'[32]
>
> "the ground-piercing, sweet-bulbed, if white, called 'the sow,' smelling of sugar-cane, milk-creeper, milk white, possessed of milk."[33]

The bulb is specified as

> 'Varaha-murdhavat Kando Varahi-Kanda-Sajnitah.'[34]
>
> "The bulb which has the appearance of the head (or snout) of the boar is called the 'Varahi-Kanda.'"

It is recommended as a substitute of equal merit for two great medicinal plants Rddhi and Vrddhi, which are rare:

> 'Rddhi-vrddhi-sthane varahi-kandam tat-tulyam Ksipet.'[35]

According to a Vārtika (Supplementary rule) of Kātyāyana to Panini[36] the *roots* of plants may be of diverse genders ('puspa-mūlesu bahulam') and so both Sūkarī (and preferably) 'Sūkara' means the root or bulb of the plant.

In this district of which Kasia is a part (once a sub-division) the bulb is known as 'ganji' (derived from Hindi 'genthi'[37]= Sanskrit Gristi) as well as 'Sakara-Kand' (derived from Sūkara-Kanda), a name known far and wide. It sounds as if this name has been derived from the word 'Sarkarā-Kanda', but there is no bulb of this name in the long list of edible bulbs in Sanskrit (nor in Bengali, given by N. G. Mukherji).

Dr. Hoey[38], who was like Vincent Smith, a Civilian officer of Gorakhpur, holds that at Pava, Buddha ate at the house of Chunda Sūkara (not hog's flesh but 'Sūkara-Kanda,' hog's root) which aggravated the illness that terminated his life.[39]

As an article of Phalāhārī food, *i.e.*, taken by those keeping a fast Sakarkand is taken boiled. So this corresponds very nearly to

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26. Astadhijayi, V. 2, 107; Kaccayana, Pali Grammar, Vidyabhushana—V. 24, p. 225.
27. Third Edition, Colombo, 1900, p. 85, V. 617 and p. 166, V. 1115.
28. Probably lived in the 4th Century A.D. Poona Edn. 1913, p. 9.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 84, V. 2. Notice the similarities between, Amarasimiha and Moggalana Thero. Amara has 'Karahatah Sipha, Kandah (p. 45), Moggalano: 'Karahatani tu Kando' p. 76, v. 543).
30. Brihat-Nighantu Ratnakara, etc. quoted in Saligram Nighantu, Bombay, S. 1980, p. 947 etc.
31. See The Book of Knowledge (Indian Empire Edn.) Vol. 4, p. 2441 and also p. 2685 on which coloured pictures of Yam and of sweet potato are given (Nos. 12 and 13).
32. Kaviraj R. L. Gupta's Edn., Calcutta, 1883, p. 240.
33. Trees of the fig class are also called Ksiri, as on their fresh leaves being broken a milky juice flows.
34. Bhavaprakasa, p. 162.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
36. IV. 3. 166, Astadhyayi of Panini—Panini Office Edn., 1896, p. 805, Ch. 'Bahulam sulk puspamulam' in Sakatayana's Grammar—Benares, 1913, pp. 307-8.
37. Hindi-Sabda-Sagara, p. 735.
38. The Hoey Park of Gorakhpur commemorates his name.
39. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIX, p. 80.

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Sukara-maddavam, the soft pulp of the 'Sakar-kanda.'

In these parts the Chaumāsā or Chāturmāsyam is strictly observed. Generally this begins with Hari-Sayana Ekādasi and ends with Devotthāna Ekādasi, roughly corresponding to the Vassāvāsa or 'the Retreat during the Rains' of the Buddhists. Devout people here do not take "ganji" before the 'Deothan Ekādasī.' It is a sight to see in the local markets heaps of 'ganjis' and Siripādā (Sanskrit Sringataka= 'water chestnut') collected for sale on that Ekādasī day. The Sakara-Kanda is grown very easily (hence also 'Sukara') and extensively, in the plains as well as in the slopes of Nepal.

It has got a sweet taste and is both of dull white and red colours. The red variety resembles the 'Rāngā-alu' of Bengal but possesses a thick milky juice when raw, the white variety has less of this juice. Both the varieties have got thread like things within their pulp when boiled, and these cause a griping pain in weak stomachs. I was once much surprised being informed by a student of mine that he had brought his aged father, a Brāhmana Zamindar, to the town for treatment from the neighbourhood of Kasia, as he was suffering from 'pechish' (dysentery) by taking boiled 'ganji' after his fast, this would very vividly remind one of Buddha.

The boiled Sakarkand, nevertheless, is very widely used. It is the chief, and mostly the only, item of delicacy sold in fairs, even in remote villages.

Another bulb (Kanda, Kanda-mūla-phala', being specially the food of India's holy men) which satisfies the meaning 'gaja'[27] of Abhidhāna--ppadīpika and 'ear' of the Chinese versions[10] is Gaja-Karna-ālu, which is mentioned as:

"Hastikanda hasti-patrah sthula-kando 'ti-kandakah;
Vrhat-patro 'ti-patrasca hasti-karnastu Karnaka."[10]
'Elephant-bulb, elephant-(ear)-leaved, massive-bulb, big-bulb, large-leaf, big-leaf and ear-(like).

This is called 'Bāndā' in the U. P. It is hairy and dark like a boar when it comes out of the ground. It is the specific produce of Padrauna (in which Pāvā where Buddha was given 'Sukara-maddavam) and is grown on a very large scale.

It belongs to the class of 'Māna', defined as

'Manakah syah mahapatrah.'[41]

'Mana' or 'Manaka is the same as 'great-leaf,' (Cf. atipatra=vrhat-patra above).[42]

It has been highly praised by Hindu physicians who were great believers in the dietetic treatment of diseases. 'Māna-manda' the bulb being boiled to the thin-ness of a fluid, is a widely approved diet in extreme cases of weakness of the stomach.

But the article of food offered by Chunda to his Great Master appears to have been a richer and more elaborate one than the simple boiled root or bulb. It has been highly spoken of by Buddha.

The mrdu (from which maddavam comes) is derived from mrd, meaning to 'press,' 'pound', 'knead,' etc. A kind of pudding or 'pāyasa', (milk preparation) made with boiled Sakar-Kand or perhaps pounded 'kaseru' (Kesoor), *Seripus Kyseor* boiled in milk to thickness would be Sukara-maddavam, as well.

Kaseru is a natural product of marshy districts and is the great favourite of boars and hairy too. Its name is 'sukaresta' (= 'the boar's favourite'[43]) and even Kroda (boar). The powdered or pounded Kesur (like 'Singhā-rā') is used in making "lāpsi" (boiled in milk and sugar). This hulwa-like preparation is highly appreciated and is a favourite dish of the higher classes. It is the best kind of 'phalahari' food for old men, light and nutritious.[44]

The Sūkara-maddavam' thus appears to have been a pulpy vegetable, *i.e.*, bulb preparation in milk to serve as the last food of Buddha taken by him before entering the Mahā-pari-nibbāna, like the milk preparation given him on the eve of his attaining Enlightenment (Buddha-hood) at Gayā. He has mentioned the two together before his death as belonging to the same category and sanctity.

40. Saligram-Nighantu-Bhushana, p. 946.
41. Bhava-prakasa, Calcutta Edn., p. 331.
42. 'Mana' and 'Kachu' are looked upon as 'pure' food and as such are used in the 'Bhoga' (God's dinner) in the temple of Jagannath at Puri, while potato, as a foreign and late introduction has got no access to the holy shrine.
43. S. Greden suggests 'boar's delicacy or favourite food' (for Sukara-maddavam) in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 2, p. 884.
44. A similar kind of food is called 'malida' in Hindi (Sanskrit mardita), from verb 'malna' derived from Prakrt मल् 'mal' (Sanskrit mrd. cf. 'mrdola,' pp. 76 and 170—Prakrita-prakasa—edited by Cowel, Hertford, 1854). Malidah is the Persian name of a kind of preparation: "Pounded meal cakes mixed with butter and sugar" (Urdu-English Dictionary, R. N. Lall, Allahabad, Steingass; Persian-English Dict., 2nd Imp., p. 1144), as well as of the well-known woollen cloth made from Kashmir lamb's wool by *pressing* it and making it soft.
Yogratnakara (Bombay, Nirnayasagara Press. 3rd. Edn., 1926) mentions a restorative diet, which is 'mardita drdha-panibhyam'=Kneaded with firm hands (p. 20). The 'Malpua,' a (mardapupa) a rich delicacy of the Vaisnavas, who inherited much of the life of the Buddhists, is a similar preparation.

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RAINFALL

By the late Rao Bahadur Pandit
K. VEERESALINGAM PANTULU,
Rajahmundry

Enter—Sankara Sastri while Ganapati Rao, seated, is engaged in study.

Gana. My obeisance to you, Sastri garu.[1]

Sanka. Long life be unto you! Prosperity be unto your family! Success on all sides attend you evermore through royal grace at regal mansions!

Gana. Is all your benediction exhausted already, sir? Don't you know how to say any more, sir?

Sanka. These English-acquiring scholars poke fun at us!

Gana. No fun, please. Because you are a grandpapa, I have said so in jest. Don't you nurse displeasure, sir.

Sanka. You are a young one. I take no offence even if you say a word in dispraise of me. Dad, what do they call the book you are at?

Gana. This is called Physical Geography.

Sanka. What are contained therein?

Gana. Oh, therein? Many things are specified about earth, air and sea.

Sanka. What about is the portion you are now reading?

Gana. I'm reading about rain and cloud. That's our lesson for today.

Sanka. Why does it say rain falls? What is meant by cloud according to English books?

Gana. Owing to the heat of the sun's rays, the water contained in the sea, the rivers and the ponds goes up in the form of vapour, collects in one place, shapes itself into a cloud on high and falls down when the weight gets heavy. That is just called rain.

Sanka. That's all? Do they put it down as untruth that clouds have life and do duty as vehicles for Indra?

Gana. Undoubtedly, a myth. What, clouds to have life? There is nothing else in them besides steam, vapour and air.

Sanka. Your statement is anything but believable. Beyond doubt, clouds *are* possessed of life. Of old, they even carried errands to Yaksha's consort. Many a man has witnessed clouds going to the sea and drinking up water. If, after drinking water like that, they come and pass urine, that water descends down upon the earth in the form of rain. That is exactly why there is no purification for rain-water unless it falls on the ground.

Gana. Have you ever observed clouds repair to the sea and drink the water? Learned man as you are, why do you also give credence to what the unlearned should say? What! Clouds to drink water!

Sanka. Alas! Alas! What am I to say if you don't believe my word? Clouds do come not only to the sea but also to the pottery of the Koyas[2] up in the hills and quaff water and get away. The Koyas lie in wait; and while the clouds are in the art of penetrating into the earthenware and lapping the water, they promptly close the lids, set up fire underneath the pots and cook and consume the clouds. This thing my maternal uncle has noticed.

Gana. If questioned, he will say, for his part, that his own uncle has seen it. Fond stories of this kind gain currency; and ignoramuses swallow them. None there will be who has seen anything. Why the story of the Koyas? Suppose, by transferring it to my house, I remove the fresh-water from your metal-pots while you are all absent from home; and suppose I declare that clouds have drunk away the water and my maternal uncle has seen it and those in my yard have cooked and eaten them up. Will you believe it, then?

Sanka. For aught you may say, be it a thousand things or a lakh of things, to the contrary, there is no doubt clouds are animated beings. There should be showers every day, if the rain were only water going up under the sun's heat and then dropping down. Clouds have their masters; and rainfall comes not except at the bidding of the latter.

Gana. According to your version, is the masters' permission necessary even for urination? At that rate, superfine masters they have, indeed.

Sanka. I am a 'widow's son'[3] proficient

(1) An honorific in Telugu.

(2) Aboriginal hill-tribes.

(3) A colloquial term of reference.

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in many *sastras*. Don't you set aside my word altogether. If you please, I'll show you as many authorities from the *sastras* as you want. Clouds have for their masters the two gods, Varuna and Indra. No rain will fall except with their assent. For that very reason, some regions get no rain and become subject to famine. Why is it that famines of twelve years' duration used to occur in former times?

GANA. They used to come through the improvidence of people. If river-dams are erected, canals excavated and water made to flow through the whole country, all twelve-year famines and the like of them will flee away in affright. Have you ever seen twelve-year famines appear since the digging of these canals?

SANKA. Dear lad, you are young and know nothing. You ought not to contemn the worthies of bygone generations like that. They were all-wise ones. Were there nothing, they would not groundlessly affirm the existence of the gods. In the absence of rains, they used to recite *Varuna-mantras*[4] and bring down rain in an instant. The gods were all face to face with them. If, when the rains held off, all the folks approached the Brahmins, gripped their feet and duly propitiated them, these latter used to induce rain and administer happiness to the whole world through the efficacy of their *mantras*. Only because the Brahmins are endowed with such miraculous powers do all people adore them as the gods of the earth.

GANA. This is all the device contrived by Brahmindom to ensure its ascendancy. These deities are as manifest to the Sudras as to the Brahmins. In case rain falls by the prayers of the Brahmins, it falls as well by those of the Sudras.

SANKA. Dear lad, to abuse the Brahmins conduces not to your prosperity. Great glory abides positively amongst the Brahmins. Have you noted how the rains fall even now on payments being made to the Brahmins and *Varuna-mantras* being got recited and *sahasraghata-bhishekams*[5] performed by them? Last year, when all the farmers of Penneru village rallied together and raised contributions up to a hundred rupees and got the Brahmins to perform *sahasraghatabhishekam*, there *was* the fall of rain just within three days, whereas not a drop had come down before.

GANA. All this is the machination designed by the Brahmins to make tomfools of people and compass the wastage of their money. It is nothing more than that. Had those thousand potfuls of water been emptied into their fields instead of into the temple, at least some portions of the fields would have been irrigated. An excellent pumping-well would have been secured at the expense of that sum of one hundred rupees. Even if that amount had been utilised as wages and coolies engaged to draw water and wet the fields therewith, the latter would have yielded very good produce. Being stupids, they consigned the hundred rupees to Brahmin bellies and wasted it to no purpose. Last year, not a single drop fell down from above on the performance of *sahasraghatabhishekam* in this town only, for ten days the streets became miry and unfit for walking along.

SANKA. Were it not the efficacy of the *mantras*, what, I wonder, was the cause of the rainfall in the other locality? Tell me that, sir.

GANA. If it were the efficacy of the *mantras*, you tell me, sir, what was the reason for the failure of rainfall in this town. Well, see, these *sahasraghatabhishekams* they perform in the summer season on the eve of the monsoon. If the showers come of themselves the Brahmins ascribe it to their own glory. In default, they are mum like the burglar stung by a scorpion while in the hole. Presents and offerings for the Brahmins in advance are assured things, whether there be rains or no rains afterwards. This is all deception practised in broad daylight while everybody is wide awake.

SANKA. Dear lad, stop this discourse now. Your abuse of the Brahmins is growing from more to more. When anti-Brahminism gets overripe, no more intercourse is permissible. With the advent of English learning at the present day, all the *sastras* and traditions—thanks to this pariah (outlandish) education—are going to dust and ashes, to rack and ruin. English-educated folks are out-and-out Christian wretches. They are raising a vicious cavil over all things and reducing the whole world to 'pariah food' perversion. Rama! Rama! Rama! To hearken further to these words will entail sin.

(*Exit*, closing his ears.)

[Translated from Telugu by Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D.]

(4) Hymns of praise and prayer addressed to the rain-god.

(5) The ceremonial sprinkling of idols with holy water to the extent of a thousand potfuls.

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INDIAN COMPANIES ACT : PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

By ABINAS CH. DUTTA, M.A., B.L., Advocate

The amendments proposed in the last session of the Legislative Assembly for overhauling the Indian Companies Act (1913) are now on the anvil of the Select Committee and it is time for the public, the lawyers, accountants and the business people to give their suggestions and make their views known in respect of the proposed changes. Those who desire to see the growth and expansion in India on sound and secure basis of joint stock enterprises without which no industrial development on large scales is feasible would do well to study the Amending Bill in the light of the new provisions.

The Indian Companies Act, 1913, was based on the English Companies Consolidation Act of 1908 with certain additions and alterations. The English Act of 1908 was examined by two committees of experts appointed for the purpose, one in 1918 and another in 1926, and their recommendations were incorporated, with or without modifications, in the Companies Consolidation Act of 1929. The amendments proposed in the Indian Bill should now be considered with reference to the provisions of the English Act of 1929. But there are problems and conditions peculiar to India and its different provinces. Traditions, temperaments, ideas and habits vary. Diverse are the features of India's trade, industry, commerce and investments. All these factors, sometimes even militant, have got to be harmonized in the Indian Act, without ignoring at the same time their correlations with the English and other foreign systems of business and legal provisions. There are certain lines of business of which we get our models from Europe and America, where they have already attained a certain standard and evolved a tried and workable system. This we should keep in view while legislating for the betterment of our own business systems. The Amending Bill envisages a very important legislation for India.

The Government of India were, no doubt, alive to these problems. An eminent lawyer was appointed to examine the whole case with reference to the facts and figures collected. A small committee of business experts was also consulted. The outcome of their deliberations was the Amending Bill introduced in the last session of the Legislative Assembly. It now behoves the public to consider whether all that are desirable have been proposed in the said Bill and to place their views before the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly before they arrive at a decision. Should not the Select Committee invite the public and the business community for their evidence and opinions?

Trustee for Debenture Holders

Section 86F of the Bill provides that "No director of a company which has issued debentures shall be appointed as or be eligible to act as trustee for the holders of debentures of the Company." There is no such provision in the English Companies Consolidation Act of 1929. It appears that this provision is inserted for the protection of the interests of the debenture holders. If so, it is for the interests of the debenture holders that a director of the Company, particularly one connected with the management, should be included among the trustees for the debenture holders. Should there be any apprehension that his inclusion may prejudice any decision of the trustees against the Company when occasion might arise for such, some restrictions might be put to the voting capacity of such director in the meeting of the trustees. This is exactly what is done by some foreign concerns. The duties of a trustee are onerous. He should naturally desire the association with him of a director of the company who is in the know of all the affairs of the concern, just as the directors of a Company would require some one of the managing agency to participate in the directorate of that company. It is always found in connection with the prosecution of the directors of companies for defaults in fulfilling the requirements of the Companies Act that the director connected with the management gets the lion's share of the punishment from the courts of law. A strong ground for the inclusion of a director among the trustees for the debenture holders is that he can be held responsible for anything going wrong in respect of the "charges," specific or floating, on the assets of the Company, the title deeds in respect of the properties and the valuables. The Trust Act contemplates an individual appointing even himself as trustee for the interest of the beneficiaries, with all the legal obligations implied in

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the trusteeship. If the select committee of the Legislative Assembly find it inconvenient to include a director among the trustees for the debenture holders or when the trustee is an individual or any other corporate body like a bank or trust company, they may insert a provision like that done by a well-known New Zealand company issuing bonds and doing business in India. The trust deed of the said company provides that the Chairman of directors for the time being of that company "shall be notified to attend and shall be allowed to attend all meetings of the directors of the Trust company and shall be entitled to participate in all discussions thereat but shall not be entitled to vote at any such meetings." Though this can as well be provided indirectly by the trust agreement within the confines of the Amending Bill as it appears now, our Act should help rather than hinder such participation.

Debentures

Debentures and Collateral Trust Bonds of British and American Trust Companies, Building and Housing Societies are freely advertised in the papers and periodicals of those countries. In India subscriptions for them cannot be invited unless the full prospectus be published. The definition of prospectus in the Companies Act includes any invitation for debentures also, and the publication thereof has to fulfil certain requirements of the Act. Prospectus there should mean document by which share capital is offered to the public and upon the basis of which the applicant has actually subscribed. For popularizing the debenture idea in this country, strongly recommended by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, invitation for debentures and bonds should be encouraged by exempting such advertisements from the prohibitive clauses requiring publication of the prospectus. Invitation for deposits in banks does not come under these restrictions. Debentures and deposits are both debts of the Company, one being usually secured, another unsecured. Share holders of a company are partners in the business and receive dividends out of profits. Debenture holders and depositors are creditors entitled to receive interests whether the company is earning a profit or not. So, share prospectus and debenture prospectus should not come under the same category for restrictions. The Amending Bill should have a clause to that effect and sec. 2, cl. 14, corrected accordingly. "It would be of national importance," says the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, "to take measure by which the debenture market can be expanded and a debenture as an instrument of investment may be made popular."

Remuneration of Managing Agents

Managing Agents work under different designations and names, such as Secretaries, Managers, Trusts, Syndicates, Unions, etc. The Amending Bill does not give any definition of Managing Agents. Section 87C of the Bill provides that the remuneration of the managing agent shall be a sum based on a fixed percentage of the net annual profits of the company, with provision for a minimum payment in the absence of profits together with an office allowance. As regards the percentage basis of remuneration the select committee should consider the fact that the basis of remuneration varies according to the particular nature of the business. In regard to the insurance companies, it is generally some percentage of the premium income. As insurance companies are left out of this section, for reasons which may cause further complexities in the laws relating to administration of limited companies, I need not go into the merits of that basis here. That should be critically considered when the turn should come for it to see whether quality of business is sacrificed or high expense ratio is incurred by the management for inflating the premium income and thus swell their own remuneration at the sacrifice of the interests of the policyholders and shareholders. Building Societies, Trust Companies and Mortgage Banks are now working in India, where they have no special enactments in their behalf. They are also managed under the Managing Agency system and section 87C contemplates the basis of their remuneration. Management of the funds of Trust Companies and Insurance Companies demands a certain policy of investments which varies from that of banks and other financial concerns. In regard to the management of Trust funds, section 20 of the Indian Trust Act makes many restrictions. The investment policy of Trust bodies (which may be also limited companies working under the managing agency system) as well as of the life insurance companies, (life funds being regarded which they should, as a trust fund for the benefit of the policy-holders) must aim more at the safety of the investment rather than the yield. And it is a common theory that the security of an investment varies in inverse ratio to the yield. So, the basis of remuneration of the managing agents of the Trust Companies should be other than the income from the investments

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or some other basis along with the profit basis. That will put a check on the speculative instinct for an increased income. I may here mention that the Investment Trusts of England and America have for the basis of their remuneration for the managements, not the yield or income of the investments, but certain percentage of the invested funds of the Company, its volume of investments and financial dealings. The Bill must contemplate that different policies of investments are to be adopted by the different types of business and the basis of remuneration of the management should vary accordingly. The percentage of profit of income should not be the whole say as contemplated by section 87C of the Amending Bill.

THE ALL-INDIA LITERARY ACADEMY

By ATULANANDA CHAKRABARTI

The spirit of disunion and dissension is stalking abroad over the whole country with a malignant glee. Contrary to the need of unity and mutual understanding, large sections of the Indian people have applied themselves, unintentionally, to the task of disruption and distraction with a tragic earnestness. In high patriotic quarters, of course, there is the practice of giving expression to sweet sentiments. Some persons have reached the heights of transcendental fineness in the art of appearing sincere. It is hard to believe that there can be no tangible achievement, no real advancement, in the course of so many years of our struggle for regeneration in spite of sincerity in a large number of big men crying restlessly for our good. Leadership has perhaps become bankrupt, and it seeks to hold its own by means of excellent talks that are managed to be given out with charming ritualistic observance. The air is thick with make-believe, and what the country needs urgently, and right now, is the advent of a massive satirist of the power of an Aristophanes or a Voltaire.

Suspicion and the spirit of separation are at work amongst men in all spheres of public life. Even the apparently least worldly element of society, our literary men and students, are infected. Racial and religious diversities, social and provincial demarcations, economic and political rivalries have so thoroughly perverted our thoughts and misguided our energies that we seem to have forgotten that we Indians are and have to be one great people and that 'there was a time when' we were able so to harmonize our apparent differences as to allow no jarring note to be struck in offering worship to our land as the mother of every one of us equally and wholly.

I leave alone political results. What to me seems most grievous is that it has poisoned the springs of goodwill and friendship and killed beauty in the lives of a people gifted with wonderful cultures. Communalism, provincialism and 'isms' of so many other kinds have already assumed an utterly ugly appearance. If not wisdom, at least our artistic sense should come to our rescue. Indeed, a nation can ill afford to overlook the aesthetic values of life. The awful ramifications of ill-will can hardly be suffered any longer to go on blunting our sense of the sublime, whence, the ridiculous is not far off.

In view of this, the move for getting up an All-Indian Literary Academy is a most well-conceived enterprise. The materialization of it means the meeting of all the creative minds of our country in an atmosphere of goodwill and understanding and the canalization of the literary stream to help in producing a spirit of national unity and solidarity through a literature that can be claimed by all Indians as their very own, irrespective of regional differences. No doubt, an inspired artist with his supreme consciousness of the good and the beautiful will naturally create things for all times and all countries. He has no need of an Academy, for God's light breaks over him directly. But the humbler lot, the majority of literary craftsmen who have to work hard at knowing the truth and telling it well, the mass of writers who have to pay for their idealism and pine for want of opportunities—they surely need a society for mutual help and co-operation, in order to grow together and deliver their messages to weary mankind.

For some time past from some quarters appeals have been made to found some form of an academy. Particular mention must be made

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of the very illuminating idea of Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University. He suggested the formation of an Indian Academy which would prove to be a focal point of India's cultural unity and integrity. The idea, however, of establishing an All-India Literary Academy on the basis of Hindi and the attempt at investing it with a reality had been reserved for Sj. K. M. Munshi of Bombay. He has done it by drawing together a number of literary enthusiasts and practical politicians. It has been possible for him to do it by virtue of his being himself an earnest politician and a genuine litterateur, and, I suppose, a man of means too. The country should be grateful to the expounder of this vital idea and not less to those who will now help in its materialization.

The news that Munshiji had organized a Conference of the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad to be held at Nagpur by the end of April last under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi filled me with great hopes. I wrote to him requesting if he could possibly arrange to conduct a sort of a stock-taking of cultural fellowship that has found unconscious expression through all the important living languages of India during, say, the past hundred years. And, I am thankful that, though not in the full sense of my suggestion, the idea of cultural co-operation was embodied in a resolution and duly passed.

Not altogether a mild embarrassment was caused when Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru sought to over-accentuate utilitarian considerations and wanted very much that the makers of literature should work, as it were, under the dictation of politics. The literary organization of the U. S. S. R. may have gone so far as to allot particular subjects to a set of writers. Literature in our country, however, has a subtler tradition in making for the good of the people, and our recent zealous socialism may defeat its purpose by an impetuous imposition of a doctrine favouring any manner of scheduled production. At the same time, literature must be aware of the times and in contact with the vital problems of the daily life of the people. On the other hand, the so-called matter-of-fact politics must recognize that it cannot achieve its ends by adopting merely mechanical methods. It should be a lesson to know how Bengali literature humanized the national movement of the Partition days.

The little trouble that brewed persistently over the discussion of Hindi *versus* Hindustani indicated the dangers and difficulties in the way of launching a unilingual movement. A reconciliation, however, was brought about. Mahatma Gandhi harmonized the contending claims of the two by stating that 'Hindi or as otherwise called Hindustani' would be the basic language of the proposed Academy. Babu Rajendra Prasad, in the course of his presidential speech at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, had given a clear analysis of the make-up of Hindi, and it should help to stop the race of the wrong conception of the rivalry between Hindi and Hindustani. There need be no wrangling in this respect, and with such politicians as Rajendraprasadji and litterateurs as Munshiji matters will move towards the desirable goal. But, not rarely, logically well-intended things, owing to psychological obsessions, produce results contrary to all reasonable calculations. So the precaution is necessary to impress on all concerned that no particular language is meant to be suppressed by Hindi, which is required only to serve as a common national language for political purposes, leaving every Indian language to have its full play and continuous development in its own literary sphere. Otherwise, as we have recently grown much too susceptible to misunderstanding just for nothing, the zeal for a unilingual movement, at the hands of the less initiated, may involve the risk of opening up a dim avenue of a kind of communal and linguistic provincial conflict.

The remedy, if anything of a permanent nature is sought, for all communal misgivings, lies in rebuilding mutual trust on the basis of affinities in the cultural heritage of the members of the different communities as also their comradeship in cultural activities during centuries of association. I may say that this viewpoint has been receiving wide recognition in India and abroad since the publication of my book: *Cultural Fellowship in India*. I gratefully acknowledge that this line of approach to the communal problem had been indicated more than ten years ago by Sj Ramananda Chatterjee in the now defunct paper *Welfare*. And Sir Akbar Hydari's writings pointed out earlier perhaps the facts about our cultural rapprochement and the message of greater unity it bears.

I had prepared a little tract relating to this view-point of cultural fellowship. This tiny folder was circulated at the last sitting of the Nagpur Conference when the linguistic dispute was in a way settled. Next day I saw Mahatma Gandhi to tell him what progress had been made since I met him at Patna and had his goodwishes for my cultural work. When I happened to refer to the folder I learnt that he had gone through it and found himself in agreement with the view-point.

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Let me close the narration of my impression of the Nagpur Conference of the All-India Literary Academy by observing that the next step it should take is to hold a sort of a Convention of major languages and literatures at a special session. With this object in view, on behalf of Bengal, though somewhat informally, I invited the Conference to meet at Calcutta during the last week of December this year. The invitation was given a warm welcome by many ardent litterateurs and constructive workers who had gathered there, including that devoted and distinguished member of the Academy, Sj. Kaka Kalelkar, who prized very much the invitation of Bengal and hoped that it would be formally made by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad.

MEMORIES OF ABBAS TYABJI

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

In a corner of Cambay—a prosperous port of Gujarat in the days when men, sailing in frail wooden junks, braved the perils of the high seas—there awaits Israfael's bugle call all that is mortal of a loving couple. The husband and wife lie side by side locked in the long, deep (and, according to unbelievers, the interminable) sleep of death, as they stood side by side in life.

The people of the locality have twined a veritable romance round those two tombs. Since matters mundane have not driven concern for the spirit out of their thoughts, the romance has taken on the spiritual rather than the carnal hue.

"Baba Kela" and "Baba Keli," they call the twain. "Grandfather Plantain" and "Grandmother Plantain" sound queer as patronymics. Only to the sophisticated, however. Persons who have not strayed far away from Nature find nothing incongruous in them. They have faith. Reason does not impel them to lift the coverlet woven by fancy and peer below "six feet of sod."

II

Three years prior to June 9, 1936, almost to the day, when Abbas Tyabji's soul winged its way out of mortal ken, he sat in the glazed verandah of "Dovecote" at Mussoorie that I had rented for the summer without dreaming that "Southwood," the house next door, belonged to him. He was in a reminiscent mood and the talk drifted towards Cambay.

Baba Kela was, he thought, an abbreviation of Baba Akela—the "Lone Grandfather." He must have ventured upon the verdant coast of Gujarat from the silent, sandy spaces of Araby all by himself and took to himself a maid of the country. Hence the names.

Baba Kela was, at any rate, his great ancestor. Highly pious was he. His wants were as few as his spiritual insight was keen. He supported Baba Keli and himself by writing, in small, even, beautiful characters, verses from the Holy Quran and selling them to persons who pinned their faith to them.

III

My friend's voice vibrated with emotion as he imparted this information to me. A glow spread over his face, remarkably ruddy despite his 77 years and the sufferings he had uncomplainingly borne in the nation's cause. He had but recently come out of jail.

I was glad to listen to his words—glad to witness the effect they had upon his countenance. Without them the latter part of his life would have remained to me a mystery. It would not have joined on to his early manhood and middle age. Between the first six decades and the last two there would have been a cleft—a cleft that that would have continued to appear to be definite and as great as the Grand Canyon of Colorado.

If some one had told me in the midwinter of 1910-11, when I first met him, that a score of years later he would be deliberately defying govermental decrees and courting arrest and imprisonment, I would have been concerned about the sanity of the person who had delivered the prophecy. As I shall presently relate, his metier then was to punish lawbreakers and, in the time that did not belong to the State of Baroda, which held him in fee,

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he worshipped at the feet of the god of sociability.

This ancestral background provided me with the key to unlock the door leading to his inner consciousness. In him there must have been a gene transmitted from that austere old man to whom the goods of this world were as naught and the riches of the spirit everything. This gene of asceticism—of self-sacrifice—must have laid dormant in him until well towards the end of his life and then suddenly (or was it suddenly?) have been prodded by circumstances into activity—hyper-activity.

IV

To understand the man, we must know something of the child. Before he had completed his first decade, his people had, originally through trade and later, some of them, through advocacy at the bar, advanced towards affluance.

In the middle of the 60's of the last century one of his uncles—Mr. Qamr-ud-Din, if I remember aright—happened to be going to England, on business or pleasure, I forget which. It occurred to the family that he might take with him Abbas, whose heart was then bent upon play instead of upon work, and enter him in some public school there. Even if he did not gather knowledge assiduously, the discipline to which he would be subjected would do him good.

In the waning years of his life Abbas Tyabji related to me an incident to show how "the devil" he was constantly trying to scotch would suddenly bob up and push him into mischief. One evening, he was going up the staircase of the dormitory in the school in Bayswater (then a much more fashionable quarter of London than now) when the Headmaster accosted him and said:

"So you have been having ices and sharing them with your cronies?"

Harmless enough had been the fun. But something within him would not let him speak the truth.

"No, Sir," leapt from his lips, like lightning sometimes from an azure sky.

Good nights were exchanged, without another word; and he proceeded to his bed. All the time he was undressing and after he lay down, a small but persistent voice was asking:

"Why the lie?"

"Where was the occasion for it?"

"What the need?"

"What the gain?"

Questions of this tenor kept him turning and turning in his little bed. But with them also came answers.

"Lie it may have been, but it went undetected."

"It did not do any harm to anyone—leastways to me."

"It was no business of the Headmaster to know what I did with my pocket-money. Was it not mine—mine to spend as I liked? What if I did not care to spend it wholly upon myself? Why should I not treat my friends to ices, if treating them gave me—and them—pleasure?"

Such thoughts soothed him. But only for the moment. Then doubts would assail him. He would ask:

"Did I really succeed in deceiving the Headmaster? Or did he merely choose not to accuse me of telling a lie?"

"Was that the end of the matter or shall I hear further about it?"

"Why should I, in any case, deceive the Headmaster, who seemingly accepted my word as one gentleman to another?"

And so on.

For an eternity (so it appeared to him) he lay awake thus debating with himself. When he finally fell into a stupor, his mind refused to cease functioning. His conscience (or whatever it was) kept lashing his spirit.

At times he thought of going to the Headmaster, making a clean breast of it and throwing himself upon his mercy. But the "Old Nick" would bob up and throttle his resolve before it had been fully formed.

When he finally plucked up courage and told the Headmaster the truth, the man's face beamed with joy and he remarked:

"I knew at the time that I was not being told the truth. But I hoped that you would come and tell me of your own accord."

V

From this public school Abbas Tyabji went to one of the Inns of Court in London. Largely through assiduity in "eating the dinners" he earned, after keeping the stipulated number of terms, the title to plead the cause of any person who cared to retain his services at any court of judicature in any corner of any country over which reigned Victoria *Regina et Imperatrix*.

The young barrister sat at his desk, upon his return, in 1875, to his Motherland (then not so called) waiting for clients. But his name plate on the door of his tastefully furnished office in the Fort in Bombay did not seem to have any attraction for the man with the guineas.

Anxious to pay his own way instead of

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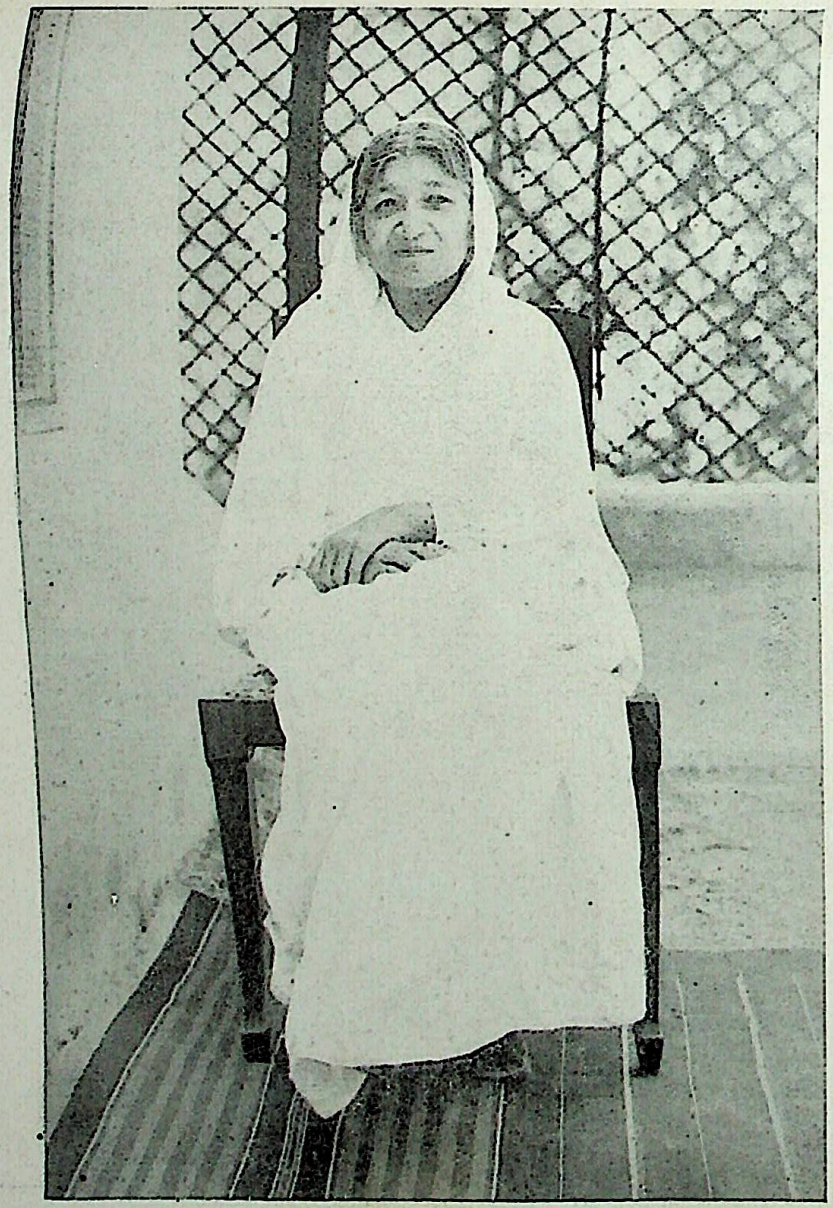

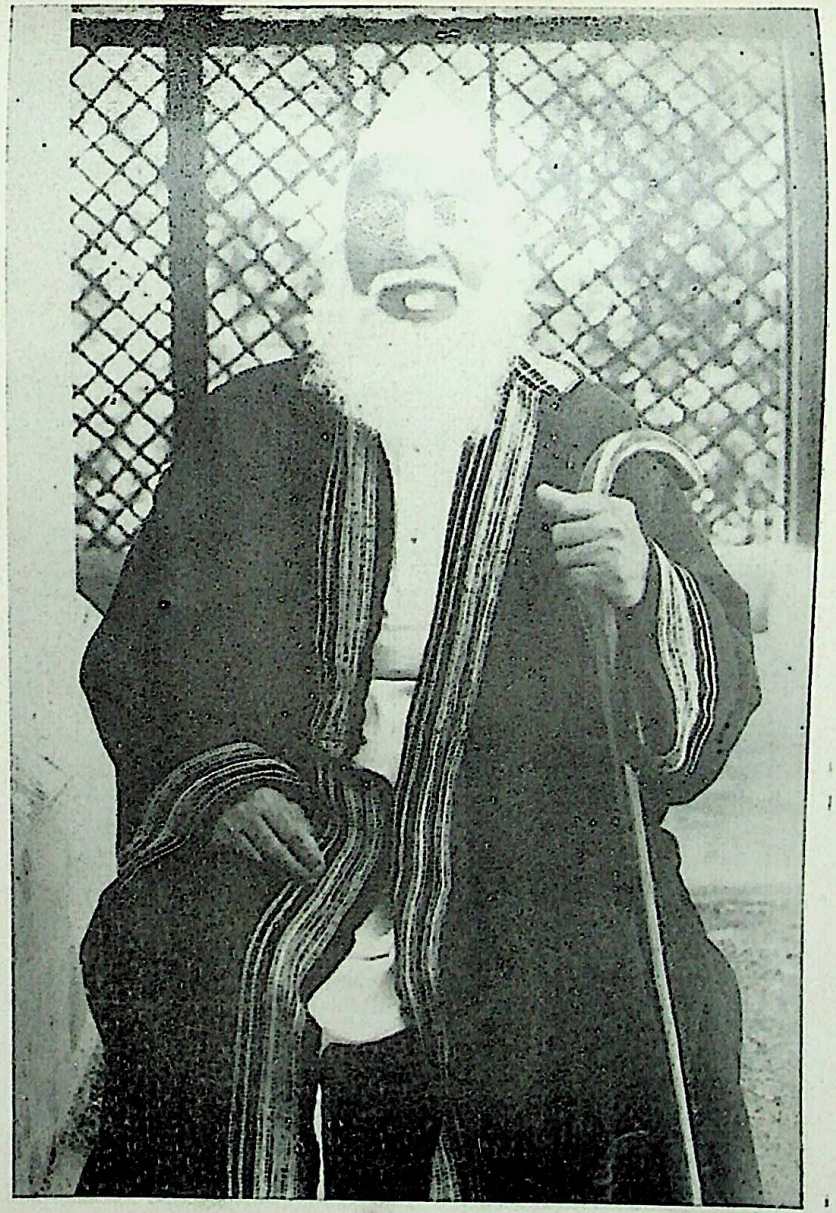

Mrs. Abbas Tyabji and Mr. Tyabji

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The Tyabji girls giving a dance associated with the god Krishna.

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feeding on his relatives' bounty, he sought an opening somewhere. Sir Salar Jung was just then doing great things in Hyderabad. Towards the Deccan the young aspirant turned his eyes.

But the friend whom he approached for an introduction did not encourage him. He had, it appears, received a rebuff—a recommendation he had given to some young follower having remained unanswered by the *defacto* ruler of the largest and most populous State.

Years later fortune was to smile there upon a cousin (now the Rt. Hon. Sir) Akbar Hydari, who, from his coign of vantage in the Finance Department, was destined to become a dominant figure in Hyderabad administration.

VI

Through the influence of this friend Abbas Tyabji obtained a foothold in the judicial service of Baroda. His Highness Shri Sayaji Rao III was then in his 'teens and the State was under the domination of Sir T. Madhava Row.

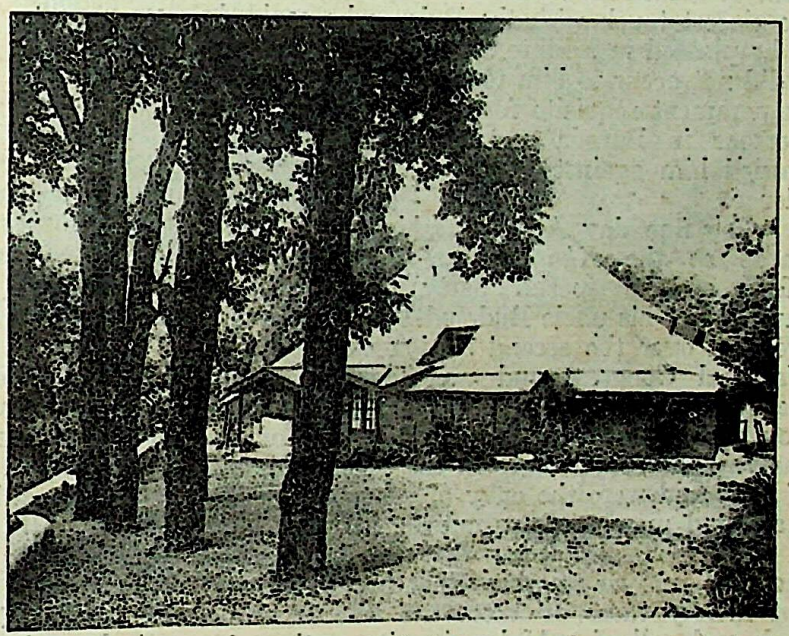
All that he needed was to secure a foothold. He had plenty of grit, energy and common sense. What he did not know of the law he would soon learn. He was sure to climb the ladder and did, in fact, stand, for a time, upon the topmost rung.

Even in the end years of his life, excitement used to creep into his voice when he talked of his first interview with the head of the minority administration. Regarded as a lion though Sir T. Madhava Row was, he received the young Judge graciously and told him he had received excellent reports of the cases dealt with by him.

Foreknowledge rather than luck helped Abbas at this interview. He knew that the great man was keenly interested in Roman and Grecian history and had, therefore, been mugging up books on those subjects, especially on Roman law.

Soon the opportunity came for airing that knowledge. Madhava Row asked Abbas what he thought of the Indian penal code. He replied that the definitions of crime in this code was very clear and explicit, but they did not carry the subject far enough and should be supplemented. He named a string of standard works. The Dewan had no means of knowing that the young man had known nothing of their contents a fortnight earlier.

Then Madhava Row asked him about the Turkish war then raging. From the Near East the conversation turned naturally to Greece and Rome. The young man acquitted himself so well that he could have had the post of private secretary to the Minister for the asking. An influential friend who did not think this would be a wise move upon his part warned him against it. He also intervened with Madhava Row so successfully that the offer was not formally made and he was saved the embarrassment that must have resulted from declining to accept it.



Southwood, the residence of Mr. Abbas Tyabji at Mussoore

VII

Life was not all work for Abbas, by any means. There were plenty of opportunities for play. He liked nothing better, in those days, he told me on one occasion, than to go with his gun into the country, on a Sunday or other holiday. With a little practice he became a sure shot.

He delighted in telling about the festivities that took place at the time of his Highness' marriage, about 1880. The bride came from Tanjore, as did Madhava Row. The "T" in his name stood, in fact, for Tanjore, in consonance with the custom prevailing there. Among the guests invited were many Europeans with whom Tyabji went out shooting with hooded cheetahs.

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Some time later a tragedy turned his mind from "killing for sport." His son was fatally shot while out hunting in a Baroda jungle.

VIII

Abbas Tyabji had caught the Maharaja's eye before he was invested with ruling powers on December 28, 1881. He was, therefore, not adversely affected when, in about six months of the close of the minority regime, Madhava Row quitted, in a bitter mood, the scenes of his former glory.

It looked, in fact, as if the Maharaja would transfer him from the judiciary to his personal staff. So intoxicated was Abbas, then in the flush of manhood, with the thought of being in the closest touch with the Ruler, who could do as he pleased in a State as large as Wales, that it did not occur to him to enquire if he had the temperament requisite for such an undertaking. Persons in Baroda service, who might have warned him against the move, kept a discreet silence.

One fine day Abbas set his face Europewards as the *Khasa Swari Kamdar* (chief officer of the special party). His wife—a daughter of his uncle Budr-ud-Din Tyabji, who presided over the second session of the Indian National Congress and was soon afterwards placed upon the bench of the Bombay High Court of Judicature—was a member of the party. The couple were in the seventh heaven of bliss and were the envy of everybody in the State and many persons outside it.

Abbas Tyabji knew that the job he had accepted was no sinecure—that his duties were not merely those of a courtier who is at the beck and call of a Maharaja, sits at the table with him, plays cards or billiards with him after dinner, or accompanies him to the opera or theatre. In addition to all that he would have to be responsible for making arrangements for travel by boat, railway or coach (this was before the dawn of the motor and aeroplane age). He would also have to see to the booking of accommodation at hotels, boxes at the opera and theatre, stalls at shows and seats at legislative assemblies.

Plans were often made seemingly only to be upset, rather than to be carried out, and again and again he would have to improvise arrangements to take the place of those cancelled at the last moment and do so without any show of temper. He, moreover, had to be rigidly economical and strict in keeping accounts: for his Highness' standards in these respects were most exacting.

Then, too, the wheels of administration were in motion. The Maharaja-Gaekwar may be as far away from his capital as the transportation systems of those days could carry him before the sheer orange-shape of Mother Earth took him nearer in the opposite direction: but, though ill and travelling for his health, he tried to keep in touch with affairs in his State.

The all-seeing eyes—the all-hearing ears—the ever wakeful brain—that the ruler carried, were busy devising reforms to be introduced in the State, improvements to be made in governance, officials' and people's lives, and the social and religious abuses to be shrivelled. Abbas Tyabji's was the instrumentality through which ideas were to reach the stage of executive action.

IX

It was most enjoyable to hear Abbas Tyabji tell of this tour—long and interesting, despite all the cares it imposed upon him and the jealousies that his part in it roused. Time had taken the sting out of occurrences that, at the moment, had been far from pleasant and his sense of humour, always keen, could have full play.

I can make space only for one incident. There was in the party a non-Indian who did not relish the idea that Mrs. Tyabji had been taken along, though, at her own and her husband's insistence, not as her Highness' companion. He resorted to all sorts of trickery to have her sent back. It was represented to their Highnesses that her health would give way under the strain of travel. Yet, aside from a mild attack of bronchitis she had no other illness. Without consulting her husband in the matter, or even letting him know that such a move was contemplated, it was arranged that she should be put down at Aden and sent back alone to Baroda. Needless to say, when Abbas learnt of this, he raised such a fuss that the idea was given up and she accompanied the party as arranged.

Being herself enlightened, Mrs. Tyabji thought of her sisters not so advantageously placed as she. She, therefore, used every opportunity she could get—and the propinquity of travel gave her many opportunities—to urge upon their Highnesses to place educational facilities within the easy reach of girls, particularly of classes that adhered, more or less rigidly, to the *purdah* system.

The ruler did not need to be convinced of the need, but where was he to find women

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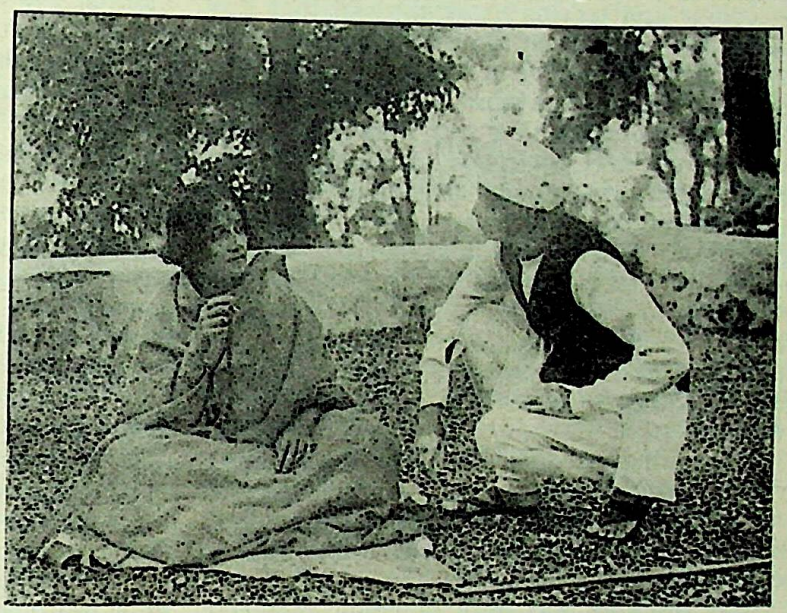
teachers for such an institution? Would Mrs. Tyabji undertake to secure them?

She promised : and on her return to Baroda made good her promise. The Muslim girls in the Maharaja-Gaekwar's capital obtained, in consequence, facilities for education.

X

Tyabji's days as a courtier were over long before Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I were invited, towards the end of 1910, to visit Baroda, by His Highness, then staying at his "white elephant" (as he calls his residence with its white exterior) in Nepean Road, Bombay. He, at the time was a judge of the Varisht (High) Court; lived in Baroda "Camp," or area assigned to the Government of India for the residence of their Agent and troops; and was believed to go to the palace only when he was sent for. That report did credit to him and the Maharaja-Gaekwar alike. It inspired the belief in the minds of the people that justice in the State was permitted to take its course without interference from Laxmivilas.



Miss Rehana Tyabji (in pyjamas) and her younger sister giving a playlet for the entertainment of their guests at Mussoorie

I also learnt, within the first few days of my stay in Baroda, that litigants and lawyers regarded Mr. Justice Tyabji as incorruptible. They refrained from trying to bring influence to bear upon him.

Just one attempt proved, for all time, the folly of such manœuvres. Many, many years prior to my going there, a fiasco had occurred of which people still talked. A grandee who believed that a word from him would "do the trick" (to use the vulgar but meaningful phrase) went to Abbas's house and dropped a pretty broad hint about a case then *sub judice*. Abbas listened to him silently, and the great personage went away satisfied in his mind that there would be no trouble about securing the decision he wished.

Next day, when the lawyers appeared in court and the case was called for hearing, the Judge rebuked the persons who had been guilty of these underhanded practices in such a manner, in the open court, that they became the laughing stock of the capital.

Abbas knew that the infuriated man, of somewhat exalted rank, would never have the courage to take his grievance to the Maharaja-Gaekwar, and if he were rash enough to do so, his story would only recoil upon him. He doubtless would use insidious means in the effort to wreak vengeance. He might do his worst, for all Tyabji cared, so long as the cause of justice had been served faithfully. His straightforward course was much admired and made him secure for all time against intrusions of a similar kind.

XI

There was in his Highness' capital another Judge famed for his incorruptibility and for keeping his own counsel—Chief Justice Bhandarkar, a brother of Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, the Poona scholar and antiquarian. He never went anywhere. Nor did he encourage visitors to call upon him. He had plenty of resources within himself and could do without company—and company to be then had in Baroda was not very intellectual, to put it mildly.

Abbas Tyabji was cast in a different mould. Of a gregarious nature, he would sooner go without a meal than deny himself intercourse with his fellows.

Sociability seemed, in fact, to be his fetish at that stage of his life. If he could bring together persons of various creeds and races, get them to participate in gentle or rigorous exercise, drink tea and break bread at a common

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board, he would, he then seemed to feel, be serving a useful purpose in the scheme of creation.

A laudable object indeed it was. Clamant, too. No country stood in greater need of effort directed towards smashing exclusiveness of caste and colour and tearing away the veil that kept women secluded from the outside world, than did India in the winter of 1910-11—or, for that matter, than she does now, 25 years and more later. We are still a long way from the brotherhood of men and sisterhood of women, though we pride ourselves upon being highly religious.

But was Abbas Tyabji going about it the right way? He, his wife and children were, to be sure, putting great fervour and feverish activity into the worship of the fetish of sociability. So intense, indeed, was their enthusiasm that the impression it made upon my mind a quarter of a century ago, moves me as I write.

The gulf that divided Briton from Indian, Tyabji thought, was social. Each, therefore, lived out off from the other. It was his aim to build a bridge across which one could walk to the other.

His thinking was of a dynamic character. It led him to action. With the whole-hearted support of his wife and children, he tried to construct such a bridge.

XII

If the weather permitted, one afternoon every week the compound of the Tyabji home in Baroda Camp would ring with the merry laughter of visitors. Among them would be some from the Resident's staff, officers serving with the troops in the Camp, Europeans in the employ of his Highness and even some of the missionaries stationed in the capital. The "burr" that proclaims the Scot and the "brogue" that lends fascination to an Irishman's or Irishwoman's talk, would be discernible among the clipped sentences intoned in the style peculiar to persons who have passed through the portals of one of the English Universities, or after the fashion of the Cockney born within sound of the Bow Bells.

Many of the callers—Britons and Indians—came in flannels and sports gowns, armed with a racquet; and waited with the show of patience upon which cultivated society insists, for their turn to play. The courts were crowded from early in the afternoon to dusk, when the flight of the ball hit from one side of the net to the other could hardly be followed. Some of the games were quite brisk and furnished violent exercise for those who played them.

The badminton courts provided, if anything, more amusement. The ladies, who found tennis too strenuous, patronized battledore and shuttlecock. Some of the players who were more or less noted for their skill at tennis made a point, however, of participating in the fun.

Long tables, stretched in front of the vine covered verandah of the Tyabji home, groaned under eatables. Plates upon plates of thin bread and butter, pastries and cakes, were provided. For persons who cared to have them there were curry puffs, *samoses*, *dal* and other salty Indian dishes. Pots of hot tea were being constantly made and carried about on trays covered with snow-white cloths, from guest to guest, by "boys" in white turbans and long white coats.

My stay in Baroda, on that occasion, was long—almost four months, I remember. So cordial had been all the Tyabjis that Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I went to many of these "at homes." We were also invited to several meals, which we found to be *recherche* and pleasant.

From the "international meets" I invariably returned, however, with a question in my mind. Were the Tyabjis really successful in building a bridge across the gulf? Was the gulf social and, therefore, was a span constructed of cakes and tea-cups capable of sustaining the weight of Indo-British traffic across it?

I never doubted the Tyabjis' sincerity, or discounted their zeal. But I was not quite sure that they had taken a correct measure of the Indian situation and worked out the right remedy.

XIII

Time was soon to show them that china-ware is too fragile to be used successfully for building pylons upon which to lay the girders to connect the two sides of a yawning abyss. Eating at the same table did not—could not—make the ruled the ruler.

Shortly after retirement from the Baroda service in 1915, Abbas Tyabji began to show interest in the *swaraj* (home rule) movement. It was, however, largely an academic interest.

The tide was rising, however. In time it snapped the cable that, all these decades, had kept him moored in the still waters of respectability.

His drift (some of his friends may quarrel with this simile) towards Mahatma Gandhi's movement of civil resistence was of so recent a date and so much was written, a few years ago,

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about his arrest and imprisonment, that it is not necessary for me to deal here with those events. It is not generally known, however, that for years he was not receiving the pension he had earned through long, faithful, honest and intelligent work in the Baroda judiciary.

XIV

Towards the twilight of his life (as it proved to be) chance made me Abbas Tyabji's neighbour. Sweltering in the heat of Dehra Dun at a hotel, my wife asked a friend to arrange for a house for us in Mussoorie. The one he chose—"Dovecote"—was next door to "Southwood," owned by my acquaintance of Baroda days and, at the time, occupied by him and numerous members of his family.

Not long before going there he had come out of jail. It had left its imprint upon his figure, until then remarkably straight for a septuagenarian. He found it difficult especially to get up the smallest hill, and had to be helped.

But I never saw a cheerier person. Nowhere in my extensive wanderings. He could outlaugh the youngest merry-maker. His keen sense of humour saw a joke in everything.

His daughter Rehana, was gifted with remarkable histrionic talent and her younger sister possessed a fine, cultivated voice. A grand-daughter—the only child of the son killed in a hunting accident—who, in her khaddar *sari*, was her grandsire's shadow, was a genius at dancing. Other girls were light-footed, too. Among them they made "Southwood" a gay place, especially on Sunday afternoons when the Tyabjis were "at home," though among the callers there were hardly any Europeans unless they happened to be married to Indians.

But all the laughter, singing and dancing did not make me lose sight of the fact that, at heart, Abbas Tyabji was sad—not because of the sacrifices he had had to make and was making, but because of the sufferings that his countrymen and countrywomen were undergoing to win the title to order the Motherland as it suited them best.

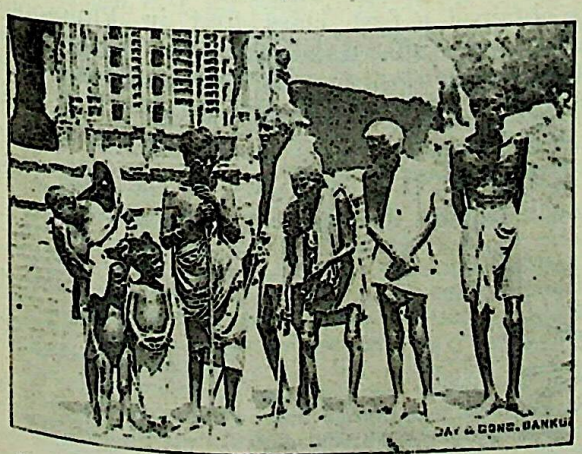
Illustrated with Photographs by the Author.

FAMINE AT BANKURA

The acute distress prevailing in the district of Bankura is well-known to the public. The Bankura Sammilani has been carrying on gratuitous relief work at various centres.

The Sammilani also provided distressed labourers with work for two months in re-excavating the tanks in the Bankura Sammilani Hospitable compound, and in reparing Tanadighi. (Kotulpur P.S.), an extensive Band which was practically constructed by the Sammilani during the Famine relief operations in 1915.

Any contribution however small sent to Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, President of the Sammilani, 120|2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, or Sj. Rishindra Nath Sarkar, Secretary, No. 20B, Sankaritola, East, Calcutta, or Sj. Bejoy Kumar Bhattacharjee, Treasurer 3, Bhawani Dutt Lane, Calcutta, will be thankfully received and acknowledged.



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Miss C. Minakshi, M.A. has been awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Madras for her researches in Indian History and Archæology.

Miss C. Minakshmi

Miss K. Amirchammal of Mysore has been enrolled as an advocate of Mysore High Court.

Mrs. Manikbai Bhide, Mrs. Vimalbhai Deshmukh and Mrs. Sorojini Inamdar have been appointed as Members of the Bench of Honorary Magistrates at Amraoti.

Dr. Miss Usha Haldar of Muzaffarnagar, who passed the M.B., B.S. examination from the Delhi Hardinge Medical College, has been appointed Lady Assistant Surgeon at North-Western Railway Hospital at Lahore.

Dr. Miss Usha Haldar

Miss Nalini Chakrabarty of the Scottish Church College, Calcutta has been awarded the Eshan Scholarship this year for securing highest marks among the candidates for B.A. and B.Sc. examinations of the Calcutta University. She has obtained a first class first in Philosophy while Miss Anila Bandapadhaya of the same college a first class first in Economics and Miss Santi Ghosh of Vidyasagar College a first class in Sanskrit.

Miss C. O. Pannamma is the first Nair woman to pass the Law Examination.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Awakening in Iran

Dwight M. Donaldson writes in *The International Review of Missions* of the intellectual awakening in Modern Iran as he has watched it:

Three new conceptions are working a quiet upheaval in the intellectual life of all classes of people: the first is a modern conception of nature; the second, a modern conception of history; the third, a modern conception of ethics.

As regards the first, the study of science has been necessarily accepted and fostered in schools and colleges all round the world; modern Iran is no exception. The entire modern conception of nature, as described scientifically, is accepted by the Iranian *intelligentsia* as the probable truth, as nearly as it has been understood in the times in which we live.

A new conception of history, also, has been gaining ground in all the countries of the Near East, especially where archaeological activities have been carried on assiduously in recent years. Greater government encouragement is given to these enterprises now that they are understood to be more than mere treasure hunts. The new oriental museums that are being enriched by their share in these finds are having a notable influence as more and more generations of students come to appreciate their significance.

The most notable characteristic of this new attitude towards history is the marked interest that is being shown in all things pre-Islamic in Iran. The name of the present dynasty, Pahlavi (*Parthian*), is in itself an index of what is happening. The idea is gaining ground that the people of Iran must break loose from the law and customs of Islam, and, building rather on their old national foundations, find their own place right abreast of others in the family of modern peoples. This is what makes the abandonment of the turban and the adoption of 'international' hats significant. And as the movement to free women from the curse of the *hidjab* (curtain or veil), that has meant their segregation, makes steady progress, and more and more women are able to discard the ugly, stuffy, insanitary black garment (*chadar*) they have been required to wear in the streets, it means that the country of Iran is declaring to itself and to all the world that the Islamic social system that was forced upon it has had its day and has failed to meet the demands of present day life.

It is also important to observe that the critical study of Islam is beginning, and it has within its scope a re-examination of the history of Islam, in order to determine the attitude of Islam as a religious system towards peoples of other faiths and to discover the reasons for Islamic opposition to opinions that are generally taken for granted in cosmopolitan circles.

The young men who have been sent abroad to study, and there are about a thousand abroad now, are expected to come back to their native land with ability to serve more efficiently. They are studying agriculture, medicine, engineering, economics and other things, with practical ends in view. Some who have returned have found that the opportunities for trained workers are more immediate than they expected, and it is remarkable what they are accomplishing.

The Shah and Parliament have realized that youth at home must also be given opportunity to develop their natural capacity. This is why four thousand more free schools have been provided for in the budget for public instruction.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed on the significance of the changes that have taken place in the laws of the land. The old Muslim *shari'at* (religious law) has been almost set aside, for cases are now determined according to new codes based on enactments of Parliament —direct legislation with less and less regard for traditions from the Prophet or the Imams. The method of procedure in the criminal courts is said to give the ordinary man a much better chance of justice than was possible before. The marriage laws have been improved, in that the minimum marriage age for a girl is now sixteen and for a boy eighteen years. Public government registration and consequent regulation of marriages have made polygamy more difficult than formerly, though it is still possible within the law.

The fact that the income from religious endowments is employed by the government for projects that make for public welfare is most important. Individuals in the families of high priests have since the days of Eli found ways of making themselves fat with the chiefest of the offerings, and some of the cities of Iran have had outlying estates that belong to men of this kind. Heretofore they have had the administration of the revenue from pious endowments, but now those funds are being used to maintain hospitals, orphanages and special schools.

While there is much yet to be attained in the wider acceptance of new ethical standards, yet there seems to be no doubt that the old spirit of complacency in Islamic custom has been severely shaken.

Free Soviet Women

Throughout the world a struggle goes on for woman's equality and freedom; still, women the world over are unequal to men, bound by a thousand discriminations. Even those rights which they have attained are today under attack by Fascism, which under the phrases of chivalry drives women back to the Middle Age. It is therefore the more amazing, says Anna Louis Strong in the *Asia*, that in eighteen years Soviet women should have gained an equality unknown elsewhere in the world:

Steadily the share of Soviet women in industry and in public life has climbed upward. The percentage of women among industrial workers has risen by a steady 3 per cent a year during the Five Year Plan, and in 1935

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was 42 per cent of all persons gainfully employed. In technical higher schools 36 per cent of the students are women, in medical schools 75 per cent; in no institutions of learning is there any discrimination against women. The percentage of women who took part in elections rose from 28 per cent of all eligible women in 1926 to 80.3 per cent in 1934. Women constituted 18.2 per cent of the membership of city soviets in 1926; this rose to 32.1 per cent in 1934. The change in the rural districts was greater; a 9.9 percentage of women in 1926 in village soviets rose to 26.4 per cent in 1934. Less than 1 per cent of the villages had woman presidents in 1926, though even this figure testified to the successful fight of thousands of women; by 1934 the figure was over 8 per cent. More than a million women today hold some form of public office in the Soviet Union, including 400,000 elected members of soviets, 400,000 members of local government commissions, 112,000 "co-judges" in the courts, a function similar to but somewhat more specialized than that of American jurors, and 100,000 members of managing boards of co-operatives.

In all aspects of her individual life the Soviet woman has achieved a unique equality and freedom—in the choice of a job, in study, in marriage and the rearing of children. Girls choose their future work as freely as boys do, unaware of the clashing claims of careers and marriage which form so much of the content of feminist discussion under capitalism. They expect, like men, to marry; I recall not a single old maid in all my Soviet acquaintance. But most of them expect to keep on with work after marriage; no law compels them to this, but they find it economically advantageous and socially more interesting.

Foreign visitors are occasionally shocked to find women taking part in heavy and dirty labor, field work, street-cleaning, even digging the subway. But Soviet women are still of the generation of peasants, who worked in the fields. They know that in all ages women have done heavy labor; it is the skilled work from which they have been barred. They know that equal share in labor means in the U. S. S. R. equal share in ruling and in all opportunities of life. So young girls fought for the right to equal work on the subway, against engineers and miners who didn't want to let the women underground. They worked knee-deep in water alongside experienced men, challenged them to records, and often beat them.

There are, however, regulations governing women's labor, which prohibit work proved by experiment more dangerous to women than to men. Women may not engage in trades involving danger of lead poisoning, may not lift weights above a certain amount. Special regulations, re-enforced by medical observation, surround the whole period of pregnancy, and the last six to eight weeks women may not work. Many labor processes are constantly under investigation to determine whether or not they are injurious to women; when experiment shows that they are, they are prohibited.

The Modern Anti-Christian Movement in Germany

We translate the following account of the modern anti-Christian movement from an article contributed by Dr. J. F. Leistner to *Deutschlands Erneuerung* and reproduced in *Die Auslese :*

Prof. Wilhelm Hauer of the Tuebingen University is the leader of the most powerful and active among the currents of religious thought in Germany, the "German Faith Movement." In the leading monthly organ of this movement, the *Deutscher Glaube* of September 1934, we read the following about the fundamental ideas of the German Faith :

"Almost everybody recognizes, that the German religion of today has got to preserve its own special character, but it has not yet been realized by many, that it has also to correspond and keep pace with the times in order to be living and able to enkindle the hearts of thousands. They recognize the necessity of a religion, based upon the common relationship of blood and motherland, but not that of one based upon the spirit of the times and a common destiny of knowledge and experience."

These sentences are evidently addressed to that other great anti-christian stream of thought, which had its origin in the house of Ludendorff, which, indeed, prides itself upon its own merit of not being bound up with the time-spirit in regard to its own ways of thinking.

The German Faith Movement sees its own origin in the thoughts of Master Eckehart, who was in its opinion, as great a representative of the free German spirit as Kant and Goethe, as Schiller and Hoelderlin and many others. The real beginning of the German F. M. must however, be seen in the youth-movement, especally that of the evangelical congeners.

The German Faith Movement maintains groups of workers for courses of instruction, religious worship, celebrations and popular plays, for education and training, for research and presentation of the real German history, for investigation of the problem of Colonies, for collecting, examining and publishing documents of the German Faith.

The symbol of the G. F. M. is the golden sun-wheel with blue background.

The following are its fundamental guiding principles :

1. The German Faith Union desires the religious revival of the people out of its own inherited German genius; 2. The German genius is in its divine cause a message from the Eternal, whom we all obey; 3. In this message alone is Word and Practice closely bound up. To obey it means to live a German life.

We must not undervalue the influence of this movement, which is undoubtedly linked up with the popular political maxims and is thus able to have access to the people; nor is there, in the other hand, any reason for overweening anxiety, especially as the traditional and sincere fidelity of the Germans to their own religion is very great, as the recent events in the German Evangelic Church have shown, and because the G. F. M. as yet nossesses no firm religious structure and claims from individuals a prodigious amount of self-complaisance and spirit of self-deliverance so far as religion is concerned.

. . . .Ludendorff and his wife, both of whom are convinced Anti-christians, as was confessed by the General even to the foreign press on the occasion of his 70th birth-day, have always attacked the G. F. M. with the greatest vehemence. Again and again the house of Ludendorff has set itself against the G. F. M. and not the least, against its leader.

There is here clearly something more than a fight for leadership between these two movements of the German Faith. Like the G. F. M. the Lundendorffian movement of the "German divine knowledge" is not in a position to develop its own cult with consecrations of youth, marriage and so on, yet does give rise to certain unusual forms, as is testified by the advertisements of birth, marriage etc., in the *Holy Fountain.*

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The part of an intermediary between these two anti-christian movements is played by the *Sign of Flame*, edited by Alfred Miller and described in the title as a "popular leaflet for the Nordic-German type of religion and culture, state and economy, purged of all foreign spirit and corruption of genius." Miller, who has recently brought out a book, called *The Degeneration of the People under the Cross*, is, of course, a thorough-going anti-christian, but the main point of his attack is directed towards the Roman Catholic Church.

. . . The "Nordic Faith Union" is the result of a fusion of the "Nordic Faith Union," the "Nordic Religious Union" and the "Nordic Religious Workers' Union," which was brought about in October 1934. Seibertz of Berlin was elected the leader of this new movement. The confessional principle of this consolidated "Nordic Faith Union" consists in the recognition of the Nordic type. The silver mandrake with blue background is its symbol and the golden Irmin-pillar is the sign of the cult.

So far as the difference between the G. F. M. and the Nordic F. U. is concerned, it may be stated, that the Nordic F. U. openly pleads for the revival of the old German religion, while the G. F. M. takes the German mythic world, only in the sense of a cult, as the basis of its abstract structure of religious thought. The Nordic F. U., true to its aims and the traditions, accepted by it from the Nordic Religious Workers' Union is fighting openly for a culture of its own. What is remarkable is that it is not yet laying claims to cult-building and youth-training activities.

Attention may be drawn to one more thing. All the modern anti-christian movements in Germany are making wide use of the terms: "People's" or "German national." But it has been often made clear in numerous proclamations, issued by national-socialist leaders, that the NSDAP has nothing to do with the so-called new heathenism.

China's New Language

For the past seventy years efforts have been made to create a new language for the Chinese people. The last and most significant step is now being taken; a written language has been perfected, which is certain to revolutionize the whole Fabric of Chinese culture, writes Prof. Tao Xing-Zh in *The Voice of China*:

The Chinese New Language Research Institute, which was established in December, 1935, has worked out and adopted alphabetical systems for both the Northern and the Shanghai dialects. The Northern New Language contains 28 letters, and that of the Shanghai dialect 31 letters.

This new language, formerly called Latinhua, has three characteristics which distinguish it from its predecessors.

1. In contrast with the Chinese characters (*xanz*) it is phonetic and not ideographic.
2. In contrast with the National phonetic script (*gyjinzmu*) it is an independent language, and not an appendage of *Xanz*.
3. In contrast with the romanization of the national language, it is adaptable to the local dialects, so that the various districts may have their own variations of the written language, adapted to their own dialects.

Since it is obviously impossible for the masses of people in the various localities to study both the Peking dialect and the romanized script, the authority of the Peking dialect as the only national language shall be abolished. In addition the New Language has another virtue superior to both the national phonetic script and the romanization of the National Language, *i.e.*, it has done away with the symbols recording the tonic variations. This simplifications makes it possible for the masses to learn the language with very little difficulty.

It is significant that this new language, and its ready acceptance by the masses has met with severe opposition. Following the suppression of the *Life of the Masses*, the authorities in Shanghai and elsewhere have confiscated all periodicals and books published in the New Language. Two reasons are given for this drastic measure. First, they say that this New Language has its origin in the Soviet Union, and therefore, anyone who promotes it is tinged with "red." Second, they state that it will break the unity of the Chinese Republic. It is obvious that these reasons are fallacious. First, it is true that the original system of the New Language for the Northern Dialect originated in Vladivostock, but it was the work of the Overseas Chinese in that city. And now the systems for the Shanghai, Fukien and Canton dialects are all worked by Chinese scholars on Chinese soil. As to the alleged destruction of national unity, it is our opinion that the speedy adoption of the New Language will help to bring to China an ever-increasing national unity that has heretofore been unknown.

The *Xanz* (ideographic system) has held merely a nominal unity in the written language for a very few scholars. The masses have neither the time nor the money to learn *Xanz*, and therefore must remain without a written language. It is obvious therefore that the means of creating unity was lacking, since reliance had to be placed upon the spoken word, or upon the mingling of the people. Since each locality has its own dialect, even the spoken word has great limitations. But with the adoption of the new language, the masses within each district can easily learn to read and write their own dialect and since it is not a difficult task for the intelligentsia to master the various languages, the peoples of the various districts can have access not only to newspapers, but also the literature of the nation, as well as that of the world. Their present isolation will be broken, and they will become in reality citizens of China, instead of, at present, isolated peoples of provinces, separated from each other by the barrier of the spoken word.

The prerequisite of any educational movement in China is its ability to stand the test of economy of time and cost. An average peasant can learn the fundamentals of reading and writing in less than a month. The foundation reader costs only one cent. With an additional pencil and exercise book, the poor peasant will be able to complete his first course at a cost of three cents. Even a rickshaw puller can pay for his own education. He will no longer be dependent upon charity for his learning. With this new tool an education of the mass, by the mass and for the mass is made possible.

Education on Wheels

During the past three years there has begun an educational movement in China, called the *Nien Erh* or "Year Twenty-two" movement as it was organized in 1933, the twenty-second year of the Chinese Republic. The importance of the movemen lies in its close touch with the

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realities of Chinese life and society, writes A. Gordon Melvin in the *Asia;* it does not promote mere imitation of the schools of the West as practised in many government schools of China.

This movement is an indication that China is prepared to move on to a form of education which is modern and definitely related to the needs of the masses. Dr. Tai, who is a distinguished graduate of Teachers College in Columbia University, New York, has invented a most ingenious form of minimum equipment which serves as the material base for a remarkable series of economic, social and educational objectives. It is called in translation "The Universal Education Cart," a title which it merits to the full. Its compactness is amazing. In its travelling form it is a small box on four wheels, measuring only one foot in thickness and two feet in length and in height. In this small compass is packed away material which serves five basic uses: that of a travelling school, of a circulating library, of a movable exhibition, of a store from which goods are sold and of a sleeping cot for the teacher. The cost of this school and more than school is forty dollars in Chinese currency.

Striking out into a near-by rural section, the volunteer teacher gets to work. In some open space, preferably by the side of the road, he sets up his outdoor school. Perhaps he first attracts attention with his museum of exhibits. Here the passer-by finds objects of personal interest to him, powders to kill the worms that destroy his crops, improved seed of the yellow soy bean developed in the University of Nanking, American maize, and the white cotton seed of Kiang Ying Hsien. When the teacher has attracted sufficient interest, he may begin to talk about his school. Suiting the action to the word, he changes the scene. The covers of the box are set up as blackboards. Folding benches attached to the side of the box are set out to accomodate, if necessary, forty persons. School is on.

But the teachers of the Nien Movement are no mere teachers of elementary literacy. They have a double task. They aim to carry on a realistic education of the rural people, on the one hand, and to assist with their economic rehabilitation on the other. It is in the practical teachings of these itinerant out-door schools that one of the real triumphs of the movement is to be discovered. It proposes that the learners shall know the elements of healthy behavior, as well as the rudiments of Chinese history and the place of China in the modern world. . . . . It gives instruction designed to improve simple hand crafts. It hopes to provide technical aid designed to carry people through a transitional stage in which they move from handicrafts to an era of socialised technology.

Sigmund Freud

The British Medical Journal publishes the letter of tribute addressed to Sigmund Freud on his eightieth birthday (May 6, 1936), by Thomas Mann, Romain Rolland, Jules Romains, H. G. Wells, Virginia Woolf and Stefan Zweig, reproduced here in part:

The eightieth birthday of Sigmund Freud gives us the welcome opportunity of offering our congratulations and homage to the Master whose discoveries have opened up the way to a new and profounder understanding of mankind. He has been for two generations the pioneer in exploring the hitherto unknown regions of the mind. Intellectually independent, able to stand alone and draw to himself disciples, he followed his chosen path and advanced truths which, just because they uncovered what was hidden and illuminated what was obscure, seemed dangerous and alarming. Everywhere he put forward new problems and changed old standards. The results of his work have extended the field of research, and the stimulus he gave to creative thought made even his opponents his debtors. Future ages may reconstruct or limit this or that conclusion, but his questions will never be silenced nor his achievements permanently obscured.

Commenting on the above, the *Journal* observes:

The medical profession of this and of other countries for long resisted the encroachment of ideas that were novel and alien to its accepted teachings, and humbling to the self-esteem in which man in his intellectual pride had shrouded himself. The literary mind, more imaginative and perhaps bolder, accepted what the medical mind rejected. The acceptance may have been too ready and uncritical, and a good deal of mental indigestion is apparent in the facile use the literary pen has made of psycho-analytical theories; nevertheless the literary world set a useful example in tolerance. It would, of course, be idle to pretend, that psycho-analysis is still without its opponents among psychologists and medical men, or that such opposition is till unmarked by hostility especially in some countries; yet the most biased antagonist cannot fail to recognize that without Freud the present widespread interest in psychology in medicine and the changing conceptions in psychiatry could not have taken place. Even if the theoretical structure of psycho-analysis were destroyed tomorrow, medicine would still be profoundly indebted to Freud for his introduction of a technique of investigation and research—the method of free association—and to him and his co-workers for the accumulation of a mass of data which have profoundly altered our conception of the working of the mind. Psycho-analysis is largely an observational science, and hypothesis designed to include the observed facts within a rigid framework of theory may appear to the onlooker to lack solidity. The controlled experiment of the laboratory cannot be utilized to prove or disprove, and the support of analogy must always remain dubious. But so long as a hypothesis works—one, say, that explains most of the facts—it should be accepted until a better hypothesis—which explains all the facts—is put forward.

German Nationalism Reaches Out

Ludwig Lore, Foreign news commentator of the New York *Post*, calls attention to the fact, which according to him "did not get the attention it deserves," that three Austrians and two Czecho-Slovakians were chosen to the new Reichstag in the recent Nazi election in Germany. The *Unity* writes:

This may seem amazing in a country as nationalistic as Hitler's Germany, but what it indicates is that German nationalism does not confine itself within German borders. The Nazis have the imperial idea. They are proposing to extend their frontiers to include any country which has a German population, or in which the Nazi regime can be planted. In a few years, says Lore, "the Reich parliament will contain members from Holland, Jugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary." And why not, says the Fuehrer—in anticipation of the time when these lands, in whole or in part, will be German territory? Already

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in all these countries, Hitler's ceaseless propaganda is going on. Propaganda aimed at the same kind of result as has already been achieved in Danzig! Here, some time ago, the government was taken over by the Nazis by due vote of the citizens. Now a plebiscite is being arranged, in which the Danzigers will be asked to vote, among other things, on the question, "Are you in favour of a German Danzig?" Upper Silesia is in a ferment of Nazi excitement. Poland is surging with well-cultivated Nazi sentiment. Austria is ready to drop into the Nazi grasp the moment Mussolini is too busy, or too embarrassed by trouble elsewhere, to interfere. Latvia has unearthed a secret Nazi organization with branches in more than fifty cities and towns, and has arrested since March 15 last, some sixty-two National Socialist conspirators. Switzerland has constant border troubles with Nazi agitators. "We must weaken Switzerland economically, if we would win it to our cause," says a recent Nazi communique from Munich. Thus does the work go on, with Nazi imperialist designs which make the Kaiser's old Bagdad railroad idea seem like a pleasant gesture of goodwill. What wonder that Europe is in a muddle of fear and hate, and peace never so far away!

Housing and Crime

"Show me the houses in which a people live and I'll tell you what kind of people they are." Writing on the relation between unwholesome housing and crime, Laurence Lucey gives in *The Catholic World* some interesting statistics on the question as collected in America.

In classifying the various homes which were inspected they were divided into three types. A "wholesome" home was one in which the sleeping quarters were not overcrowded (not more than two adults for each bedroom), clean, well lighted and ventilated, with furniture sufficient to satisfy the minimum need. An "unwholesome" home was one characterized by overcrowding, dirt, bad lighting and ventilation, and shabbily furnished. A "fair" home was one that had some of the traits of both the "wholesome" and "unwholesome" home.

First, let us look at the homes from which seven hundred and forty-three juvenile criminals who appeared before the Boston Juvenile Court came. The physical condition of these homes is described in the following table:

Condition of Home	Number of Delinquents	Percentage
Wholesome	97	13
Fair	184	24.8
Unwholesome	462	62.2
Unknown	257	..

When only about one-eighth of these youths came from wholesome homes, one-fourth from partly unwholesome homes, and two-thirds from wholly unwholesome homes, it is obvious that bad housing exerts not only a detrimental influence on individuals but is a social evil that results in crime which costs a community money and lowers its moral standing. The lives of these youths were warped and twisted by the hovels in which they were born and by the neighbourhood into which they ventured to play their first game. It is not surprising to learn that they became criminals. The really surprising thing about children born in the slums is that so many of them are able to rise above their homes and become moral, law-abiding members of the community.

Now let us look at the homes which housed five hundred women who had been committed to the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women. The following table shows the condition of the home in which the offender lived until she was fourteen years of age.

Condition of Home	Number of Offenders	Percentage
Wholesome	88	24.0
Fair	116	31.6
Unwholesome	159	43.3
Varied	4	1.1
Unknown	133	..

During their adolescence (14 to 21) the condition of the homes in which these girls lived was:

Condition of Home	Number of Offenders	Percentage
Wholesome	81	24.1
Fair	105	31.2
Unwholesome	144	42.9
Varied	6	1.8
Unknown	164	..

Finally, the condition of the homes of these girls, now grown to woman's estate, is observed within the year that they were committed to the Massachusetts Reformatory:

Condition of Home	Number of Offenders	Percentage
Wholesome	44	11.1
Fair	87	21.9
Unwholesome	261	65.7
Varied	5	1.3
Unknown	103	..

There is little room for argument on the effect which housing has on crime when eighty-eight per cent of these women lived in either partly or wholly unwholsome homes at the time they were sentenced to prison.

Hindusthani Music

H. H. The Maharana of Dharampur suggests in *The Asiatic Review*:

We must decidedly facilitate the study of music, and if we are in earnest about the nation-wide advancement of music we must give up the old, semi-old, or traditional modes of tuition in music. It is not right that we should make of the good old *Chijjas* and styles a mystery and at the same time expect popular interest in music to increase. The way to elevate taste in music is not to elevate its rich beauties beyond the reach of the average citizen but to place them easily available and accessible to him and to make him sensitive to its cultural value and significance by well considered programmes of education generally in music. There was perhaps a very good reason why the *Ustads* of old were very reluctant to part with their long-treasured *Gharanas* and *Banis*. They were to some extent, I admit, even justified in protecting these from the profanity of the irresponsible, immature student, amateur, or exponent, or of the commercial journeyman. But now the moment has arrived when these treasures must be fully revealed and must be fully shared by all, irrespective of all artificial barriers.

We have now to change the methods as well as ancient conventions and customs for imparting instruction in music. The old methods of apprenticeship, memory training and oral instruction have their distinct advantages, no doubt. So have the new. And we must now make an endeavour to adjust both the old and the new to our modern conditions and necessities.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Great and the Small

'None in all the wide world have the power to keep bound, like an animal for sacrifice, the strength to suffer, the strength for renunciation, the strength of righteousness. Such strength gains victory by defeat, immortality by death.' Writes Rabindranath Tagore in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, the article from which extracts are taken being a translation from the Bengali original which appeared in the *Prabasi*, 1919 :

All we yearn for is our natural right and responsibility for serving our motherland. Manhood cannot flourish in the shade of protected orderliness. In all great peoples the acceptance of toil and tribulation, the dedication of self for the sake of great enterprises is seen as a turbulent desire that foams and roars on its course, removing from its path. or cascading over, all obstacles.

It seems anomalous to imagine that the British should wish to keep our sight away from this grand vision of Freedom, when we consider that their own history, for the last three hundred years or so, has been one long continuous pageant of such heroic endeavour.

The great Englishman has no immediate contact with India. Between him and us intervenes the small Englishman. So we only catch glimpses of the great Englishman in the sky of English literature, while the only sight he gets of us is through the reports of the bureaucratic offices and their books of account; that is to say, India is for him represented by a mass of statistics—figures of exports and imports, income and expenditure, births and deaths, how many police there are to keep the peace, how many jails there are for breaches of the peace, the lengths of railway lines, the heights of college buildings. There is no department of the India office through which the things that are far greater than all these can reach any human creature in England.

But the small Englishman makes no progress. With the country that he has bound hand and foot, he himself remains stagnant, as the centuries pass by, tied to its inertness. His life consists only of two aspects, his office duties and his amusements. Through his government—or merchant-office aspect he touches the millions of India only with the tip of his punishing or measuring rod. As for his amusements, that aspect, like the other face of the moon, is ever turned away from us. So that his claim to local experience is gauged simply by the efflux of time. True, in the early days of the British Indian Empire, he was busy with creative work, but after that he has, for the rest of a long. long period, been content to watch and ward his established business and sovereignty, and enjoy their fruits.

The small Englishman has become wordly-wise by prolonged absorption in routine, and like every worldly-wise man, he has come to look on callousness as strength of mind. He does not stop at saying, "I am here," but proudly adds, "And here I shall remain!"

Englishmen came into this country as messengers of the modern age. Each age has its own message of culture that seeks in diverse ways to spread over the world. Those who are the carriers of such message, if by reason of their own selfishness they are miserly in delivering it, then by such frustration of the design of providence they give rise to evil and sorrow. It is, however, never possible for them to hide under a bushel the light they bear. The gift they hold needs must be given up, for they are but the instruments of the age that offers it.

Unnaturalness comes in when a ruling power declares the principles for which it stands to the region towards which its bright face is turned, and withholds them from the region to which it turns the dark face of subjugation. But it cannot thus delude one side of its own nature with its other side. If the small Englishman persists in trying to shut off the great Englishman from the truth, ringed round wih walls of self-interest, that will only augment the evil and its consequences. In the game of making history the cards are not laid on the table, so that sometimes combinations occur, contrary to all calculations, taking the players by surprise.

The general truth may therefore be confidently stated that when, after an unnatural state of things has been forcibly maintained for long, the rulers arrive at the confident belief that the laws made by them are the only universal laws, history is liable to be tripped up in its progress by some trifling obstacle, and turn a somersault. For men to be near men during hundreds of years and yet not come into human relations; for men to rule men and yet not make the ruled their own; for the West to have broken down the barriers of the East, to have entered right into its granary, and yet to keep muttering the text: *The twain shall never meet*: —the world of humanity can never bear for long the insufferable strain of such immense unnaturalness. If no natural way for its removal can be found, then the curtain will fall on the last act of a historical tragedy.

In spite of all present appearances to the contrary, I steadfastly cherish the hope and belief that East and West shall meet. But to that end we, also, have our duties and responsibilities. So long as we are small, the Englishman will remain small and try to terrorise us; for in our smallness lies his strength. But the coming age is already upon us, when the unarmed shall dare to stand up to the fully armed. On that day the victory will be not to him who can slay, but to him who can accept death. He who causes sorrow shall go under, and he who can bear suffering shall gain the final glory. Meeting crude force with soul force, man will then proclaim that he is not beast, but has overpassed the limitations of natural selection. The duty and the responsibility has been cast on us to prove these great truths.

If the East and West do ever meet, it will be on the ground of some common ideal, not of condescension, nor of armies and navies. We must make of sorrow and

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death our allies. If we do not gain that strength, then as the weak we can never meet the strong. Union under one-sided rule is no union at all, but rather the most rigid separation. An empire of which we are but the materials is no empire of ours. Only such empire will be our own which we are called upon to build in co-operation. Such an empire can give us life, for such an empire we can give up our lives.

Progress and India

'The Western civilization with its original incoherence, cannot serve to bring about a real harmony in the internal life of the individual. The changes are endured under the consoling name of progress.' Professor Dr. Dhirendra Nath Roy of the University of the Phillippines observes in *The Hindu Review* :

It is the love for change—mere change which seems to characterise the life of the West. There was a time, not very long ago when the Western people used to paint their bodies with woad. They gave it up and condemned those who would do it as savage. Many primitive people are still condemned for such simple pactice of their own. Yet, if a person likes to see now who are the people among whom tattooing is most popular, let him look at the bodies of the army and the nevy people of the West. Let him look at the things tattooed on their skins and compare the aesthetic taste of these civilized Westerners with that of the primitive people. And who can forget in this connection the "advanced" women of the West! What are all their lipsticks, rouge, cutex, *etc.* for it not for satisfying the same old desire to make themselves attractive to the public eye? It is said, that's modern way of living. What is there so modern about it? The women of ancient Egypt used vanity boxes with compartments for eight kinds of cosmetics. The Hindu women even of the days of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata had also similar kinds of cosmetics. They have been suing their own rich variety even today. The Mohammedan women have been probably more elaborate in this rspect than the other oriental women of their time. The Western women have adopted just a similar method of beauty culture. The only thing in which thev seem to show some peculiarity of their own is perhaps their strange modern practice of pulling out the eyebrows altogether and painting thin black arches in these places. We do not know if any oriental women ever beautified themselves in this manner. The anthropologists can say if any savage people tried similar method. Otherwise it certainly is something for which the Western women may get the laurel of originality. It, however, remains to be seen whether this kind of multilation is a mutation or a progress or just a simple change.

Even if there were real progress in the Western civilization, would that make any comparison of it with the civilization of India much profitable to the Western people? Supposing it is progress when the old favourite profession of the vikings and the buccaneers is substituted by that of the imperialists, when the inquisitionists and the witch-hunters become Christian soldiers or missionaries, when lying becomes propaganda, cheating becomes diplomacy, secret intriguing becomes peace-pact, orgic luxury becomes high standard of living, and so on, would such kind of progress make the Western people more advanced in civilization than the Indians who have discarded such things long time ago for some other things which their experience has taught them to be better and more worthwhile? It is true India's progress has for sometimes been very slow, while the West has been moving fast. But toward what is the West moving? What is its goal? Do India and the West have a common goal? Are both of them on the same path? Should we not know the answer of such questions first before we can indulge in any comparison? Or, is there any civilization in the bumptious method of national self-advertisement?

Women's Education in the Vedic Period

In the course of an article on women's education in India, *Prabuddha Bharata* says :

Women's education in the Vedic period was much advanced, and the upper classes gave maidens a very liberal education equally with the boys, which could win for them a dignified position in society. The women of that age held a high place in their husbands' houses which they ruled like queens. In the *Rigveda* we find : "Though she loved fine dress, it alone could not satisfy her. She was noble, independent-spirited, and fearless. She was not only a mother of heroes, but she was also herself heroic." Vispala, the queen of King Khela had lost her leg in a war and had it replaced by an iron one. Indrasena, wife of the sage, Mudgala, helped her husband in fighting their enemies. She became a charioteer, entered into the enemies' camp, and defeated them. Among the *Regvedic* composers 26 were women. There were women who used to perform sacrifices, offer hymns to the Gods, and excelled in music and other fine arts.

The immortal names of Gargi, Maitreyi, Ghosa, Lopamudra, Mamata, Apala, Surya, Indrani, Sachi, Sarparajni, Visvavara and others remind one of the remarkable wisdom and spiritual height to which Indian women in those times attained. The rare intellectual and spiritual attainments of the Buddhist nuns were sufficient to prove that women's education in the Buddhist period was no less advanced. The *Theri Gatha* was composed by 73 Buddhist abbesses. It is only in the neo-Brahmanical revival after the Buddhist era that women as a class became degraded in education and culture and that they ceased to make any remarkable progress.

Buddha

In the course of an article on Buddha, *Sadhana* writes :

Vaisakhi Purnima, the full moon day of the month of Vaisakh, is associated with the anniversary of the birth, enlightenment and decease of Buddha, who was born on the 17th May, 560 B. C. He attained *nirvana* after an earthly career of over 80 years, during the greater part of which, he had strenuously laboured for the relief of suffering humanity, renouncing all the pomp and luxury that are associated with an oriental kingdom.

Buddha was the son of Sudhodhana, King of Kapilavastu, in Nepal, 100 miles from Benares, by his first wife Maya Devi, who had died on the 7th day after his birth, having delivered of him under a tree in the forest of Lumbini, on her way to her mother's house for confinement. It was his step-mother Gautami that had brought him up with great love and this probably accounts for his earliest name Gautama, among many others by which he came to be known. He was a precocious youth who had mastered the Shasaras very early in life under his *guru* Visvamitra. He was of a quiet disposition, sparing in his talk and generally silent, with an over-flowing love for lower animals.

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He was married to the beautiful Yasodhara with whom he had spent his time happily, without tasting sorrow, till he was disturbed one day by a dream in which he had felt as if his soul had spoken to him saying "Is it proper that you should waste your time immersed in worldly pleasures? Don't you know why you were born? Get up, get up." That became the turning point in his life and Buddha began to shake himself loose of worldly pleasures one by one, till at last he was taken up by a strong spirit of renunciation which made him see through the impermanence of all worldly things and drove him, even in his 29th year, to the extreme step of leaving his loving wife and seven-days-old child and breaking the bonds of love which bound him to them.

In the dead of night he cut himself away from them, went into a forest, exchanged his clothes to a hunter's deer-skin garments, shaved off his head and joined a hermit's *asram*, spending his time in holy contemplation and maintaining himself by begging. By a severe process of introspection he conquered the passions which bound him and understood his true nature. This he preached far and wide; and several became his disciples, among whom were found the great Pandit Kashyapa, and Bimbisara, King of Magadha.

He had answered the questions put by a Brahmin to him just before his death and told him that "Buddhism begins with purity and ends with love." His last words to his disciples were "Don't think that my teaching was complete. My teaching and my faith would be your guides. Nothing is permanent in this world. So try to attain salvation." He said this and passed away in 477 B. C. Buddha's disciples burnt his body and buried his bones in eight places, where latterly Emperor Asoka had erected his famous pillars, which are existing to this day.

Buddha was convinced of the futility of self-mortification and self-indulgence for attaining *Nirvana* and as the middle way between these extremes he discovered the Noble Eight-fold Path :—1. Right belief, 2. Right aspirations, 3. Right speech, 4. Right conduct, 5. Right mode of livelihood, 6. Right effort, 7. Right-mindedness and 8. Right rapture—which would transform the whole life of man—intellectual, emotional and volitional and help towards the attainment of salvation.

It is said of Buddha that he was a "perfect model of all the virtues he preaches . . . his life has not a stain upon it" and as Max Muller put it, his Moral Code was "one of the most perfect which the world has ever known" and his personality in the words of Edwin Arnold was "the highest, gentlest holiest and most beneficent . . . . . in the history of thought."

As Sir Radhakrishnan tersely summarises, "Buddha declared that each man could gain salvation for himself without the meditation of priests or reference to Gods. Salvation did not depend on the acceptance of doubtful dogmas or doing deeds of darkness to appease angry dieties, but on the perfection of character and devotion to the good. An aversion to metaphysical speculation, an absence of theological tendency and an ethical earnestness mark Buddha's teaching."

Eugenics

Dr. P. C. Biswas in describing the scope and importance of Eugenics in *The Calcutta Review,* observes :

The science of eugenics rests largely on the fact, human being is a species of animal, subject to the same laws and principles which govern the rest of the animal kingdom. Although most people of the present generation take this fact for granted, yet it must not be forgotten, that, until comperatively recent times, the human species was considered as a distinct "creation" really in a class by itself, and not subject to the same laws that apply to other animals. Therefore, while man was willing to apply the principles of heredity and variation to the breeding of better types of other animals, he completely ignored himself, and failed to recognize that, in common with the rest of the organic world, he was affected by the factors and forces which influence all living species. This attitude has been responsible for the fact, that human family has grown, not in an organized way; where the mating has been good desirable offspring have followed, but where the mating has been bad undesirable offspring has resulted.

It would be impolitic to over-emphasise the importance of heredity in human affairs, for the reason that our knowledge of the mode of inheritance of human characters is still very elementary, and needs much amplification before there can be any application of principles of heredity to the deliberate improvement of the race.

During the last century there has been an extraordinary increase in the size of the population of all civilized countries, and one of the problems with which the applied science of eugenics is concerned refers to the fact, that this increase has been differential, the rate being lowest amongst those sections of the population, which, judged by accepted standards, are the most highly endowed mentally, and highest amongst the relatively defective and less well-endowed classes.

The science of human heredity was developed as a new line. The struggle against disease and unhealthy hygenic conditions has been victorious in many cases, and it will continue to combat those that are yet invincible. The new struggle is aimed against the spreading of hereditary diseases and the fostering of hereditary sound stocks.

Clarence G. Campbell, President of the Eugenics Research Association, has divided the human family into three groups—the best stock, the good stock, and the bad stock. According to Campbell, the best and the bad stock each constitute about one-tenth of the population, leaving approximately eight-tenths of the population in the good stock. In the best stock are numbered those individuals with superior qualities who are recognized as leaders in society. These are the individuals whose endowments are such that they not only control their own environment, but also control and direct that of others. The good stock consists of the element in the population who are law-abiding and normal citizens, performing their social and economic tasks not alone for their well-being but also for the benefit of civilization. From this group superior individuals often originate, thus adding to the superior stock. The bad stock comprises the so-called dysgenic group, those with defective qualities that make for the degeneration of society. Herein are included the feeble-minded, the insane, the paupers, the confirmed criminals, and the grave sex offenders. This group, in general, is a tremendous burden on society. Genetic evidence has been accumulating to reveal that most of these defects are due to heredity. Social workers also have discovered that from this stock the largest percentage of the dependent individuals originate. Geneticists and social workers, therefore, believe that nothing but good can come from planned scientific efforts in the direction of the rapid elimination of these defects.

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Prince Dwarkanath and Modern Banking

After the fall of the house of Jugat Seth, the European merchants of Calcutta, began to feel great difficulty due to lack of credit, and especially due to lack of proper facilities for financing of foreign trade. This led to the growth of banking departments in a great many of the Agency Houses of Calcutta. Dr. J. K. Mazumder in writing about the establishment of modern banking houses in India, in *The Indian Review,* says :

We find Dwarkanauth Tagore, so long ago as 1829, to be one of the projectors of a bank to be run on modern Western lines. And the position he held at the time in the business world made his ambition more easy of fulfilment. His endeavours in this direction saw the birth of the famous Union Bank of Calcutta on 1st August, 1829, which was destined to play a great and most important part in the then banking world.

The Union Bank is said to have commenced operation on 17th August, 1829. Its projectors were Messrs. J. G. Gordon, J. Calder, John Palmer, Col. James Young and Dwarkanauth Tagore. Dwarkanauth's engagement as the Salt Dewan of the Company is said to have prevented his taking a direct and open part in the direction of the affairs of the bank at its inception, but nevertheless it was all along an open secret that he was its soul and animating spirit, nay he even came to be regarded as its real founder. He is said to have nursed it, as a mother nurses her child, and saved it from an untimely death on more than one occasion.

The Bank was started avowedly as a commercial bank for the purpose of affording pecuniary facilities to commerce and agriculture—facilities which were denied by the restrictions imposed on the then semi-Government Bank of Bengal. When the project was first known, great and confident hopes were entertained of its favourable effects upon the general state of trade and commerce in Calcutta, and it really came to fulfil them.

The Deed of Copartnery shows that the capital of the bank was to be fifty lakhs of rupees, divided into 1,000 shares of Rs. 5,000 each. The capital might be increased at the pleasure of the shareholders, and business might be commenced when subscriptions had been received for 500 shares and twelve and half lakhs of rupees had been paid in respect of them. The bank is said to have commenced operations with a capital of 15 lakhs of rupees. Within about a month of its announcement to commence business, the required starting capital was nearly wholly subscribed. which testifies to the credit and confidence of the public enjoyed by those connected with its establishment. And this is more corroborated by the fact that within a decade the capital rose to the enormous sum of one crore of rupees. The Deed of Partnership further provided that the bank shall have 15 Directors, 3 Trustees, one Secretary and a native Treasurer, which is very significant as showing the great influence and hold Dwarkanauth had on it, and the still more significant fact is that his brother, Ramanath Tagore, was the first native to be appointed to that post. The Board of Trustees had one native on it, and the Board of Directors had three in the first instance. We find Dwarkanauth's name on the Board of Directors a few years later. The bank all along enjoyed a sound financial position, paid good dividends throughout, and after weathering many a storm came to survive as the only private joint-stock bank in Calcutta in later times and holding the place next to the Bank of Bengal.

After being most successfully run for about two decades the bank came to a crash in 1848. We need not discuss here the cause of its failure, but it stands to the credit of Dwarkanauth Tagore that so long as he was alive and at its helm, the bank enjoyed a sound position, and it is significant that just after a year or two of his death the establishment ceased to exist. His business acumen, integrity and exertion, as well as command over vast resources are said to have mainly contributed to the success of the bank and had been its mainstay, and it is no wonder that posterity came to regard the bank more as Dwarkanauth's.

Rhineland : Tinder Box of Europe

The German re-militarization of the Rhineland is one of the most important European problems of the day. Y. G. Krishnamurti bases his article in *The Twentieth Century* on the records of three discussions on the subject held recently at Chatham House, London, and issued as a special supplement to *International Affairs :*

Just at the moment when Germany, exhausted and beggared was recovering from the swoon the French did a notoriously unjust act by occupying the Ruhr. It was a gross and crying injustice. It ruined the middle. class and raised "the suicide rates to prodigious heights". Germany accepted the demilitarisation of her Rhineland frontier Zone as "a guarantee against second Ruhr invasion".

By Articles 42 and 43 of the Versailles Treaty, the strip of common territory on the left bank of the Rhine, together with a fifty Kilometre Zone was "demilitarised in perpetuity".

On March 8, the German Government announced to the consternation of France that it considered the Locarno Treaty as no longer binding and had sent troops into the Rhineland. It declared that the Franco.Soviet pact of Mutual Assistance was incompatible with the Locarno Treaties. Further she contended that France had already violated the Locarno Treaties and hence they were no longer binding. The German Government offered to conclude for twenty-five years, a Treaty of Non-aggression with France and Belgium to be guaranteed by Italy and Great Britain.

Can Germany's action be justified. Yes, she has occupied a territory by force which belongs to her by right. The chancellor of Germany thinks that the Versailles Treaty is founded on a tissue of lies and every clause of it is morally invalid. Says Herr Hitler,

> No honour without battle. I am force, because in force I see strength and in strength the eternal mother of rights.

In this connection it will be instructive to know the French attitude. They are an extremely pacifist race who dislike war. But their every fibre is shot through and through with mortal terror. She believes that peace can only be maintained in Europe through the overwhelming military preponderance of one side. That is why she has made alliances with Poland, the Little Entante, Italy and Russia.

Clouds of War are looming large in the horizon of Europe. Racial animosity is fanned into flame. Storms in the tea-cup are assuming the threatening proportions of desert gales. The race in rearmament between Nations is going on at an amazingly rapid speed. For some Dictators International brigandage has become an honourable profession. The system of collective security has experienced the rudest shock in its life. Europe, a

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political madhouse is seething with blood and rancour. The League of Nations, the weedy hot-house plant of Geneva, is too weak and impotent to face these grim realities.

When an author of International repute went to Geneva and asked a citizen his opinion about the League, the Genevan exclaimed, "Don't mention that damnable thing. At first we hoped, then we laughed, now we weep".

Erelong the League will sink into the limbo of oblivion. The present figures of the armies and air forces of the world benumbs the soul and freezes the blood of a pacifist.

In the event of a conflict between Germany and France there will be nearly 2,800,000 men and 6000 planes on the side of France and her Allies and on the other side 600,000 men and 1500 planes. The "shining armours" in the Rhineland corner is making the French lion to lash its tail into fury. Hitler is for an opportune moment to wreck his vengeance. For, vengeance is sweet for Gods!

The Rhineland is the tinder box of Europe and a spark might ignite it into a terrific conflagration.

A Picture of Indigenous Education

'It would be well worth our while, even in the modern days, to study the working of such indigenous educational institutions in various places of India.' Pandit Kshitimohan Sen gives, in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, a vivid picture of indigenous education, which gains so much in value from sympathy and experience :

In Bengal the teacher's own dwelling house used to serve as a Chatuspathi, in which the students also lived during the period of their studies. The master was a father to his pupils, and his wife was as a mother. The peaceful life of the village that went on around them kept their minds and hearts full of human interest. Though teachers and pupils were alike poor in material resources, the store of love and wisdom in their little households was full to over-flowing. So attached did the pupils become to what was for them a veritable *alma mater*, that when the time came for their return to the homes of their parents, they were moved to tears.

The master would sit at meals with his pupils as well as his own children, and his wife would make no difference in the helpings she served to them. The pupils would rather freely pester her with all kinds of affectionate importunities, like as petted children do in their own homes. If any newcomers hesitated to do likewise she would remark : "They still look on us as strangers!" As a consequence, the feeling of belonging to the master's own family, and the spiritual and intellectual lineage thus established endured through generations.

I still remember the wife of such a teacher of Bikrampur, who came of a well-to-do family, and being unused to such strenuous housekeeping, at first felt put out by the goings on of her husband's pupils. When the Pandit's mother saw this, she admonished her thus : "Look here, my daughter, these children have left their own fathers and mothers to come to us. This is now their home. Let them look on themselves as children of the house, and bother you with their demands; it will help them to forget that they are away from their own homes." This good lady herself, in her old age, told me this story of her youthful impatience by way of deploring her own shortcomings.

The love in the hearts of these worthy pandits was only equalled by the depth of their learning and their devotion to duty. Young Dhundaraj, son of the world-famous Gangadhar Shastri, was a great friend of all the pandits' pupils. The poor boy suddenly died after a short illness, without our knowing of it at the time. But our Pandit took his class as usual, though we noticed that he looked aged and worn. After lessons we went about calling for Dhundaraj, whereupon his father remarked : "He has gone where your voices will not reach him." The pandit said this so quietly that at first we could not understand. When at length his meaning dawned on us, one of us exclaimed : "But why, Sir, did you not stop our lesson?" "How could I, my son?" replied he. "So many of you have come from far-off places. I have no right to waste your time. My sorrow is my own affair. But this search for knowledge belongs to all of us, and it would be wrong of me to impede its progress." His simple steadfastness staggered us.

Sir Otto Niemeyer's Scheme

C. V. H. Rao concludes his article in *The Hindustan Review* with the following observations :

A study of the report of Sir Otto Niemeyer as a whole has thus impressed upon me, as it will perhaps impress upon anyone, the fact that, in spite of its attempt to institute a final financial settlement between the federal Centre and the constituent provinces in this country, it cannot by any means be considered as final. There are obvious *lacuna* in the arrangements proposed, so that it may break down either by some of the calculations on which it is based not materializing or by the intense dissatisfaction its proposals have engendered and will continue to engender in certain provinces. These proposals may have all the outside, apparent elements of practicability about them; but they are essentially unjust and inequitable, which is as much as one can say in criticism of them or of any others of the same category. As the *Indian Finance* writes :—'The report is very disappointing from the ethictl point of view for the reason that its final recommendations are not based upon any constitutional conception of taxation by autonomous federating units or of a distribution of the residue of the taxes collected by the Centre amongst the provinces in such a way as to result in achieving a standard of administration that may eventually be equally high for all the provinces federating with the Centre.' Sir Otto Niemeyer has, of course, proved to his own satisfaction that the recommendations he has adumbrated represent an equitable settlement and that there must be inevitable substantial differnces in the standards of administrative needs and possibilities of the provinces in a country of the size of India. But his self-satisfaction and optimism are shared by few in this country, who, while being grateful to him for his political recommendation that provincial autonomy can be introduced as originally contemplated on April 1, 1937, rightly feel that his financial recommendations (*1*) do not facilitate the successful operation of provincial autonomy in some provinces; (2) have thrown an apple of discord among the various provinces by their unduly sympathetic treatment of some and unduly harsh treatment of others; (*3*) have been surrounded, in respect of the most important source of relief, with such conditions that they take little account of the indisputable fact of the inelastic nature of provincial revenue sources and hinge too much upon external factors; and (*4*) will help to perpetuate the vicious system of financial doles to certain provinces which are objectionable in principle and inequitable in practice.

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RELIGIOUS TRAINING IN SCHOOLS

By P. N. SHARMA, M.A.

Several years back, the Mahomedan Education Enquiry Committee set up by the Government of Bengal asked, "Should religious training be compulsory for Mahomedan boys in schools?" The object of the present article is not to answer the question on a communal basis, but to seek a general answer, which may be applicable to boys of all communities.

We have to ask ourselves first, why it is thought desirable to introduce religious education and what exactly is at the back of the minds of those who advocate it. Next, we have to see if it is a practicable proposition considering how schools are constituted and run at present.

One of the charges against the present system of education is, that it fails to provide for religious education and has thus rendered it "godless." By calling it "godless," we may mean much or little. We may merely mean that our education does not seek to inculcate faith in God and dependence on Him among our boys. We may go further and say that it is not only unspiritual, but also atheistical, irreligious and even immoral.

Much of this is mere cant. While "Godlessness" in the literal sense of the absence of the inculcation of a belief in God, is true of our education, the other charges cannot with any reason or propriety be laid at its door. God does not find a place in the school curriculum —Arithmetic or Drawing does not find it necessary to assert Him—but neither do they deny Him. Neither can the teaching of these subjects or indeed any other in the school curriculum, well or ill, have the remotest tendency to produce the undesirable results complained of. The charge of atheism must fail, for atheism is an utter negation and denial, and the school certainly does nothing to foster this attitude. On the other hand, the literature that is taught in the school does something to bring out the greatness and glory of God and develop a love for the law of Righteousness.

On the moral side, as apart from the distinctly religious, the school make a definite contribution. Morality is a feature of corporate life, in fact, its essential basis. The school is a wider corporation than the home and the family, and although its ties are necessarily looser, these are none the less—as a matter of fact, the more—definite and therefore, more clearly realised. Domestic affection is almost an animal bond, instinctive and intuitive, and therefore stronger but less reasoned and deliberate and therefore less "moral" in a way. The man, who for the first time weaned away children to a school, was a great moral benefactor of mankind. By making social life possible for the very young, he laid the basis for a wider and more universal morality than home-life allowed. He was a great visionary and idealist who dared to bring children together and make them live a richer, fuller and more truly human life than the one circumscribed at home.

The discipline of the school is essentially moral in its influence—in fact the very basis of the children's morality. Home-life has its own code and discipline, but it is less pronounced and ordered. We are accustomed to look upon the home as a place for relaxation, where the more stringent and strenuous conventions of social life do not apply. In dress, manners, speech, and action the demands at home are less rigorous and exacting. If the code is not entirely absent, conformity to it is less insisted upon.

It is salutary not to lose sight of these fundamental considerations, when an unreasoning and ill-considered crusade against the present system of school-education is all the rage. These basic truths apply to our schools as to others elsewhere. Morality may wane in the social life at large, irreligion may be rife, but nothing will be gained by laying the blame where it is not due. The school and its activities—even as these are at present—have nothing irreligious about them, nor are the teachers a particularly diabolical lot, to whom can be traced all the manifold corruption and impiety, admittedly infecting the social body at present.

While it is necessary to refute wild and exaggerated allegations, our schools must come in for their fair share of blame for the decay of the religious spirit. We have just to compare our schools with the ancient *Tols* and the whole matter is at once brought out in glaring contrast. We are here concerned not with the

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efficiency of the respective systems from a secular standpoint but only with their spiritual and moral efficacy. The *Tol* had a deeply religious atmosphere about it. The *Guru* not only taught secular subjects but was the spiritual guide as well. His own life in the best cases was an exemplar and inspiration. At the worst, the pupil would at least be brought up a conformist. If the traditional religion did not always reach great spiritual heights, it at least saved society from disruption and disintegration in the hands of the *Tol*-educated. It is they who became the leaders of society and the custodians of its social conscience, the givers and interpreters of the religious laws and practices. May be, their vision was often cramped, their sympathies narrow, and their rule of society, an unmitigated tyranny. But they did at least rule, their voice was obeyed, and they succeeded in holding together society and maintaining its distinctive features, if not ideals.

We cannot say the same of the products of the present system. While the traditional religious spirit, albeit encrusted with thick layers of superstition, remains the same among the lower ranks of society, the educated are out of tune with it. There is a deep cleavage separating the two classes. The educated have learnt to sneer at the superstitions of the common folk but not to understand them. The bond of sympathy is snapped, and the leadership of the educated over their less fortunate brethren is no longer possible. In our iconoclastic zeal, we have almost laughed away our ancient religious practices and now practically find ourselves without a religion. To have no religion might be bad enough for an individual, but when the entire class of a nation's leaders and would-be leaders have neither a new religion wherewith to inspire the masses, nor even share their deep though clouded religious instinct and spirit, the tragedy becomes suffocating. Yet this is what has happened and is happening. And therefore this benighted cry for religious training echoes and re-echoes through the tangled wilderness of no-religion and superstition.

It might be urged, if the Jews in Europe and America can assume leadership in predominantly Christian countries and if Bolshevic Russia can dispense with religion altogether, what stands in the way of social progress, harmony and fusion in this country? Religion is an affair of the spirit, and as such, the care and concern of the individual. A state-religion has always been the handmaiden of state power, harsh to dissenters and an engine of oppression. Religion has been an opiate deliberately used by the powers that be, for lulling the masses into pathetic contentment and the sooner it is allowed to die of inanition the better.

These considerations have at least to be stated, for whatever they may be worth. On the other hand, we have to remember that religion in this country has always meant more than simple conformity to a creed. It has been more of a culture than a creed; in fact, credal conformity has never been unduly stressed. Our religion has embraced the whole of our lives, shaped its activities and moulded our outlook. In a word it has been more comprehensive with us and claimed more spheres of life than the religion of the west touches or regulates. The Jew in Europe and America is a Jew only in his Synagogue; at all other places he is simply a European or American; whereas the Hindu or the Mussalman, the Sikh or the Jain carries his religion with him to all places and into all his activities. The collapse of his faith, therefore, means the collapse of his whole social fabric.

To avert the impending catastrophe, to repair the social structure, to harmonise and revitalise social life with a new inspiration, new yet old, appealing to all sections of the community and fusing them together, would be a worthy ambition, nay a necessary task, and if it could be accomplished by imparting religious training in the schools, it should be attempted with all the zeal and enthusiasm we are yet capable of. But lest we court disappointment and disillusion, we should clearly set forth the objectives and adapt our methods for reaching them with some care, if at all indeed these can be reached.

Although the cry for religious training in schools, comes from all sorts of quarters, it is by no means evoked by the same reasons, nor are the methods urged quite or nearly the same. In fact it is a very confused cry and its volume is no proof of the unanimity of its propagandists even in essential matters. With the orthodox of all communities, it simply means the conservation of all the old forms of their respective religions, of the rites and ceremonies—in short, credal conformity. They are terribly afraid that members of their community are losing their identity—their physical identity, be it said —and getting unrecognisable. They would be quite happy, if only the symbols that make for easy identification and recognition were restored. If only the Brahmin grew his tuft of hair in his head, not too small for easy observation.

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discriminated in the matter of food and drink, cherished and aired the time-honoured ideas on touchability and untouchability and otherwise behaved as a true twice-born should, they would be content. The orthodox Mahomedan deplores the disappearance of the long beard and the fez cap in favour of a clean-shaven face and a hat, and ruefully looks on an ever-thinning congregation in *juma* prayers, unless there is some political pep in them. He would be satisfied if only the visible signs were restored and he could easily recognise his brother in faith. The ravages of time have been distressing and disconcerting to them, because of the disappearance of the symbols of faith, rather than on any higher consideration. When therefore, they speak of religious training in schools, they mean neither more nor less than a training in rituals and observances, pure and simple, with a dash of theology to give it flavour.

There is another class of men, whom we may call 'liberals' in religion. They are to be seen chiefly among the educated of all communities, though perhaps their number is fewer among the Mahomedans than among the Hindus. They frankly hold and declare that the old forms of religion are dead and cannot be successfully revived. They, however, still conform to the creed on ceremonial occasions, not for any real regard for it, but because of sheer inertia and a dislike to appear daring and singular. They are free-thinkers of all shades in private life but have not the courage to express themselves in social behaviour. They are the would-be reformers, who expect the reform to begin anywhere but in themselves first. They hold anti-dowry meetings but take care to have a good dowry in their sons' marriages, are all for widow-remarriage, yet take care to marry a virgin or virgins in succession, in case of the loss of their wives. In fact, they are all promises and no performances. They scoff at the orthodox, some of whom have at least the saving grace of sincerity. They would fain have an expurgated edition of religion but they are hopelessly unconstructive. They are men of little faith and less courage. Not that there are no sincere men among them; but the fact is, circumstances have been too much with them, as they will always be with average men, who cannot help their birth and breeding. They cannot escape the social rut and move in their appointed grooves as automatons. The Scriptures are so much intellectual treat to them, rather than guides to a coherent and ordered social life. They are stirred by no deep emotions or ideals,—there is little spiritual fervour except what strictly belongs to the intellectual variety.

Consistently with their make-up, they are no revivalists of old forms. They just stand for a study of the scriptures and accessory literature, believing that religion would be safeguarded thereby. They would just like to recall the glory that was India, but only in the exuberance of their imaginative and intellectual luxury.

Fortunately for us, there have always been a class of men, or rather individuals, rare in any age or country, whom we may call the men of faith and courage. Rammohan, Devendranath, Keshavachandra, Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda cannot be really classified for the simple reason that an age does not produce many such. They are, however, in a sense representative types, realising in their lives the aspirations of the many, who are content to follow them at a distance. They were men to whom religion did not mean a mere form or an excrescence—a robe to be put on or off at pleasure—but rather the chief fact and the central motive of life subordinating all else. They would harmonise and direct all life's activities in tune with it. To them it was not a dogma, nor yet a mere beatific vision, neither an intellectual treat nor an emotional ecstasy. It was not even a mere personal affair that concerned one's own soul and its own salvation, but a link invisible yet strong, connecting them with the life and soul of a people, responding to and reacting on them and carrying all forward in its irresistible sweep to a goal and a vision that would gradually unfold and supply its own motive power.

We repeat that if religion is to be taught, the objectives will have to be settled first. Shall we accept the orthodox ideal—if it can be dignified by that name—and teach only rituals and theology or the liberal standpoint, and teach religious literature or shall we adopt the ideal of the last-named group and make religion the dominant factor in education, as it is to be the dominating influence in life? What would be the precise value of each one of these ideals to the individual and social life at large?

The orthodox or formal ideal is practically empty of all content except perhaps a physical one. It would indeed unify the people or rather particular groups of people by a physical bond —just as people unite under a common flag, with this difference that a flag is more than coloured linen, symbolising as it does aims and aspirations, more or less understood, whereas ritualistic conformity may have no more mean-

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ing than a snake-charmer's spells. Forms and appearances are not to be despised in a world of forms;—they have their place and value, but only when they express some inner intent, which can only be thus revealed. Conformity, however, if it could be established—would make identification and recognition swift and certain and establish at least a physical kinship. We are not, therefore, disposed to laugh at orthodoxy—we only complain that it begins and ends in form and does not go beyond it. It confines religion to the temple, the mosque and the church, to prayers and pilgrimages, birth and baptism, marriage and death, but leaves it sadly out of account in life and its manifold ways and expressions. Even where it holds sway, it divides just as it unites—divides into unified opposing groups—splits between sect and sect, Hindu and Mussalman, Brahmin and Namasudra, man and woman and prescribes separate panaceas and nostrums for its little cliques and folds. An orthodox revival, were it possible, would therefore only confuse and embitter. It would end in clashes and disaster.

The liberals would do away with all forms and formulas, dogmas and doctrines, rituals and observances and keep to what they believe to be the essentials of religion—a philosophic religion. In their hatred of the particular and the definite, they will simply take away all its disciplines—its rigours and fasts, for instance —and reduce religion to a milk-and-water substance, capable of easy assimilation and retention. Sectarianisms shorn of their distinctive characteristics, will tend to merge into a more or less homogeneous mass of non-descript eclecticism. Since all the great religions, minus the outward symbols and observances, speak the one great truth, though in different voices, it should be possible by lopping off the externals and inessentials to bring about the much-longed-for uniformity in religion. It is only permissible to doubt, if any religion would survive an operation on this scale. Take away the forms, religion has evolved and expressed itself in its daily duties and prohibitions, its vigils and festivals, its Durga Puja and Mohurrum,—what remains? The residue is an intellectual stuff, with little emotional or spiritual appeal about it. It does not stir the imagination or the religious instinct of the people—it leaves them cold. Is it the spiritual fare to sustain a people?

The third class does not believe in the mere revival of dead forms, which have ceased to convey meaning, nor yet in that liberal attitude which relegates religion to an intellectual pastime for an idle half-hour. Believing that man is an essentially spiritual being, they think that he must have a religion to live by and develop himself fully. This religion again must comprehend and regulate all his activities, even on the material plane, in order that there may be no clashes or conflicts between his worldly requirements and ambitions, and his inner spiritual urge. His morality and social conduct no longer remain a separate and elaborate, a reasoned and deliberative code of Ethics, but a simple and natural manifestation of his spiritual nature. In tune with himself, he is easily in tune with others. Egoism in the sense of individual conceit and obsession disappears, and he recognises his brother in all. No longer is each man a law unto himself,—self-consciouness is reduced to a minimum. Understanding and sympathy born of love are established between man and man. Thoughts and feelings are transmitted in an unresisting medium and many little human wills no longer thwarting and colliding with each other, but strengthening and sustaining one another, gather a speed and momentum that become irresistible. History shows what a people in a mood of spiritual exaltation can achieve. And these achievements cover all fields. Indeed these conclusively demonstrate that there is no essential antagonism between what we are pleased to distinguish as spiritual and material. The glories of the Buddhistic age, of early Islam and of Sikhism certainly falsify the assumption that religion weakens or enervates and makes man less fit for this world and its demands. How we long for these ages! What would we not give to go back to them, if that were possible, or become a religious people again in any other way? Can we manufacture such a religion in our schools, for the problem is nothing short of that? Where is the inspiration to come from? Teachers are members of society just as other people, and if society is without a religion, where is help to be expected? If the seas dry up, can the rivers flow?

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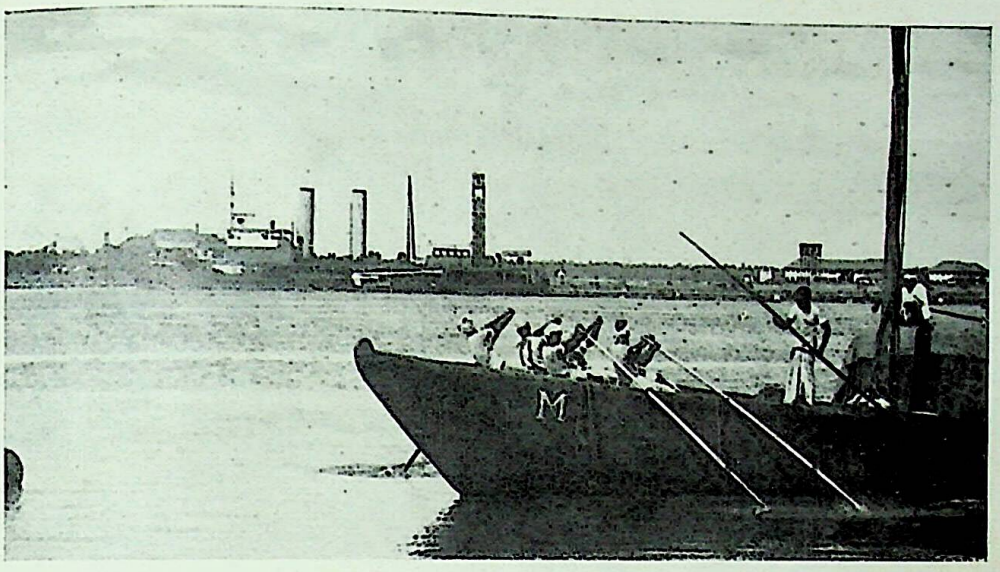

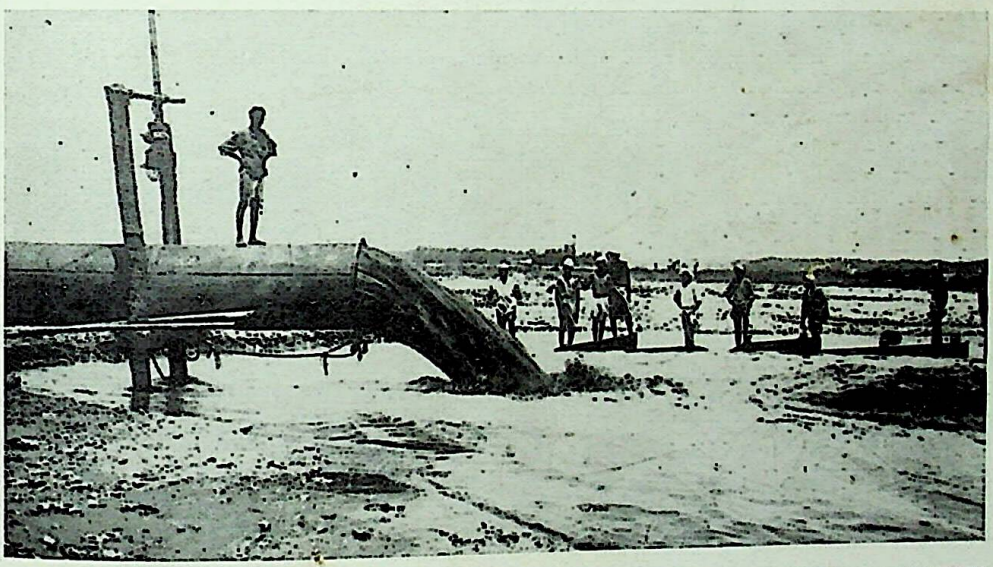

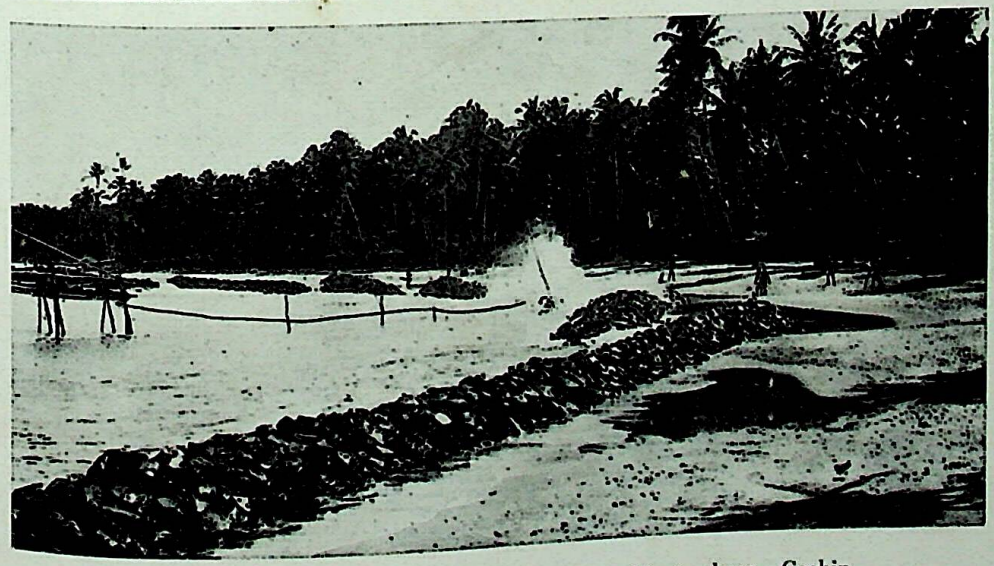

1. The bow of a lighter carrying goods from ship to shore —Cochin
2. The Pipe connected to the Dredger "Lord Willingdon"
3. Dumping of Stone—first work in the development of Cochin

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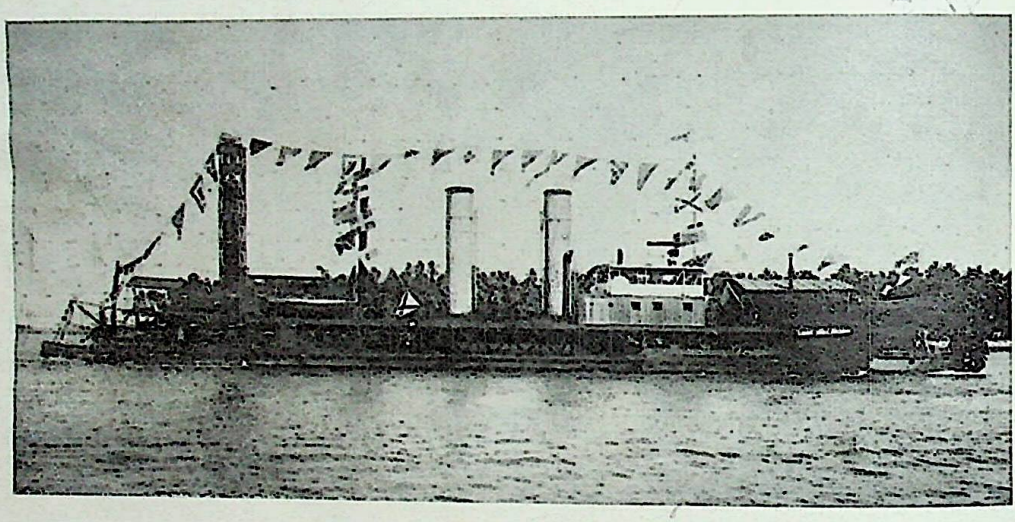

1. A View of the present landing ground—Cochin
2. "Lord Willingdon" Dredger—Cochin
3. Present system of landing goods—Cochin

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DEVELOPMENT OF COCHIN PORT

Cochin claims to be the earliest European Settlement in India. It was in December, 1500, A.D. that the Portuguese first anchored in this fine natural habour and in 1795 it passed into the hands of the English. Now in 1936 an official pronouncement will be made promoting Cochin to the status of a major port of India.

This will lead to the carrying of the railway from the main land by a mile-long bridge to the re-claimed island where modern wharves are to be built.

A strong case was put up by the Local Chamber of Commerce in 1880 and the report that was prepared showed that the cost involved would be beyond the financial capacity of the port—at that time at any rate.

The great problem at Cochin has been to dig a three-mile channel through a wide bar of sand out at sea which effectively blocks the entrance to the port for any but vessels of shallow draft. Dredges were more primitive, the sand was described as too hard to dredge, while mud would fill up the channel during rough weather.

With the development of dredgers, the outlook for Cochin brightened. The position at Cochin was thoroughly re-examined in 1914, when it was reported that a scheme of dredging was possible to keep a channel through the sandy bar open.

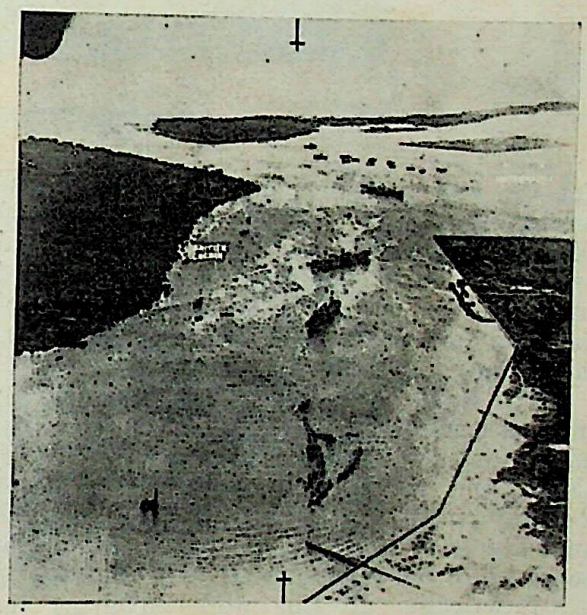
After the war, the Madras Government decided to carry the scheme of converting Cochin into a first-class port.

Mr. Bristow the Engineer spent many days in June and July, 1920, wading in the sea. He discovered by the movement of sand over his legs and feet that there was no erosion in the proper sense and that to have a frontal defence of stones was considered the most practicable remedy. Stones groynes parallel with the shore were put down.

After numerous experiments it was found possible by 1921 to begin more serious work.

A special dredger was built in 1925 and was named the "Lord Willingdon"—the Marquess of Willingdon then being Governor of Bombay.

There was bad luck with this vessel at first, for owing to fog it ran aground during the outward journey through the Red Sea. In October, 1926, when it was first taken out to sea from the port, the sea became exceptionally rough damaging the pipe line through which material dredged was sucked. This was mended and work continued until the following February. By that time, the dredging system had been thoroughly tested out and plans could be made for the main task of excavating a large channel two miles long out to sea in one season.



A bird's-eye View of India's new deep sea port Cochin

The process was for the mud and sand to be sucked up from the sea bed and forced through hundreds of feet of pipe to an island within the harbour which was being reclaimed. The ground swell of the sea threatened to disturb the pontoons carrying the pipe in such a way that the pipe connections would break. This danger was foreseen and after a great deal of hard work and repairs, overcome. In this way with numerous experiments, the enormous amount of dredging required to be done within a limited period was made possible. Once this difficulty could be overcome, the main obstacle in the way of Cochin becoming a deep sea port, had been surmounted.

From December, 1927 to March, 1928, the 'Lord Willingdon' exceeded all expectations.

Much of the work was done in difficult weather and under the most trying conditions. With the exception of four or five European

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engineers, the dredging staff were all Indians and carried through this arduous task with great credit.

Once this initial task of excavating a channel 11,000 feet long by 400 feet wide with an average depth of 32½ feet had been accomplished, the future of Cochin was assured. There was a great deal of other work to be done, such as the dredging of channels inside and the reclaiming of an island on which wharves have been built, but that was accomplished without difficulty.

An example of the exceptional work done by the "Lord Willingdon" was in December, 1928, when she dredged a channel nearly two miles long and 450 feet wide in exactly four weeks—a world's record. The total amount of soil dredged came to 9,887,740 cubic yards, while the cost of dredging came to Rs. 13,019,259.

This port will now have considerable strategic importance, for, alone among Indian harbours, it is on the direct route to Australia and the Far East. Again there is rich country which will benefit substantially from having an efficient deep sea port established within easy access.

IRRIGATION AND RAILWAY

For the first time in India a blue book concerning the lives and prosperity of over 50 million Indians and vast areas of valuable land has been issued by the Central Board of Irrigation for India. It summarizes some of the work for solving Irrigation problems undertaken during 1934-35.

The total amount of land cultivated in India dependent on irrigation is now about 40 million acres (31 million acres in British India alone), and well over 50 million people are in this way employed. The value of crops coming annually from irrigated areas is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 100 crores.

Practically, all this work—involving the building of over 75,000 miles of canals and distributories—has been developed in the last 60 or 70 years. When the present irrigation works are fully developed, the area benefited will be about 50 million acres (the area commanded by these works will, of course, be approximately twice as great).

Numerous experiments are now in progress in different provinces in a fight against water-logging which, at present, has put out of use thousands of acres of good land.

On the question of land reclamation and prevention of land deterioration, it is stated that experiments had been carried out which showed that water containing soluble salts could be used for irrigation, provided there was calcium present in the water or the soil or in both. This presence of calcium salts prevents base-exchange action taking place between the sodium and calcium in the clay complex.

The Research Committee have decided that irrigation water with a salt content of more than 60 parts per 100,000 parts of water may be used without detriment to the soil, provided there is sufficient calcium present in the water, or in the soil, or in both. In was reported that a formula had been evolved at the Punjab Irrigation Research Institute which would indicate whether the water was suitable for irrigation or not. It was decided that above a salt content of 120 parts per 100,000 parts of water, there is no possibility of preventing damage.

Agreement was reached that there should be close co-operation between irrigation and medical authorities to prevent malaria.

One of the most important steps forward under the aegis of the Board is the building of models in order to test out various theories for the control of rivers. Details were given of the work done at Poona of a model of the river Ganges. This model represents the course of the Ganges for about 20 miles in the neighbourhood of the Hardinge Bridge. There have been indications that the river might change its course and affect the flow of water approaching the bridge with disastrous results. The experiments had shown that by taking a certain line of action the bridge could be saved. In this way, a great deal of money, which might have been spent on useless work, had been saved.

The opinion was expressed that no single province could or should take on experimental work of that nature, and that it should be undertaken by a Special Research Station financed from the centre to be organized by practical experts.

A question of vital importance to irrigation is—Why do rivers wind? The Board collected data on this question from all parts of the world.

Examples of the loss and destruction caused

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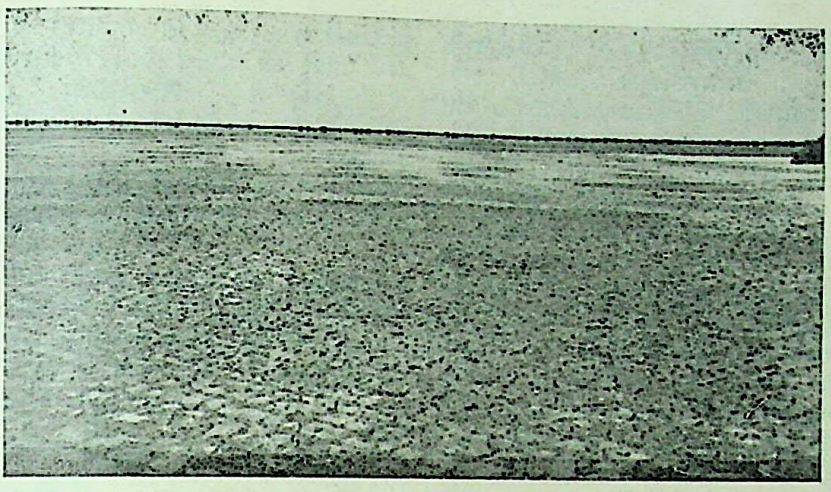

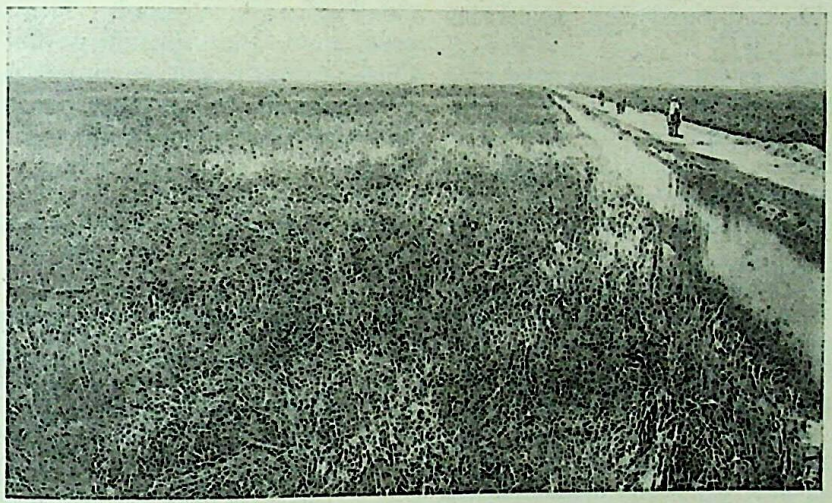

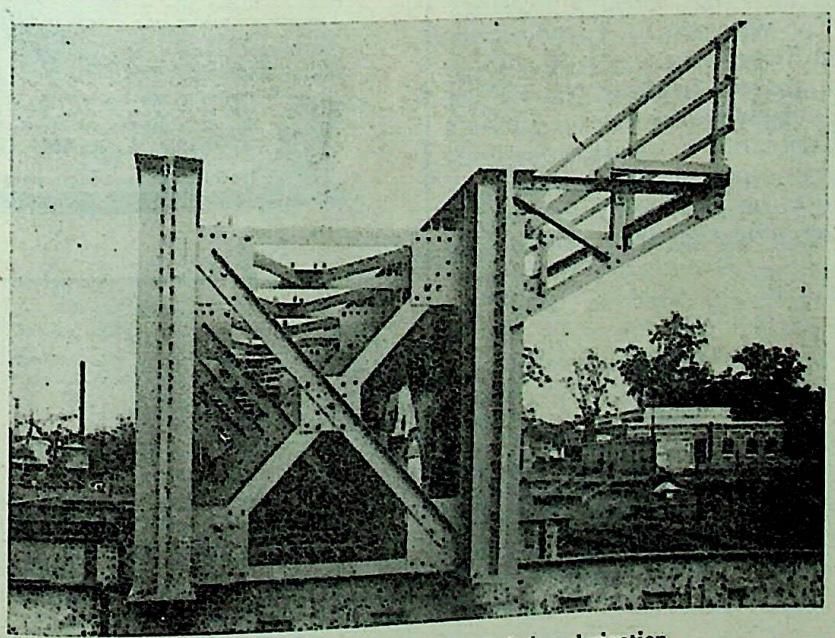

Top—A typical area in Sind *before* irrigation
Middle—The same area *after* irrigation
Bottom—A Standardized Railway Bridge

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in India by changes in the beds of rivers were given. In Bengal Sirajgunge, which was threatened with complete obliteration, part of the city being actually carried away, before the town was saved by the adoption of suitable bank protective works. On the other hand, the town of Noakhali had practically disappeared, for no attempt was made to control the river, owing to the cost in relation to the value of property involved, being prohibitive.

The Brahamputra river had left its old course towards the end of the 18th century with the result that towns like Mymensingh had been adversely affected. In addition to such troubles that followed changes in the course of rivers, there was the fact that the districts served by them lost in health and prosperity, soil being impoverished.

Details were also given of the changes in a number of other rivers in Bengal. Embankments had been tried, but did not appear to have a marked effect in reducing the winding of rivers. Rivers might be arrested in their winding by providing protection to banks which were being eroded.

At present, the Punjab, as in previous years, has the largest irrigated area totalling nearly 11½ million acres. Madras comes next with about 7½ million acres followed by Sind with nearly 6 million acres and the United Provinces with nearly 4 million acres. The total capital outlay on these works is in the neighbourhood of 150 crores, while the gross revenue is about 13 crores and the working expenses about 5 crores. The net revenue, therefore, on capital totals about 5½ per cent.

As a result of the enterprise of the British Government in developing these works, India—which has utilized irrigation as an aid to agriculture longer than any other country in history—still leads the world, having nearly double the total acreage under irrigation than that of the nearest comparable country, the United States, and over six times that of Egypt.

Every day the quantity of water used for irrigation in India is about 260,000,000,000 gallons.

At the moment the Government of India have under consideration various projects.

The Central Standards Office of the Indian Railway Board is now working a scheme for standardizing the designs of metal bridges throughout India, with a view to save a great deal of money in this particular branch of railway expenditure.

Metal bridges with spans from 10 ft. to 100 ft. are to be built of high tonsile steel instead of ordinary stool. This high tonsile steel costs more than ordinary steel, but, being so much stronger, not so much metal is required. The increase in the cost of steel is more than offset by the saving in the amount used.

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NOTES

Philippine National Defence—A Lesson for Indian Nationalists

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Bill decreeing Philippine independence, he was well-aware of the fact that the first requisite for it was the development of Philippine national defence. He agreed to send Major-General Douglas MacArthur, former Chief of the U. S. General Staff, to assist President Quezon of the Philippines in carrying out an effective programme of national defence which would guarantee the independence of the islands from a possible attack of a powerful neighbour—presumably Japan.

The *New York Times* of May 31, publishes the following interesting news regarding the work done by General MacArthur and his aides so that within eight years the Filipinos would be able to take full control over their national defence :

PHILIPPINES PLAN FAST WARSHIPS, 250 PLANES, 400,000 RESERVISTS

General MacArthur Says the Tiny Craft Will Have Speed of 50 to 60 Miles an Hour—Promises Perfect Security for the Islands When the Program Is Completed.

By The Associated Press [of America]

MANILA, May, 29.

Plans to make the Philippine Islands "invasion proof" with a fleet of tiny, high-speed fighting craft and a relatively large but fast moving army reserve were revealed to-night by Major Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

When the Philippines become an independent republic, after 1945, he said, there will be an offshore patrol of fifty to 100 small defense ships capable of moving fifty to sixty miles an hour, 400,000 trained reserves, a 250-plane air force and a comparatively small standing army. In thirty years, he added, there will be 1,200,000 army reserves.

"As we go along," said General MacArthur in an interview, "we shall collect supplies and equipment for this army, guaranteeing that the reserves can go into action within a short time, fully equipped for field duty.

"With leadership such as is afforded by President Quezon, these islands will become a great nation and the gateway to the Far East. Their natural position will make them easy to defend and invasion costly.

"We have $8,000,000 to spend annually during the ten-year period for military defense. That means economy, but I am confident we can erect a defense that will discourage any invasion."

General MacArthur, former United States Army Chief of Staff, now is military adviser to President Quezon.

Speaking of sea defense, he said, the small-boat plans would develop eight years hence and produce results two years thereafter. He declared the tiny fighting vessels would carry crews of eight men each and would have two torpedo tubes each.

General MacArthur said that if the islands followed the general defense plan "the Philippines can rest in perfect security."

"It would take 500,000 men, $10,000,000,000, tremendous casualties and three years' time successfully to invade the Philippines," he added.

By introducing compulsory military education in Philippine schools and colleges and other means of training the Filipino people the American military mission is going to create a Philippine National Defence force of tremendous power within ten years. India with 350 millions of people and tremendous resources can, within ten years, develop a national defence force which will be able to assume full responsibility for national defence, provided proper and whole-hearted measures are taken by the rulers of India.

But British politicians hold that the best argument against granting Dominion status to India (not to speak of independence) is the inability of Indians to defend their country without British aid; and therefore Indians must not be allowed to get adequate facilities for assuming control over national defence. On the other hand very many Indian politicians are primarily job-hunters and lack vision. Indians are not inferior to the Filipinos in ability. Indian politicians may learn a lesson from the Filipino leaders and British military experts may imitate General MacArthur's programme if they are sincere about Indianisation of Indian national defence.

New York City,
June 1, 1936.

TARAKNATH DAS

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Value of British Promise of Dominion Status According to Birkenhead

Lord Birkenhead frankly suggested that when the British statesmen promised Dominion status to India, they lied about it.

"I turn finally to the question of foreign policy and national defence. We have already considered the impossibility of an efficient Indianized army. This in itself removes any hope that an autonomous Dominion of India could manage its own foreign affairs; a policy which depends, as the Swarajists must, on a rotten prop will be rotten from the outset. How long would the Bengalis last if once a virile invasion swept down upon their rich country? Not one day. And we should not be there to save them.

"'Complete Dominion Status,' entailing the complete control by nationals of the internal administration of their country, the conduct of its fiscal policy, the development of its resources, and the defence against foreign powers—requires a united and an experienced people, trained in the art of Government. India is not such a nation. It is not a nation at all—it is a continent of separate and mutually hostile fragments.

"The self-appointed apostles of Swaraj have already shown themselves incapable of exercising such limited administrative rights as have been granted them. No one but a mad man or a Lansbury can imagine, after a consideration of the facts which I have briefly outlined here, that 'Dominion Status' in a form involving autonomy can safely be conceded to India within any assignable or predictable period.

No honest English statesman can, in my judgment, be found who will say that Dominion Status for India is attainable in the near future. Why then lie about it?"

The Earl of Birkenhead: *Last Essays.* London. Cassell & Co. 1930, page 45.

He further stated the following regarding the possible recommendations of the so-called Round Table Conference:

"Now, it cannot be too plainly stated, or too often repeated, that there is not the slightest prospect of any Government conceding to India in our lifetime what is known to constitutional lawyers and statesmen all the world over as Dominion status. Once again, then, we shall be accused, and justly accused, of having brought into existence the whole of this futile paraphernalia in order to delude those who are upheld by the view that there is some prospect of its adoption, if recommended."

Ibid., p. 53.

Lord Birkenhead knew his British statesmen well and was honest enough to tell the truth about British policy in India, as approved by all parties, and as understood by him, very bluntly.

TARAKNATH DAS

Interprovincial Ignorance

The late Lord Sinha was a Bengali by birth, spent most of his life in Bengal, and made his mark as the most successful lawyer in the Calcutta High Court. He was the first Indian to be appointed the Governor of an Indian Province; and he was Governor of Bihar and Orissa for some 18 months. Mr. Nariman, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the last Bombay Congress, thinks he was a Bihari.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is writing Glimpses of World History. We cull two passages from Vol. II of his book, which speak for themselves; and proclaim his comparative ignorance of Bengal and the Bengalis.

Speaking of the Brahmo Samaj, he says, p. 684:

"It was, and has remained, a small organization, so far as numbers go, and it has been confined to the English-knowing people of Bengal. But it has had a considerable influence on the life of Bengal. The Tagore family took to it, and for long the poet Rabindranath's father (I think), known as Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, was the prop and pillar of the Samaj. Another leading member was Keshab Chunder Sen."

Again, p. 688, he says:

"It was in this book that our famous song *Vande Matram* occurs. I might mention here that a dozen years before *Ananda Math*, a Bengali poem has come out which created a stir. This was called *Nil Darpan*—the mirror of indigo. It gave a very painful account of the miseries of the Bengal peasants and the plantation system, of which I have told you something."

Nil Darpan is not a poem, but a drama, for translating which into English Rev. Mr. Long was fined Rs. 1,000 and sent to jail.

J. M. DATTA

Untouchability among the Muhammadans

The threat of Dr. Ambedkar to leave Hinduism and the recent conversion of Harilal or Abdullah Gandhi to Islam have led some to think that Islam is the most democratic and casteless religion in India. Whatever may be the theory, in actual practice we find untouchability and caste among the Muhammadans of India. We get the following facts from the judgment of the Punjab Chief Court in Mahfusan *vs.* Muniram, reported in the 18th volume of Indian Cases, p. 323.

The Hijrahs of Delhi and some other towns of the eastern Punjab are all Muhammadans; Hindus who join the fraternity become Muhammadans to the extent of professing that religion. They are, however, not permitted to serve in mosques in the Punjab, and are looked upon as an isolated class not fully admitted to the general body of Muhammadans. (antiques ours.)

In Bengal also Muhammadans are not free from untouchability and caste. Sir Edward Gait in the Bengal Census Report, 1901, p. 430, says:

"In some places . . . a class, called Arzal, or 'lowest of all' is added. It consists of the very lowest castes, such as the Halal-Khor, Lalbegi, Abdal and Bediya, with whom no other Muhammadan *would associate*

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and who are **forbidden to enter the Mosque,** or to **use the Public Burial Ground."** (antiques ours.)

Sir Edward Gait mentions about 55 Muhammadan Castes [Bengal Census Report 1901, pp. 443 *et seq.*].

"The Abdals or Doklas are found in North Bengal, Purnea and Mymensingh. . . . They are regarded as degraded, and other Muhammadans will not eat with them. *They may enter the Mosque, but are not permitted to worship in c o m p a n y with the better classes,* **nor are they allowed to be buried in the public cemetery."** (antiques ours.) [Census of India, Part V, § 819. 1901.]

"Bediya is a generic term for gipsy in Bengal . . . They are **not allowed the use of mosque, or burial ground."** (antiques ours.) [*Ibid.*, § 826.]

"The Chik and Kasad are butchers. * * * Both communities are strictly endogamous. They rank very low, and the more respectable classes **will not associate or eat with them."** (antiques ours.) [*Ibid.*, § 837.]

In Rajshahi,

"Abdals serve tobacco prepared in chillums to the people attending *hats* or markets. * * * Other Muhammadans **do not eat with them, nor do they drink water touched by them."** (antiques ours.)

In Jessore,

"The Chaklai Mussalmans * * * are practically ostracised by other Mussalmans." * * * "Other Mussalmans will not eat or drink with them, nor smoke the same hookha or pipe" (Jessore District Gazetteer).

We can quote many other examples. By saying that there is untouchability among the Muhammadans in India we do not justify it among the Hindus. But we think change of religion is not the only means or even an unfailing means of removing untouchability.

J. M. DATTA.

Libraries vs. Schools—a Chinese View

There cannot be any question that libraries are useful aids to national education; so are the schools. If we can have both libraries and schools in sufficient numbers for the nation, so much the better. But sometimes, because of our limited means, we are faced with the alternative of having either the libraries or the schools; and which are we to choose?

China's problems are in many ways similar to ours. China is densely populated with a low figure of literacy; and 80 per cent of its population are dependent on agriculture. Its people are poor; and so is its Government. We, therefore, make no hesitation in giving below a Chinese view of the problem. The extract is from the editorial commentary in T'ien Hsia, a high class monthly published under the auspices of the Sun Yat-Sen Institute for the Advancement of Culture and E d u c a t i o n, Nanking.

"China has need of more libraries. It is a shameful thing that the most bookish nation in the world should have so very few good public libraries. Middle schools and colleges have sprung up by the hundreds during the last few years. The same is not true of our libraries. And yet of the two, public libraries are decidedly more desirable. They reach a wider public, and what is more, they cater knowledge and learning to only those who thirst for them and who are therefore in a position to benefit most by them; whereas in a college, more often than not, knowledge is crammed down the throats of very unwilling learners who would, many of them, be better employed in earning their living in farms and counting-houses than by sitting in class-rooms. Elementary education ought to be compulsory for every body, but beyond that, class-room education is of doubtful value to the great majority. The superstition that to be well educated a man must pass successively through the Primary School, the Middle School and the University is not only silly but is also responsible for much waste of time and money to the nation. It would do the majority infinitely more good to spend what time they can spare from their work in libraries, where they can browse at will on just such subjects as they are really interested in, than to be pent up in class-rooms for hours on end, where they are taught a lot of things they have no love for. Knowledge obtained in the latter way is like water poured on a duck's back: it doesn't stick. But knowledge acquired by love is the only sort of knowledge that is worthwhile: it stays and serves for delight, for ornament and for use. That is what real education should do; and public libraries are the most likely places for people to acquire such an education."

J. M. DATTA

German Scholarships Awarded to Indian Students

India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie announces the award of seventeen new scholarships for the academic year 1936-37 to the following Indian graduate students who are to carry on higher studies in various German Universities:

1. Mary K. Das and Taraknath Das—Scholarship.
   Recipient: *Miss Usha Haldar.* M.B.B.S.
2. Robert Koch—Scholarship.
   Recipient: *Mr. C. S. Guha,* M.B. University of Calcutta.
3. Ashu Tosh Mukherjee—Scholarship.
   Recipient: *Suprasanna Sengupta,* M.Sc. University of Dacca.
4. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar—Scholarship.
   Recipient: *Mr. Aryendra Sharma,* M.A. University of Allahabad.
5. Friedrich Ruckert—Scholarship.
   Recipient: *Mr. R. N. Dandekar,* M.A. University of Bombay.
6. Justus von Liebig—Scholarship.
   Recipient: *Mr. N. K. Seshadriengar,* M.Sc. University of Calcutta.
7. Carl Duisberg—Scholarship.
   Recipient: *Mr. Basudeb Banerjee,* B.Sc. University of Calcutta.
8. Heinrich Hertz—Scholarship.
   Recipient: *Mr. N. K. Saha,* M.Sc., University of Calcutta.

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9. Sir J. C. Bose—Scholarship.
   Recipient: *Mr. A. K. Dutta*, D.Sc. University of Allahabad.
10. Oskar von Miller—Scholarship.
    Recipient: *Mr. N. Anjaneyulu*, B.Sc. Benares Hindu University.
11. Werner von Siemens—Scholarship.
    Recipient: *Mr. Nand Lall Gulali*, B.Sc., Benares Hindu University.
12. Heinrich Schliemann—Scholarship.
    Recipient: *Mr. T. Balakrishnan Nayar*, M.A. University of Madras and University of London.
13. Wilhelms Ellenberger—Scholarship.
    Recipient: *Mr. P. C. Nag*, C.B.V.C., Calcutta.
14. Alberecht von Thaer—Scholarship.
    Recipient: *Mr. Panchanan Maheshwari*, M.Sc., D.Sc. University of Allahabad.
15. Adolf Ledebur—Scholarship.
    Recipient: *Mr. B. S. Sanjeeva Reddi*, Graduate, Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad.
16. Jakob Grimm—Scholarship.
    Recipient: *Miss Sheila Bonnerjee*, artist, Calcutta.
17. An additional scholarship has been awarded to *Mr. Basheshar Nath Tandon*, M.A., University of Agra and University of Calcutta.

The scholarship-holders are due to reach Munich on September first.

"Collective Security Had Failed Because...."

Last month the Labour Party in the British House of Commons moved a resolution of non-confidence in consequence of the Government's decision to raise the sanctions against Italy. According to Reuter, the House of Commons rejected the Labour motion of censure by 384 votes to 170. This huge majority shows the hold which the Tory government still has on the British nation in spite of its betrayal of the cause of human freedom and its fresh degrading of the British name.

Mr. Attlee said that the Government had pursued a feeble, tortuous and vacillating policy during the last five years, which had brought the country down from its proud position in 1931 (derisive Ministerial cheers). The Government had betrayed Abyssinia and destroyed the League as an effective instrument of peace. There was no security for any League State if Italy were allowed to triumph over Abyssinia.

Not all the British Empire approved of dropping the sanctions and the dominion mostly nearly affected was strongly opposed to it. What would be the effect on the minds of the natives of South Africa and throughout the world? If Sig. Mussolini wished to extend his dominions, would Mr. Baldwin fight for Somaliland, Sudan and Kenya? It would have been the Labour Party's policy to resist an aggressor attacking the League's policy.

In reply Sir John Simon, home member, said that he agreed that

The League had had a most serious set-back but the real question was to examine the situation with a sense of the realities. Distress over the League's failure was just as keenly felt by the Government and its supporters as by the Labourites.

As regards oil sanctions, United States had no power to prohibit the export of oil. Recalling that Mr. Anthony Eden had said that Britain would be very glad to see oil sanctions applied, Sir John Simon protested at the unfairness of treating the failure to impose oil sanctions as a crime of the British Government. The purpose of the sanctions ceased when the war had finished.

Very ridiculous things have been said. It had been suggested that the British Navy in the Mediterranean would have been overwhelmed. He did not doubt that the Navy would have given a very good account of itself, but with the present situation in Europe and the grave danger surrounding them, he was not prepared to see a single ship sunk, even in a successful naval battle in the cause of Abyssinia.

But "the present situation in Europe" would not have arisen and "grave danger" would not have "surrounded them," if at the preparatory stage of the Italo-Abyssinian war, Britain had been "prepared to see a single ship sunk in a successful naval battle in the cause of Abyssinia." The thing is Italy has gained her object, because the other powers were absolutely selfish and would not run even the slightest risk in order to help Abyssinia.

Sir John Simon's argument that the purpose of the sanctions ceased when the war had finished, implies that the conquest and annexation of Abyssinia is a settled fact. But it ought not to be allowed to be regarded as such. It can and ought to be unsettled by the League of Nations, led by the "great" Powers.

For the opposition Liberals, Sir Archibald Sinclair said:

Throughout the whole crisis the Government have been diverted by fear. The economic power of the League had Italy in its grip and the Government were throwing away a weapon just when it was becoming effective. The Government's policy put a premium on successful aggression and made the world safe for dictators.

If what Sir Archibald Sinclair said be true, then the sanctions can still serve a useful purpose.

In replying to the debate Mr. Baldwin, the prime minister, said that "it was not Government's intention to condone Italy's action." If so, what would the British Government do to show that there was some reality behind these words?

Mr. Baldwin continued:

They had no power to lend money to Italy and had no intention of seeking such powers. Collective security had failed because of the reluctance of nearly all the Nations of Europe to proceed to military sanctions. "The League's duty now is to see what it can do in the light of recent experience. Our policy is still based on the League of Nations."

The League had received a bad set-back, but the failure of its first attempt to apply collective security is

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no way meant the death of the League. The Government were engaged at present not only in forming their own conclusions but were having informal exchanges of views with the Dominions Governments and the Governments of other members of the League, particularly France.

But if the League is merely to drag on a discredited existence simply to confer, consult, deliberate and indulge in spoken, written and printed words without taking any effective action, would it not be better to give it a quiet and decent burial? By action we do not necessarily mean military action. There is not the least doubt that the League with the support of its powerful members could have prevented Italian aggression without fighting Italy. Mussolini knew that the League did not mean business. He was also encouraged by the secret treaties and other commitments of Britain and France.

Mr. Baldwin went on to observe :

The Government rejected the idea of continuing and intensifying the sanctions because nothing but military action could now make any difference in the status of Italy in Abyssinia.

Against this opinion of Mr. Baldwin's the opinion of Sir Archibald Sinclair, quoted above, must be given its due weight.

And if nothing but military action would prevent or undo a flagrant act of international brigandage, why should such action be considered beyond the range of practical politics? Mr. Baldwin and the British Government are not absolute *Ahimsa-ists*—they would fight if their own territories ran the risk of being invaded.

The League had received a bad set-back, but the failure of its first attempt to apply collective security, in no way meant death to the League and the matter must be taken up at the Assembly when it meets in September.

There would be something to be said in favour of such a course if it did not mean a deluge of mere words, words and words.

In conclusion Mr. Baldwin said :

The second object of the Government's policy was appeasement of the situation and there was no foundation for any suggestion that the Government had planned to leave the whole of Europe to look after itself, provided they could safeguard themselves in the west. It might come to that if the League of Nations broke down ultimately, but he had every hope that when negotiations came between their three great countries they could provide for security of the Central European countries as he hoped to provide it for ourselves.

So Mr. Baldwin and other leading European "statesmen," with their respective governments behind their backs, have been (and had been) thinking only of safeguarding Europe alone! Where does Abyssinia come in, pray?

"Collective security" has failed because of the unrelieved collective selfishness, collective callousness and collective cowardice of the big powers. Any talk of world democracy, world peace and human freedom on their part must henceforth stink in the nostrils of all decent men.

Address to the Ethiopian Emperor on Behalf of Indians

Last month an address was presented to Haile Sellassie, Emperor of Abyssinia, by the Indian Political Group in Britain, of which Dr. C. B. Vakil is president and Mr. Pulin Bihari Seal, secretary. It ran as follows :

"Your Majesty: On May 9th last the President of the Indian National Congress called for an 'Abyssinia Day.' In hundreds of thousands, the Indian people came out in streets, parks, fields and platforms throughout the length and breadth of the country to demonstrate their solidarity with the heroic Ethiopian people in their unequal struggle against rapacious imperialism, to maintain their centuries-old independence. In tune with the wishes of the vast majority of our countrymen, we take this opportunity of showing our sympathy with Ethiopian independence in presenting an humble address of welcome to you, who led them in this heroic struggle. Though, today, the seared limbs, splintered bones and burnt faces of the Abyssinian heroes lie unrecognized and unrecognizable in the valleys of Tembien, the desert of Danakil and the shores of Lake Tana, the epic story of their undying struggle for the freedom of their country will be immortalized in the hearts of the suppressed and oppressed peoples throughout Africa and Asia. The flame of the grim resistance which they have lit has already set ablaze the struggle for liberation from Colombo to Alexandria, from the Gold Coast to Shanghai."

The Negus May Address League of Nations

LONDON, June 23.

It is understood that Haile Sellassie will probably go to Geneva and may address the Assembly on behalf of his country. It is learned that the Emperor's object in asking Mr. Anthony Eden to visit him was to inform him of the attitude which the Abyssinians propose to adopt at the meeting of the League.

It is likely it will be argued that Abyssinia is still an independent nation and that all organized resistance has not ended. A strong appeal for further support from other nations is expected to be made.

Though the League is not likely to give him any real help, there is no harm in his addressing that body—if only to convict it further of impotence and insincerity.

It is said that Italy has acquired power only over some Abyssinian towns—the countryside being still independent in great part.

Dumping in India From Abroad

Dumping in India from abroad by foreign manufacturers retards the industrialization of this country as much and as quickly as neces-

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sary. The Indian delegates to the Labour Conference at Geneva have therefore done well to draw attention to the evil.

GENEVA, June 24.

The Labour Conference unanimously adopted a resolution proposed by Mr. Fulay and seconded by Mr. Mehta, calling upon the governing body of the International Labour Office to study the problem of dumping and the methods whereby normal industrial development of all countries might be promoted with a view to raising the standards of living. Both the speakers stressed how India suffered from dumping, which was preventing a proper advance of the Indian worker's standards of living.—*Reuter.*

A Bright Picture of Soviet Russia

Ever since the Russian revolution and the overthrow of Czardom, there has been great curiosity all over the civilized world as to the condition of Soviet Russia. In India this curiosity has increased of late owing to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's advocacy of socialism and praise of U. S. S. R. in his presidential address and some subsequent speeches and the consequent controversies and discussions. There have been all along and still continue to be conflicting accounts of that extensive region. The latest glimpses which we have got from abroad are contained in the current May-June number of *International Affairs*, organ of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, England. There is an article in it on "Soviet Communism: Its present position and prospects" by the Right Hon. the Lord Passfield, D.Sc., LITT.D., who is better known as Sidney Webb, joint author with his wife of "Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?" in two volumes.

After an introductory paragraph the author tells us in this article:

Suppose that an unprejudiced spectator could get a complete vision of the life of the U. S. S. R. at the present moment of time. What would be his first and most dominant impression? According to all the information that I can gather, it would be one of an amazing degree of plenty.

He does not prove this statement by statistics, though he could have done so, but in another way. Says he:

I may be able to convince you in another way that I am not romancing. First consider what it means to every worker, by hand or brain, that there is no unemployment in the Soviet Union, that there has been none for the past five years, and that it is fully believed that there will be none in the future. Suppose that there was no unemployment in Great Britain or the United States, in Germany or France; that there had been none for five years, and that it was confidently believed that there would be none in the future: would not an observer from the world of today receive an impression of working-class plenty? The International Labour Office tells us impartially that the simultaneously registered unemployed in all the nations of industrial development number the prodigious total of twenty-two million men and women, representing a population not far short of one hundred millions workless and wageless, and quite certainly insufficiently fed, clothed and housed. In the Soviet Union, which covers one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, there is no workless and wageless population; there is, on the contrary, a perpetual scarcity of labour.

By "unemployment" I mean, of course, what the International Labour Office means—the involuntary mass unemployment of able-bodied men and women of working age.

How is this condition of plenty proved?

This condition of plenty in the Soviet Union is shown, first of all, in the abolition of all forms of rationing. There are no longer any bread-cards or meat-cards, or any other restrictions on purchasing. The entire absence of unemployment means, in itself, that every worker, male or female, is drawing month by month, without intermission or short-time, "trade union wages," the amounts of which have been greatly increased throughout all branches of employment. Needless to say, these wages are being spent on additional food, better clothing, new articles of furniture, more amusements and further travelling.

The shops are now full of commodities of every kind, not only of every kind of food and clothing, but also of luxuries. They are thronged all day with customers. In a principal street in Moscow there has been opened a gigantic store called "Gastronom," for the sale in packets of delicatessen of all kinds. This one shop now serves over one million customers a month; this is more than half the adult population of Moscow. Leningrad and other large cities have similar establishments.

A certain extravagance is showing itself in the workers' clothing. Men are getting their clothes made to measure and according to individual taste instead of putting up with the "ready-mades" resulting from mass production. The women—the ordinary working women, machine-minders or typists—are studying the fashions, and find their tastes catered for by competent dressmakers and milliners in the employment of the various government stores, who are aware of what is being worn in the Western capitals.

It is not merely of plenty that Lord Passfield speaks.

Along with this plentiful purchasing of food and clothing and innumerable luxuries, there is a continuous expansion of the public services. Thus every branch of what we call social insurance, from birth to burial (except unemployment insurance, which was abolished five years ago at the same time as unemployment itself), is developed in the U. S. S. R. to a far greater degree than in Great Britain or any other country, although without any individual payment by the wage-earners themselves. The mother, the infant, the toddler, the sick, the sufferers from accident, the widows, the aged, the schoolchild, the adolescent, at college or in apprenticeship, the professional student in training, right up to the scientific research worker, are provided for with a lavishness that leaves every other country far behind, and which goes on increasing year after year, at a time when every other country is restricting its public services. The public provision of theatres and concerts, the opera, the ballet, suffers no abatement because the cinema is being added in every quarter of every city, and indeed also in thousands of villages.

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The author then speaks of the new features.

The most striking of all new features in the Soviet Union is the present abundance of food-stuffs. The principal factor in this is the widespread success of the collective farms.

More striking still are the very considerable current balances, which no one remembers to tell you about, standing to the credit of collective farms at the branches of the State Bank, running into astronomical figures of millions of roubles, representing surpluses temporarily left undivided at last year's sharing-out among the members.

As regards "the alleged coercion or enslavement of the consumer," it is written :

All I need say is that the supposed enslavement and coercion seems, to those who endure it, a higher degree of freedom of choice in the present, and of the whole class of wage-earners in Great Britain or the United States, even in times of good trade. As Mr. Duranty observed when he was told that the Russian people were enslaved, "he had never yet been in a country of slavery in which the slaves thought that they were themselves the bosses."

In the opinion of the author,

Perhaps the most fundamental of all the features of Soviet Communism is its definite and complete abandonment of profit-making as the motive and incentive of economic or other activity. To buy in order to sell at a higher price is a criminal offence in the U. S. S. R., visited by the severest punishment. To hire labour, at whatever wage, in order to sell its product is also a crime, punished with equal severity. This does not mean that pecuniary self-interest has no place in the U. S. S. R. Anyone may work for wages or salary, and any public collectivity may employ him for wages or salary, for the common benefit. Equally any one may produce anything he pleases by his own labour, and even join in partnership with other labourers; and he or the partnership may sell this commodity for whatever price they can get. It is not pecuniary self-interest that is condemned or forbidden under Soviet Communism, but only the individual making a profit out of *other* people's labour, or by mere trafficking in *other* people's products. There is absolutely no sign of this fundamental feature of Soviet life being departed from in the future. There is accordingly not a vestige of truth in the imagined return to capitalism; that is gone for ever.

Lord Passfield takes care to add :

Of course, I need not point out that Soviet Communism does not mean, and never has meant, equality of wages, earnings or shares. The Soviet Union today does not pretend to be a communist community, nor even a completely socialist community; but only to be on the way thither. Yet even in the ideal communistic community, every communist tells you that there would be no equality in sharing. Its slogan is (as within the ideal family), "From each according to his ability, and to each according to his needs," which is, and must always be, the very opposite of equality in sharing. There is no sign in the U. S. S. R. of any tendency towards equality of wages, salaries or shares. At the same time, it must be realized that the entire absence of individual landlords or capitalists, bankers or merchants, wholesalers or shopkeepers, moneylenders or stockjobbers, and indeed of any opportunity of acquiring anything except by one's own efforts, prevents any such inequality of wealth as prevails in capitalist countries. The pay may vary from 100 roubles per month for the labourer to 1000 roubles per month for the engineering director (apart from foreign specialists). It is, curiously enough, the authors and the artists who make the large incomes. The most startling feature is that those who direct the government do so under regulations, voluntarily accepted and quite strictly observed, which prevents their drawing salaries greater than the wages earned at piecework by a zealous and assiduous skilled craftsman. Of course these high officials are, in addition, repaid all their functional expenses at whatever degree is necessary for their task. They live in flats of four or five rooms, their wives often going out to work in another establishment, and earning a separate salary.

The review of the author and his wife's book on Russia in the same issue of *International Affairs* from which these extracts are taken, gives the impression that Lord Passfield is a bit too optimistic and not sufficiently critical.

A Dark Picture of Soviet Russia

In the May number of *The Month*, which is published by Messrs. Longmans, Green, & Co., Ltd. and is in its seventy-second year, J. M. writes about Russia today. His information is derived from what Mr. Robert Byron wrote in the London *Times* recently. Says he :

In the middle of March Mr. Robert Byron contributed to *The Times* three articles upon present conditions in Russia. They were the result of a journey of several thousand miles as far as Eastern Siberia and were deemed important enough to justify a leader of review and appreciation in *The Times* itself. Mr. Byron asserts that after a decade and a half of experiment (the leader-writer suggests the word "chaos") the direction of Soviet policy, political and economic, is now plain for a generation to come. The advance will not be towards Communism in the strict meaning of that term, even could one suppose that the very realist rulers of modern Russia were still fascinated by that nebulous fancy. The political system has crystallized into an all-embracing State Socialism. Every interest is excluded save that of the State itself. And this with all its effectiveness and ineffectiveness, the effectiveness of a ruthless centralizing force, the ineffectiveness of "check and counter-check," of incompetent officialdom, is clearly failing. On the collective farms, for example, there is theoretical efficiency; but this impression is soon dispelled by the "parrot ignorance of Communist managers, the proportion of thistles to corn and the poverty of the livestock." "With their fathers' individualism, the younger peasants are losing also that instinctive wisdom which is the basis of good farming."

The writer proceeds to observe :

The problem of Russia is not "a matter of a handful of Bolsheviks who can be driven from power, but of an enormous body of men of a new kind who have gained ascendancy over Russian life and whom it will not be at all easy to drive out." This new *bourgeoisie* which enjoys special privileges is the advocate of progress, not merely material and industrial, but also in the sphere of "culture." Stress is laid on urban amenities. The grass borders formerly trampled under foot and the trees once uprooted

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for firewood are now jealously guarded. The "packing-case" style of building is now out of favour; architecture is "succumbing to capatalist vulgarity, unredeemed by capatalist workmanship." In music and the theatre there is evident a similar reaction against "modernism"; bored with epics of the factory and collective farm the public prefers musical comedies about duchesses and millionaires. "It is an acute policy of the regime," thinks Mr. Byron, "after seventeen years of misery, to seek justification by comfort and to focus public affection on the graces of life." Jazz, once outlawed, is now encouraged, jewellery is mass-produced and trams placarded with advice about permanent waving.

The passage reproduced above is not exactly a condemnation of Bolshevik rule. Nor is the impression quite unfavourable when one reads that

In Siberia he [Mr. Byron] found evidence of a "sincere effort to furnish an apathetic people with some self-respect" even if the result (it is unfair, of course, to be too critical) was farce undisguised.

In the opinion of Mr. Byron, over everything in Soviet Russia "is outstretched the heavy hand of a merciless State."

Over all this is outstretched the heavy hand of a merciless State. In the service of this State every man, woman and child is registered, and the fabric is held together by police espionage completely outside the law. Families are deported in thousands and transferred to other provinces; sometimes they are broken up, their individual members scattered, never to re-unite. A shadow of terror broods over the land. Freedom it would be absurd to speak of; there is no privacy even, no secrecy. "Like the demons of old, an invisible and unmentionable body watches over the actions of common folk." The text for the understanding of modern Russia is that "Bolshevism was founded, has grown and will endure on a basis of absolute inhumanity towards any individual who fails to surrender his body and soul to the Bolshevik State."

Body and soul—yes, that is the truth. And for the soul—what of religion, what of God? Mr. Byron says nothing of religion though he mentions that churches were still open in Irkutsk and saw there a wayside icon of Our Lady adorned with flowers; he also notes that upon the walls of a Tunguz hut "Lenin, the Virgin and Saint Nicholas hung cheek by jowl."

Regarding religion we are told further:

A few churches are still open in Moscow (one in forty of the original number) to create the impression that the practice of religious worship is now tolerated. In reality the persecution is as intense as ever and is being carried on in a more subtle way. Priests and layfolk are arrested, deported, imprisoned. They are not put to death; that has been found an inconvenient method, since it makes martyrs and arouses indignation abroad; their death is simply hastened.

Much has been written about the anti-God activities of the Bolsheviks. For example:

The lesson of apostasy is inculcated in the earliest pages of the child's reading primer; he is forced to transcribe his godless exercise with fingers that can hardly form the letters and pin it up in the "anti-God corner" of the class-room that has taken the place of the icon and the crucifix. He is told to have his name inscribed on the list of the "godless" and, once his name is there, his parents may breathe no word to him of faith and God. Should they do so, they may be accused of propaganda and separated from him and from one another in prison or a forced-labour camp.

In the towns pressure is brought to bear upon adults. Their lodging-cards or work-permits may be withdrawn; they are then face to face with the open street and starvation; this once realized, only a formal act of apostasy through membership of the anti-God movement will restore their cards to them. In the country-side special "feast days of apostasy" are organized. The church is desecrated, altars profaned and destroyed. In the evening a bonfire is lit and the sacred objects, treasured in the many houses, carefully listed beforehand (alas, by the children trained to this in the school), are thrown one by one into the flames.

"*A Call from a Patriot*" *of China*

The Voice of China writes:

"General Li Tu, former Division Commander of the Northeast Army, is one of the outstanding anti-Japanese fighters of China. After the occupation of Manchuria, General Li Tu became Commander of the Anti-Japanese Volunteer Troops, guarding the Chinese Eastern Railway. Defeated after a valiant struggle with the Japanese, he escaped with his troops into the Soviet Union. His troops later returned to Sinkiang, where they succeeded in driving out the Japanese imperialist influence, and saved Sinkiang for China against the invasion of the Japanese."

This patriotic General Li Tu has published a message to his countrymen, of which the *Voice of China* has printed the following English translation along with the Chinese original:

Wake up, Oh masses of the people!
The thief has already placed us on the firewood,
And the flames are leaping around us!
Will you still continue to slumber?
Make haste! Arm yourselves! Unite!
Overthrow the world robbers!
For the emancipation of the Chinese Nation!

LI TU.

Japan in Inner Mongolia

In the course of an article on the Invasion of Inner Mongolia by Japan, in the *Voice of China*, Wellington M. Ye says that Japanese imperialism "regards the Soviet Union as its greatest enemy, and naturally wishes its destruction.

But at the present stage, it needs more urgently to conquer China and to monopolize the Chinese market, Chinese raw materials and Chinese investments, so as to relieve the extremely critical situation in its own economy. Naturally, the occupation of China and the monopolization of the Chinese market, materials and investments are of great significance to the invasion of the Soviet Union by Japan, but it would be a great mistake to regard this occupation and monopolization as *only* the means by which Japan seeks to achieve its goal of invasion of the Soviet Union."

The Chinese writer concludes his article by stating:

Of the whole population of Inner Mongolia, eighty per cent are Chinese, and 20 per cent Mongols. This

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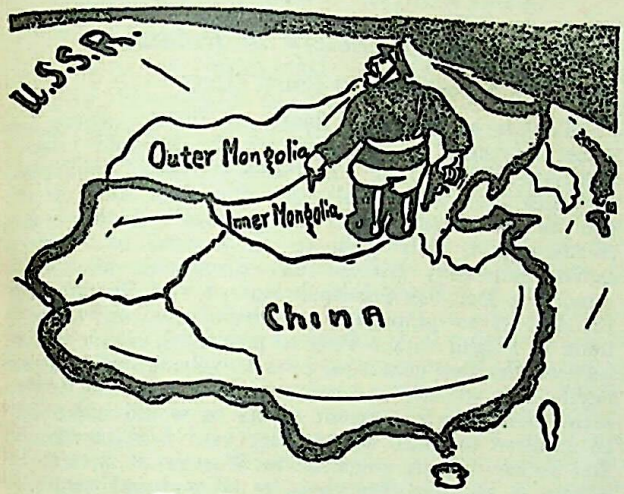
entire population, following the people of the North-east, are being reduced to slaves of Japanese imperialism. Side by side with her encroachments in North China, Japan is consolidating her position in Inner Mongolia, driving a wedge between Outer Mongolia, Manchuria and China proper, thus hoping to make it impossible for the Manchurian Volunteer Armies and the Chinese anti-



This First, Which Next?

Japanese forces to offer a unified resistance to her encroachments. Once Inner Mongolia has been converted into a Japanese puppet-state, Japan will be free to devote her entire attention to the Valley of the Yellow River, which has been marked as her next "independent state." Japan's conquest of Inner Mongolia not only means a decrease in the territory under China's sovereignty, but actually lessens to a very great extent the possibility of successful resistance to her aggressions in China proper.

The cartoon reproduced here from the *Voice of China* suggests that, after seizing Inner Mongolia, Japan will take possession of Outer Mongolia and then proceed to attack U.S.S.R. or Soviet Russia.

"*Chinese Women in Action*"

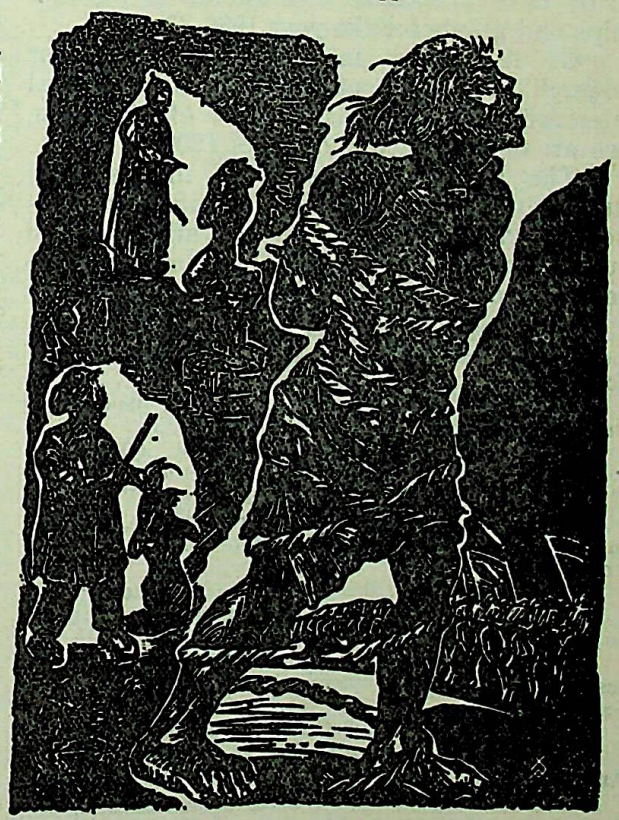
Under the above caption Miss Chou Yu-chen has contributed an article to the *Voice of China* of June 1, 1936, briefly describing the part played by patriotic Chinese women in the liberation movement. She tells the reader:

It was only about twenty years ago that Chinese women became conscious of their position in society and, by participation in the women's rights movement, demanded emancipation. Since that time they passed through many struggles. In these movements they took active part, and through these activities gained countless and precious experience. The woman's movement developed from a struggle against feudalism to a struggle against imperialism.

Today, with the ever-deepening national crisis and the growing anti-Japanese sentiment of the Chinese people, Chinese women have made a new and more determined gesture and are once more active. They are filled with zeal and energy. Fearlessly they shoulder full responsibility with the men to develop the tremendous national liberation movement, and today constitute one of the main columns in the national liberation struggle. Listen! The voices of the women of China are heard throughout the land!

She then refers to some incidents in the huge December 9th and 16th, 1935, demonstrations staged by the Peiping students in determined opposition to the Japanese so-called "autonomy" movement in North China.

Women students have played a very important role in this movement. Every photograph taken during any demonstration, and every report written about them, bears eloquent witness to the positive action and bravery of girl students. It was two girls who headed the demonstration on December 9th in Peiping, and in both Chinese and English they explained the significance of the movement to the people in the streets. Whips, leather belts, and big swords could not silence their voices. In every mass meeting, women were found in possession of megaphones speaking to the audience. Along with the men, they have been beaten by the police in the streets. During the two last demonstrations in Peiping, many girls were caught by the police, dragged by their hair through the streets, and brutally beaten. Many girls have had their hair torn from their heads. As they beat them, the police shouted at them, asking them if they intended to "create trouble" again. The universal reply was: "Yes, unless our heads are chopped off!"



[During clashes between students and the police in Hangchow, Nanking, Wusih, Canton, and other places throughout the country, in which students were relentlessly assaulted by the police, none of the girls wavered in their duty.]

A girl of Tsinghua University was one of the leaders in the two Peiping demonstrations. When Tsinghua

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students escaped from their campus and reached the city gates of Peiping, they found the gates closed and barred. It was this girl student, this heroine, who crept beneath the gates and tried to open them from the inside. Unfortunately, she was caught by the police, severely beaten, and thrust out through the way she had entered. But seven days later she again appeared in the front ranks of Tsinghua students in the second demonstration.

It is not only the women students of Japan who have taken part in the liberation movement. The women of the masses—peasant women and women workers even in the Japanese-owned cotton mills, have joined it, and many have been brutally beaten, locked up, and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Miss Chou Yu-chen concludes by observing :

The advanced women of the world must know and believe that Chinese women are fully capable of fulfilling their historic mission.

Lady Tata Memorial Trust Scholarships and Grants

The trustees of the Lady Tata Memorial Trust have announced the awards of scholarships and grants for the year 1936-37.

Of the seven international awards for research in diseases of the blood with special reference to Leukaemias, four are of £400 each, two are of £300 each and one of £200.

The Indian scholarships of the value of Rs. 150 per month each for scientific investigations having a bearing on the alleviation of human suffering, are six in number, and have been awarded to the following persons :

1. Mr. Madhab Chandra Nath M.Sc., to continue the Chemical and Biological analysis of Proteins of Indian Foodstuffs.

Under the direction of Dr. K. P. Basu, Bio-Chemist, Dacca University, (Third Year's Award).

2. Mr. Ramakanta Chakraborty, M.Sc., (Dacca).

To continue the investigation of nutritional problems of Indian foodstuffs with special reference to Vitamin C.

Under the direction of Professor H. Ghosh, Director, Indian Institute of Medical Research, Calcutta. (Second Year's Award).

3. Mr. Nalin Bandhu Das, B.Sc., (Calcutta).

To continue the work on the Oxytocic hormone and on Oxidation-Reduction systems in the body.

Under the direction of Professor Szent-Gyorgyi at the Institute for Medical Chemistry in the University of Szeged, Hungary. (Second Year's Award).

4. Mr. Tejendra Nath Ghosh, M.Sc., (Dacca), A.I.I.Sc.

To continue the research on the preparation of New Anti-malarials.

Under the direction of Dr. P. C. Guha, D.Sc., Professor, Department of Organic Chemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. (Second Year's Award).

5. Dr. Birendra Kumar Nandi, M.Sc., Ph.D., A.I.C.

To continue the work on synthesis of anti-malarials on the line of plasmochin and atebrin types.

Under the direction of Professor R. Robinson, D.Sc., F.R.S., at the Dyson Perrins Laboratory, Oxford University, Oxford. (Second Year's Award).

6. Mr. Harbhajan Singh Mahal, M.Sc., Lahore.

To work on the Role of "Choline Esterase" in Physiology and Pathology and to continue the work on anthelmintics synthesis of substances and examination of Indian Plants having anthelmintic properties.

Under the direction of Dr. B. B. Dikshit, Department of Pharmacology, Haffkine Institute, Parel, Bombay. (Second Year's Award—only for the first six months).

Friend of India Society in Poland

It is a pleasure to learn that

Friends of India and lovers of Indian culture have recently founded a society under the two-fold name of "Bharata-Mitra-Parisad" in Sanskrit and "Towarzystwo Przyjacio Indji" in Polish. As is evident from the title and as set down in the constitution of the society, membership is only open to all persons of Polish or Indian nationality without any distinction of caste or creed. In fact the principal aim of the Bharata-Mitra-Parishad is to propagate and popularise knowledge of India in Poland with a view to promoting closer relations between the two countries, by an exchange of ideas and intelligence, cultural and commercial, not barring however such information of current events as would undoubtedly be required to make any contact with India a real one. The society has its premises in Warsaw at present, but it aspires to open branches in all cultural centres of Poland in the near future.

The organizers of the society pay particular attention to the Academic whose object is to encourage Indian students to come to Poland. All information regarding the Polish school and university education will be furnished by the society in the form of a pamphlet which will be despatched to all Indian universities and students' societies. Also this section will take upon itself the task of procuring free board and lodging to Indian students and eventually scholarships and stipends for studying in Poland. In this, the society has the assurance of help from official authorities.

Among the principal organizers of the Bharata-Mitra-Parishad may be mentioned the names of (*1*) Professor Dr. Stanislaw Schayer, the president of the society, an eminent Indologist and head of the Oriental Institute of the Warsaw University of Joseph Pilsudski, (*2*) Mr. Shavlovski, a former acting consul in Bombay and (*3*) Mr. Hiranmoy Ghoshal, lecturer in Modern Indian languages and literatures at the Warsaw University of Joseph Pilsudski.

The Bharata-Mitra Parishad has in view the formation of an Indian Museum in Warsaw for which purpose it has already received the kind permission of using the premises of the Warsaw Oriental Institute from Prof. Dr. Schayer.—*United Press.*

Regular readers of *The Modern Review* will remember that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in his article on "A Friend of India in Poland" in the last April number, pp. 452-3, wrote :

"There is an Oriental Society in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, which is specially interested in Oriental culture. I was invited to a social gathering under the auspices of the Oriental Society and *I spoke about our desire for a Polish-Indian Society which would endeavour to foster cultural and commercial relations between our two countries.*"

Again :

"The ground has already been prepared for a Polish-Indian Society in Poland—with a corresponding branch

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in India. All that is wanted now is that somebody should take the lead."

Evidently that lead has been taken, and the result is the establishment of the Bharata-Mitra-Parisad described in this note.

Bengal Hindus' Memorial to Secretary of State Claiming More Representation

Representatives of the Hindus of Bengal have sent a memorial to the Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, claiming more representation than has been given to them under the new "constitution." It reads :

1. That your Memorialists belong to the Hindu community of Bengal, which constitutes a minority community, and, as such, is entitled to the same protection as is granted to the minorities of the other Provinces of India under the Government of India Act of 1935.

2. (*a*) That, while the minorities in other Provinces of India have been given weightage of representation in excess of their population strength, the Hindu minority of Bengal, far from being protected by any such weightage, have been even further crippled by reduction of their representation below their numerical strength, or proportion to the total population, and are being placed in a position of permanent statutory inferiority in the Legislature.

(*b*) That, ordinarily, under a separate electorate, "it is no protection to a minority not to be able to vote for those who as a community constitute the majority," while the inherent insecurity of this position has been seriously aggravated for the Bengal Hindus by weightage cast against them, thus taking away from them even their minimum share of representation. Your memorialists strongly protest against such discrimination in the case of the Hindus of Bengal.

POPULATION STRENGTH

3. That, if the constitution is to be determined mainly by the counting of heads, and legislative representation to be distributed among different communities in accordance with their respective population strengths, a fairer and more logical scheme for such distribution should be to make an estimate of such population strength on the basis only of adult population, having regard to adult (and not infant) franchise as the goal.

4. (*a*) That the Hindu minority of Bengal claim their due weightage of representation as a recognized minority right, and also on the admitted ground of "the enormously predominant part they have played under British rule in the intellectual, the cultural, the political, the professional, and the commercial life of the Province," and on the further and special ground of the contribution they make, far in excess of their population strength, to the revenues of the Province, as compared with the numerically superior community, so that representation may be proportioned to taxation as far as possible in the case of each community.

CLAIM TO WEIGHTAGE

(*b*) That, to make good this claim to weightage, they beg leave to point out that the Hindus of Bengal, though numerically a minority, are overwhelmingly superior culturally, constituting as much as 64 per cent of the total literate population, and more than 80 per cent of the school-going population, while their economic preponderance is equally manifest in the spheres of the independent professions and commercial careers; making up nearly 87 per cent of the legal, 80 per cent of the medical, and 83 per cent of banking, insurance, and exchange business.

5. That, in these circumstances, your memorialists respectfully pray that, pursuant to the provisions of Sections 308 (*4*), His Majesty in Council may be pleased, to make an Order for an Amendment to the following effect, *viz.*,—

(*a*) That 'the method of choosing the members of the Legislature' in Bengal be by joint electorate in which the Hindu minority of Bengal believe as a matter of principle, and not by forcing upon them separate communal electorate, which is a negation of responsible government, and is, accordingly, without any parallel or precedent in democratic history or politics.

(*b*) That 'the composition of the Legislature' be so altered as to restore to the Hindu minority their due share of representation on the basis not merely of their population strength but also of their established cultural, economic, political and administrative importance, a basis on which they have been so long granted in the existing constitution their present representation which on no account should now be curtailed but should be increased in view of their increased progress in all directions.

6. That your memorialists humbly point out that they base these claims not merely on their rights as a minority but also on the ground of the Lucknow pact of 1916 and its delicate communal equipoise, which should hold good and operate, as recommended by the Simon Commission, so long as it is not replaced by a fresh pact between the communities concerned.

MINORITY RIGHT

7. That they protest strongly against the unfair and unprecedented provision to protect a majority community by conferring upon it a position of permanent and statutory predominance in the Legislature and making that position unalterable by any appeal to the electorate, and they beg leave to point out that such reservation of seats, if permitted, is strictly a minority right which on no account can be conceded to a majority.

8. That, in conclusion, they humbly submit that, pending decision on their claims to a larger amount and weightage of representation, the *status quo* be maintained in the matter of communal representation in the Legislature in the absence of any fresh communal agreement.

The memorial has been already numerously and very influentially signed. The first signatory is Rabindranath Tagore. There are other representative Hindus among the signatories, including eminent scholars, landholders, professional men, members of the Council of State, Legislative Assembly and Bengal Council, chairmen of district board and municipalities, retired district judges and district magistrates, and editors of the most widely circulated newspapers of Bengal. The signatories include men of all political parties in Bengal, including the Congress, as also non-party men. The words within inverted commas and the statistics relating to the educational, cultural, professional and business, industrial and mercantile importance of Hindus in Bengal, quoted in the memorial, have been taken from the Amendment to paragraph 121 of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report moved by the

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What the memorialists have asked for is entirely just. It is not against any principle of nationalism, nor is it meant to injure the just rights and interests of any community.

Visva-Bharati as an Educational Centre

We have, ere this, more than once, dwelt on the unique character of Visva-bharati as an educational centre and wish briefly to do so again.

The value of an educational institution is generally, though not quite rightly, estimated by the success or otherwise of its students at University examinations. This is not a proper test. But judged even by this test Visva-bharati must be held to be an efficient institution, as the following results achieved this year will show :

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The last two years' results were similar.

The institutions where students are directly in contact with and under the influence of Nature are few, and Visva-bharati is pre-eminent among them.

To feel the presence in their midst of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, is an advantage which no other institution possesses. And in spite of his years and infirmities he shares in the activities of the institution.

Rural reconstruction is both non-officially and officially admitted to be the most urgent and the most important problem of India—particularly of predominantly rural provinces like Bengal. The Poet *practically* began the work of village reconstruction years before it had been undertaken by others non-officially or officially. There is no space here for a full description of the rural reconstruction department at Sriniketan. Suffice it to say that no aspect of the work has been lost sight of. Sanitation, agriculture, cattle and poultry breeding, crafts, co-operative societies—all are attended to according to up-to-date methods. It is not claimed that there are no defects and perfection has been attained. But useful work is going on in all departments.

Not to speak of those who are under instruction and training in the rural reconstruction department at Sriniketan, the students of the college department at Santiniketan also have facilities for additional training. Students of economics can carry on practical studies in rural economics under two experts. The studies relate to cost of production, rural indebtedness and the co-operative movement in rural areas.

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In Santiniketan itself weaving is taught on Swedish looms and already several persons have learned to manufacture textiles of various designs—some even from rags and other waste materials.

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He referred to a saying of Chesterton that the basic disharmony of the world is due to the fact that humanity is inartistic. The present-day unrest, both in the East and West, said Dr. Cousins, can be traceable to the existing disharmony. We are, so to say, out of focus, out of design, out of harmony.

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Art ought to be taught to every child, not of course to train him to be a professional, but to awaken the creator in him. The artist ought to feel that he was giving expression to something deeper within him; he ought to feel that he is a seer.

Concluding Dr. Cousins said, in 1916, when he wrote an article on Indian renaissance, many critics referred to Indian decadence, specially her political misery. The renaissance was visible in the sphere of art and culture, and whenever there is awakening in any part of the nation's life it is bound to expand and awaken the entire nation. Signs are not wanting in this respect.

At the Visva-bharati Institute of Rural Reconstruction, at Sriniketan, about a mile and a half from Santiniketan, training is given in the following crafts :

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Misdirected Zeal of Bengal Education Department

The newly started Calcutta University Teachers' Training Department, according to a Press report, organized a month's course for teachers, and 350 teachers attended the vacation-classes. Along with morning classes, a series of afternoon talks were organized. It has been brought to our notice that in one of these afternoon lectures a prominent official of the Education Department took pains to emphasize the need for reduction of the number of secondary schools. He is also reported to have utilized the opportunity for the purpose of dilating on the difficulties due to the dual arrangement regarding inspection and affiliation of secondary schools, matters in which the University at present exercises a potent influence. Other Government officials also, we understand, lectured at the invitation of the University; we do not, however, know whether the hospitality of the University was used for propagating the Government's point of view by them also, in disregard of the public opposition in such matters.

Dr. Jenkins, the director of public instruction, is reported to have given fresh publicity to the scheme contained in the notorious Education Resolution issued sometime ago, in one of his recent public speeches. In spite of the storm of indignation that the proposals of the Ministry of Education raised, complaints have been made in the Press and also at a public meeting

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held some time ago under the auspices of the Bengal Education League, that "departmental action" is already being taken in many cases. We have already commented on the appointment of an unrepresentative committee on the syllabus and prospectus of primary schools, so that perhaps some of the insidious features of the proposals could be introduced through the back-door. We take strong exception to the officers of the Department carrying on propaganda under the auspices of the Calcutta University on an issue which has been definitely condemned by public opinion and which is also opposed by the Calcutta University.

The Situation in Palestine

The situation in Palestine has been growing worse. The unrest, or rather revolt, has been spreading among Muslim and Christian Arabs.

The New Republic of New York, dated June 3, 1936, writes :

A serious situation is rapidly developing between Great Britain and Italy. On Monday, Foreign Secretary Eden bluntly charged that the Italians are carrying on anti-British propaganda by radio in Palestine and India, using some of the native languages of those areas. Previously, Mr. Baldwin had issued a sharp warning against attempts to interfere with Egypt and Palestine. It is now reported that what is going on in the last-named country is not mere anti-Semitic rioting, but the beginnings of a full-fledged, Italian-inspired revolt.

The American paper writes further :

The end of the Ethiopian war has not improved relations between Great Britain and Italy. On the contrary, these have grown suddenly and drastically worse. The Italians have recently charged that the British sold dumdum bullets to the Ethiopians; the British investigated and now report that the documents on which the Italian claim is based were forged. Far more serious is the charge made last Monday by Foreign Minister Anthony Eden that the Italians were spreading anti-British propaganda not only in Egypt but in Palestine and India, including regular radio broadcasts in some of the languages of those areas. It is generally reported in London that the present disturbances in Palestine, which seem likely to be the most serious since the Great War and may develop into a wholesale Arab revolt, are in part instigated by the Italians. It is hard to believe that even Mussolini, drunk with success and possessed by megalomania, as he now is, would deliberately provoke a quarrel with Great Britain that might lead to open conflict. It is easy to believe, however, that he is permitting zealous subordinates to make all the trouble they can for the British in Africa and Asia. The situation is not only of extreme seriousness itself but it further complicates the whole European problem, particularly in that it gives Hitler increased freedom of action.

There may be some truth in the charge made by the British foreign minister. But is not the Arab revolt due mainly or primarily to the fact or apprehension that they are being or would be gradually ousted from their homeland by the immigrant Jews?

A New French Indophile Organization

World Events writes :

To spread the truth about conditions in India is the object of a new organization of French liberals of various political points of view. Two widely known intellectuals, M. Maroux and M. Andre Gide, have taken the leadership of the new movement. India is frequently misrepresented in the French press and the association will combat not only such propaganda, but will struggle to secure complete freedom for Indians who desire to exercise political rights in France.

Leading Industrially Active Countries

Figures published by the League of Nations indicate that Soviet Russia leads the world with an increase of industrial activity, with Great Britain tenth, and the United States eighteenth. Using the index figure 100 to show industrial activity in 1929, the 1935 figure for the U. S. S. R. was 260; for Japan, second on the list, 143; for the United Kingdom, 140, for the United States, 72.

—*World Events.*

Medical Supervision of Calcutta School Children

An official press note states :

As a result of repeated examinations carried on by the Medical Inspectors followed by the issue of reminder cards to the guardians and by the introduction of a students' clinic, a distinct tendency towards diminution of defects amongst students in these schools is now noticeable. Lack of interest shown by the guardians for the health of their wards, social and economic conditions of many of the guardians, their ignorance and negligence of the main principles of hygienic rules, are some of the causes which are retarding a more rapid diminution of the defects.

5160 boys in 30 Government and Government aided High and Middle English Schools were examined by 3 Medical Inspectors during the year 1934-35, 3235 of these were cases of re-inspection and 1905 were new entrants. 2430 boys or 47 per cent were found defective as against 50 per cent of the previous year. Main defects are the diseases of the eye, tooth, throat, digestive system and malnutrition.

These figures and those published by the Student Welfare Committee of the Calcutta University make depressing reading. But we must resist feelings of despondency and do all that is practicable to improve the health of our boys and girls.

British Recruits Rejected on Physical Grounds

The sad plight of others is no consolation to those who are themselves in a still more miserable condition. Nevertheless the following sentences, taken from *World Events* of June 1, 1936, may indicate that our case is not absolutely hopeless :

The condition of semi-starvation in which many are living today was strikingly revealed by British army

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figures. Out of 68,000 recruits only 28,000 were accepted and the rest were rejected on physical grounds.

"*The Prospects of Socialism in India*"

The Living Age for June, 1936, writes :

When the Delhi correspondent of the London *Times* devotes a whole column to the prospects of Socialism in India and then writes daily accounts of the disputes over Socialism in the all-powerful Congress Party, one suspects that India is entering a pre-revolutionary period. Today Socialists claim that they represent one-third of the Congress Party; certainly they are strong at the top, for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress Party, now tells his followers that 'the only solution of India's problems lies in socialism, involving vast revolutionary changes in the political and social structure and ending vested interests in land and industry.' But Nehru agrees with the more moderate members of the Congress Party that nationalism must come first; and, since the Party derives much of its income from rich Indians who want only to be free of English rule, no immediate uprisings should be expected. As for Gandhi, the man who persuaded Hindus and Moslems to work together in the Congress Party, he devotes himself entirely to organizing the peasants, improving their economic condition, and destroying some of their superstitions.

"*The Development of Indian Ports*"

The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts for May 29, 1936, contains a paper on the development of Indian ports by Sir Charles Stuart-Williams, late chairman, Calcutta Port Commissioners. He gives, among other things, descriptions of the major and minor ports of India, and the following figures of British Indian trade for the year 1933-34 (which are less than one-half those for 1929-30) :

Imports	*Exports*	*Totals*
Rs. 115.3 crores	Rs. 149.7 crores	Rs. 265.0 crores

and those for the major ports, commencing on the west, are—

	Imports Rs.	*Exports* Rs.	*Totals* Rs.
Karachi ..	12.96 crores	14.22 crores	27.18 crores
Bombay ..	46.16 „	29.49 „	75.65 „
Madras ..	11.18 „	9.7 „	20.88 „
Vizagapatam ..	.7 „	.39 „	.46 „
Calcutta ..	32.12 „	58.45 „	90.57 „
Chittagong ..	.07 „	5.23 „	5.93 „
Rangoon ..	8.46 „	14.94 „	23.41 „

giving a grand total of imports and exports of Rs. 243.67 crores out of the above-mentioned total for British India of Rs. 265 crores, or over 91 per cent.

How much of this import and export trade is directly in the hands of Indians in general? How much, again, of the import and export trade of the ports in each province is in the hands of the natives of each such province?

As regards the port of Cochin, of the development of which harbour we publish an illustrated account elsewhere, the writer says :

The port of Cochin requires special mention, in that it has been carefully developed on lines which should eventually make it a place of definite importance. Cochin has several important physical advantages, combined with a complicated and difficult administrative position. The waterways which lie adjacent to the coast line along this part of the south-western coast give it the advantages of a fresh-water spill, and it is a comparatively easy matter to maintain, with only a moderate amount of dredging, a good deep-water channel into the inner harbour. As stated in the Report of the Indian States Committee of 1932—

"the port of Cochin in its present state is a British Indian port and not an Indian State port, but it is a fragment of British India standing in absolute isolation, and its development is dependent upon the co-operation of the neighbouring State of Cochin."

In the course of the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, many useful points were brought out and suggestions made —particularly by Mr. D. S. Erulkar, who said *inter alia* :

"For a coast line of 4,500 miles, and an area of 1,800,000 square miles, by far the bulk, 91 per cent. as Sir Charles points out, of the country's maritime trade is concentrated at seven major ports. Besides the seven major ports, there are over 150 minor ports to which the Indian Ports Act may apply. Yet, except for very few, most of these ports have no trade whatsoever. In consequence, the major ports are each in the nature of monopolists with their spheres of influence extended artificially which tends to divert the healthy flow of traffic.

"The reason why the minor ports have no trade is to be found in the fact that they are deprived of the facilities necessary for making them—what Sir Charles calls junctions or points of transfer. As Sir Charles pointed out, this can be by rail, inland water channels, or road. In India, it will be admitted that the bulk of traffic is transported by railways, and a reference to the railway policy in the past will throw useful light on the present state of the minor ports. The concentration of traffic at major ports automatically involves the diversion of traffic from points which might legitimately fall within the spheres of influence of minor ports. Indian railways have generally aimed at obtaining a long lead on the traffic they carried. With a view to diverting traffic by the rail routes, railways have, in the past, adopted a policy of deadly hostility to all the other forms of transport, particularly to water transport.

"It is high time that the Indian railways and the Indian port authorities realised the value of co-ordination between the various forms of transport. The full extent of the value of such co-ordination has been realised all the world over, and in other parts of the world the result has been the development, by means of cheaper forms of transport, of traffic which could not otherwise bear the high cost of railway transport and therefore, but for such co-ordination, would have been choked. In India, conditions particularly require the development of cheaper forms of transport, and if this were attempted under the fostering care of the Government, as has been done in other countries of the world, railways would find that they would benefit all the more by such a healthy development of traffic."

Whether the powers that be listen to such criticism and suggestions as those of Mr. Erulkar or not, the public should know what they are.

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Mr. D. Ross-Johnson, C.B.E., said :

"It may not be generally known that in the United Kingdom (*i.e.*, Great Britain) there are, I think, 121 ports which the Board of Trade consider of sufficient importance to classify separately in their statistics."

India is a bigger country than Britain, with a longer coast-line. But its very much larger number of ports—some 1000 in the earlier years of the East India Company's rule— has been practically reduced to seven.

In replying to the points raised the writer of the paper said among other things :

Commander Inglefield referred to the customs arrangement in South America. I think such a division between the Federal and the State Governments is an excellent idea, and if the Indian Provinces could keep all they could get in the way of import duties, I am sure they would be satisfied!

Yes, but that cannot be. For then the Government of India would not be able to fleece the Governments of Bengal and Bombay in order to indulge in extravagant expenditure in many directions.

Military Studies in Calcutta University

On the 27th of June last the Senate of the Calcutta University accepted the recommendations of the Military Training Committee. There were only three dissentients.

The recommendations of the Committee were that Military studies should be included as a subject for examination in the University. There would be two examinations in the subject, one based on a junior and the other on a senior course of studies. No one would be eligible for the senior examination unless he had previously passed the junior examination. The course for each would be for a period of about two years. The examination would be open only to *bona fide* students of the University who were also members of the University Training Corps. The practical portion of the work would be done in the Corps. For the theoretical portion lectures on selected topics would be delivered in some central place and would be organized by the University. Certificates would be awarded on the results of each examination. The Committee did not recommend that military studies should be made a compulsory subject at this stage. It would be regarded as an optional subject and failure at the examination would not affect a student's result at any University examination. If he passed this examination. Certificates of proficiency would be added to his total aggregate marks at his University examination. Certificates of proficiency would be awarded to all candidates but credit of additional marks would be allowed in some and not all, of the University examinations. The higher and most of the professional examinations have been omitted from the scope of the recommendations.

As regards the marks taken from the results of military examinations which will be added to the aggregate of marks obtained by a candidate at the University examination, the basis for calculation will be as follows :

For the I.A., I.Sc., B.A., B.Sc., and B.Com., and Engineering Examinations, the existing provisions regarding additional subjects at the Intermediate Examinations will generally be followed. In other words, marks over and above 60 out of a total of 200 will be added to the aggregate. Such marks will be added without imposing any further restriction. A maximum limit has been fixed, so that no more than 75 marks would be added in any case.

The recommendation will not affect the minimum pass-marks in particular subjects at University examinations. For proficiency in Military Studies, the candidates will get an advantage so far as their aggregate marks are concerned.

Dr. Jenkins, the director of public instruction, Dr. W. S. Urquhart and Prof. Cameron were not for the adoption of the scheme, on various grounds.

Mr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee, the Vice-Chancellor, informed the House that

he had had an opportunity of discussing the scheme with Major-General Lindsay, Commander of the Presidency and Assam District and he was glad to tell the House that the Commander was in full agreement with the scheme and had written to say that the Headquarters would be prepared to help the University in this matter. The Commander had agreed to deliver the inaugural address on the new course of studies.

With reference to some of the objections raised by Dr. Urquhart and Dr. Jenkins, *The Statesman* observes :

"The views of Dr. Urquhart, a former Vice-Chancellor, are entitled to respect, but when he expresses the opinion that the proposal is contrary to the wishes of the great majority of the students, an opinion voiced by no one else and emphatically contradicted by Mr. Biswas and other speakers, we feel sure that he is entirely mistaken. Dr. Urquhart has brought his doctrine that we ought not to fight to defend ourselves in any circumstances whatever to the wrong market. There is already too much of it in the mild nature of the Bengali students and they themselves are aware of it and wish to cultivate a nobler spirit. Dr. W. A. Jenkins' opposition on academic grounds is a voice from a vanished England. Oxford has had a Chair of military history for a long time, and military studies have won their place in most of the universities. To deny their importance in the precarious world we live in seems an extraordinary refusal to face facts."

The question of *ahimsa*, of non-violence, was bound to be raised in connection with that of military training. But we have neither the time nor the space at our disposal to discuss it thoroughly now.

We like pacifism, we like *ahimsa*, we like non-violence, we like anti-militarism. But we cannot claim to be pacifists, *ahimsa*-ists, and anti-militarists; for we are not in a position to fight, to kill *en masse* and to be militarists. Persons in our position ought not to complain if their compulsory pacifism, *ahimsa*, non-violence and anti-militarism be ridiculed as a case of making a virtue of necessity.

In the present state of human civilization, nations are not prepared to disband their armies, their military police, or their ordinary

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police. They may be spoken of as a necessary evil. But if the evil is to be destroyed, it is the free and independent powerful and civilized nations who ought to set the example of abolishing the army and the police.

If an individual *can* defend himself by fighting the aggressor but does not, he can claim to be an *ahimsa*-ist. But if a person be too weak and too timid to fight, he had better not degrade the ideal of *ahimsa* by taking shelter behind it.

If a people can defend itself by fighting and repelling the aggressor and invader, but does not, it is entitled to claim credit for non-resistance. But an unarmed, disarmed, emasculated, untrained, unorganized people only makes itself ridiculous by standing up for pacifism, non-violence and non-resistance.

It is true that a people's preparedness for defence may enable it to take also the offensive and be the aggressor, and thus preparedness for defence may lead to aggressiveness on its part. But it is also true that the unpreparedness of a people for defending its liberty may lead to the aggressiveness of other peoples who are prepared for either a war of defence or of offence or both.

It is not that we think the military training which the Calcutta University wishes to impart to its students will turn out fully trained soldiers. But it will at least convince them that fighting is not a mysterious art which is beyond their physical and intellectual powers to understand and master, and may exorcise the fear of fighting and death under which so many labour.

So long as there is an army and so long as there are people who or whose kith and kin enroll themselves as soldiers, those who do so ought not to stand in the way of others following their example.

We have no apprehension that military training under the auspices of the University will make our students full-fledged militarists. It ought to be considered whether military training is not even a partial remedy for terrorism.

John Bull and Pedigree Bulls

As John Bull is the owner of the human cattle-farm called India, there is no inappropriateness in the highest representative of him in this country desiring to place pedigree bulls in as many agricultural centres as possible.

But seriously, the improvement of India's live-stock is an urgent problem, and it has been known from before Lord Linlithgow's advent, and breeding bulls have been kept at a few Government farms in some parts of the country. Its solution, however, does not depend merely on a supply of pedigree bulls. Such improvement depends on the fulfilment of many other conditions; such as the growing and supply of fodder crops, the crushing of oil seeds and keeping the oil-seed cakes in the country, the provision of sufficient grazing lands to be used for pasture, the attainment of universal literacy so that even the peasants and the peasant women may understand how the improvement may be effected and may follow the best methods prescribed, relieving the indebtedness of the peasants without expropriating their creditors, and such improvement in the material condition of the rayats by improved land-tenure and other means as would leave a margin to enable them to take care of their cattle. Unless the dry cows can be maintained during the period of gestation, they will continue to be sold to butchers and slaughtered. So, though there may be pedigree bulls, there will not be enough pedigree calves. The fulfilment of the conditions mentioned above require some kind of self-rule, for which pedigree bulls are not a substitute.

Rabindranath Tagore and Improvement of Live-stock

The juxtaposition of the name of a Poet *par excellence* with such a prosaic thing as the improvement of live-stock, may cause a mild surprise. But the fact is, he has during these many years paid attention to the subject along with many other things connected with village life at his Rural Reconstruction Institute at Sriniketan. Pedigree bulls from Sindh have been distributed by it at six centres and fodder crops have been introduced and sown on waste lands.

Perhaps because the Poet has no power to make anybody even a Rai Sahib or a Khan Sahib, therefore those who have been sending cheques to please Lord Linlithgow have neither sent the Poet any cheques nor have even cared to know what he has been doing.

"Why Don't They Eat Cakes?"

In a country of predominantly vegetarian diet, plentiful supply of pure fresh milk at a low price would be undoubtedly a blessing. So if Lord Linlithgow's desire to ascertain how much milk villagers get to drink bears some

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fruit, the latter will bless him. But considering that even in years when there is no widespread famine in any province, millions of people cannot get even a sufficient quantity of coarse rice or other grain to satisfy their hunger, the League of Nations Nutrition Committee's enquiry, the Indian Nutrition Research Committee's (is that the name?) researches, and the Governor-General's anxiety about milk supply in villages must seem like caviare to the general.

This must be particularly so in the famine-stricken districts of Bengal, about a dozen or so in number. The walking skeletons in their rural regions would stare in wonder if, in carrying out the Viceroy's behest, any circle officer or police man asked them how much milk they consumed every day.

We remember to have read in our school days that during a famine in France (we think) a young princess, hearing that the streets were crowded with hungry men, women and children because there was no bread, asked in surprise, "But why don't they eat cakes?"

A similar story is told of a Oudh princess of the pre-British period who, when she heard during a famine that people were going without food, put the question, "Can't they get even a handful of stale cold pilau?"

But our illiterate village folk do not know these stories. So, when there is famine, or what the officials call scarcity of food, they can only stare if asked how much milk they drink.

Anatomy Made Easy

If our medical students volunteer to work in famine-stricken villages, they will be able to render much valuable service. They will be rewarded by an involuntary revision of some of their anatomy lessons. Non-medical relief-workers can acquire a rudimentary knowledge of anatomy by merely looking at the living skeletons. No dissections are necessary.

The Future Fate of Our Culture

There was last month a discussion at a meeting of the Milanee club in Calcutta as to the future fate of the culture of Bengal. Prof. Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji of Lucknow University opened the discussion. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Prof. Deva Prasad Ghosh, and Mr. Abdul Kader spoke next. Mr. Atul Gupta, M.A., B.L., who was in the chair, in summing up and stating his own views, said:

> The discussion of the future fate of Bengal culture had reduced itself to the solution of the Hindu-Moslem problem in the culture of Bengal. The thinness of our culture owing to its lack of contact with the soil, the life of the toiling agricultural mass, was commented upon by previous speakers. The educated Bengali Moslem had not yet lost contact as his Hindu brother had and possibly as a result, he had more vitality. This vitality, Sj. Gupta hoped, would contribute to the fullness of the future Bengali culture, which if they had life in them, would grow as a culture of a whole united people, turning its back on past differences and animosities. They must remember that, after all, culture was the creation of the educated mind, and its contact with the soil, which made it rich and great, was not mere sentimental sympathy of the educated for the masses. The final solution of the problem of broadbasing a culture on the whole life of a people was to make the whole people participate in its creation and enjoyment, an attempt which was perhaps being made in Russia of today.
>
> Speaking of the lack of contacts, the speaker regretted that our modern Bengali culture did not care to keep itself in touch with the cultures of other provinces of India. This background of an Indian culture was essential to the fullness of the culture of any of the provinces of India. It was the analogue of what European culture was to the culture of any of the different European nations.

Study of Indian Culture in England

Mr. H. G. Rawlinson has written to the *London Times* advocating the establishment of chairs in Indian culture in the English universities as a means of bringing about better understanding between India and England. Says he, in part:

> The root cause of the trouble is the lack of appreciation of Indian culture in this country. The discovery of the long-hidden treasures of Sanskrit literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century was hailed in Europe as a second Renaissance: "that incomparable book," said Schopenhauer of the Upanishads, "stirs the spirit to the very depths of my soul. It has been the solace of my life; it will be the solace of my death." Goethe, Schiller, Carlyle, and Emerson were all profoundly affected. But the early enthusiasm died down.
>
> The vast majority of English people today are indifferent to India's great contribution to the literature, thought, and art of the world. They have little feeling for the delicacy and beauty of Indian sculpture and painting, in spite of the opportunities for their study afforded by the India Museum.

Pandit Nehru on Indian, Hindu & Muslim Cultures

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes in his Autobiography, p. 469, that the "idea of a Muslim nation" in India "is the figment of a few imaginations only, and, but for the publicity given to it by the Press, few people would have heard of it. And even if many people believe in it, it would still vanish at the touch of reality." As for 'culture,' he proceeds to observe:

> "So also the ideas of Hindu and Muslim 'culture.' The day of even national cultures is rapidly passing and

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the world is becoming one cultural unit. Nations may retain, and will retain for a long time much that is peculiar to them—language, habits, ways of thought, *etc.*—but the machine age and science, with swift travel, constant supply of world news, radio, cinema, *etc.*, will make them more and more uniform. No one can fight against this inevitable tendency, and only a world catastrophe which shatters modern civilization can really check it. There are certainly many differences between the traditional Hindu and Muslim philosophies of life. But these differences are hardly noticeable when both of them are compared to the modern scientific and industrial outlook on life, for between this latter and the former there is a vast gulf. The real struggle today in India is not between Hindu culture and Muslim culture, but between these two and the conquering scientific culture of modern civilization. Those who are desirous of preserving 'Muslim culture,' whatever that may be, need not worry about Hindu culture, but should withstand the giant from the West." Pp. 469-470.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru asks, "But what is this 'Muslim culture'?" He confesses:

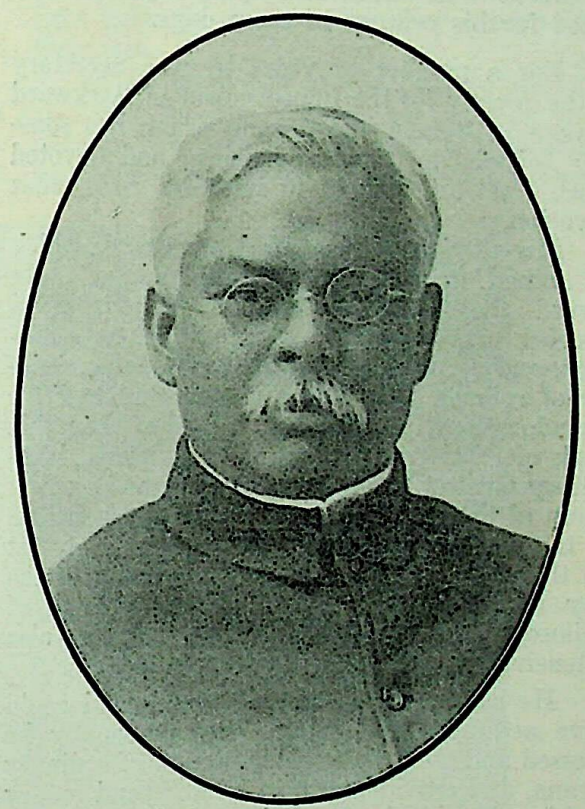
"I have tried hard to understand what this 'Muslim culture' is, but I confess that I have not succeeded. I find a tiny handful of middle-class Muslims as well as Hindus in North India influenced by the Persian language and traditions. And looking to the masses the most obvious symbols of 'Muslim Culture' seem to be: a particular type of pyjamas, not too long and not too short, a particular way of shaving or clipping the moustache but allowing the beard to grow, and a *lota* with a special kind of snout, just as the corresponding Hindu customs are the wearing of a *dhoti*, the possession of a top-knot, and a *lota* of a different kind. As a matter of fact, even these distinctions are largely urban and they tend to disappear. The Muslim peasantry and industrial workers are hardly distinguishable from the Hindu. The Muslim intelligentsia seldom sports a beard, though Aligarh still fancies a red Turkish cap with a fez (Turkish it is called, although Turkey will have none of it). Muslim women have taken to the *sari* and are emerging rather slowly from the *purdah*." P. 471.

Perhaps it is necessary to define the word 'culture.' It may not have been used in exactly the same sense in the extracts given in this and the two previous notes.

Pran Krishna Acharji

Dr. Pran Krishna Acharji, who died last month in his residence in Calcutta, was an eminent physician of this city. But that was not his only title to distinction, as the mere narration of the main facts and activities of his life in the dailies has shown to their readers.

He was born some 75 years ago in a very poor Brahman family of Pabna. He lost his father when very young. His mother became a widow at the age of 20, with two sons, the younger of whom died soon after. It was mainly to the piety, sense of duty, intellectual capacity and firmness of his widowed mother that the boy Pran Krishna owed his early education. The early struggles of mother and sons read like a romance. The only property left by the father was a weatherworn and tumble-down cottage of which the walls were of split bamboo fencing, ready to go down if pushed with some force. Time had made big gaps in the fencing, which were stopped by old gunny. Sometimes tigers would come near the cottage at night, and the mother had to control herself and summon courage to tell the little ones not to be afraid. It was seldom that they had full meals. On some days they fasted the whole day and night, and on some others they had only one meal.



Pran Krishna Acharji

It was a great struggle for the boy to get educated. The scholarships which he won were of much help to him and his mother.

It was the memory of these early struggles that made him to his dying day the open-handed friend of the poor—particularly of poor students. As he gave in secret, nobody knows how many hundred students he had helped with money, sound advice and encouragement, and how many he had helped in their studies as a self-appointed honorary tutor. If a list could be drawn up of the public institutions which he had helped, it would show the extent of his charities. To needy students alone he must have given a lakh in all.

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As he was a great doctor, the number of poor patients whom he treated without any fee was very large. When he went to the mofussil on any professional call or on any other business, he requested his friends in the locality to inform poor people who required medical help that he was there, ready to help them.

He was a supporter of all good causes. In the days of the anti-Partition agitation he was one of the most zealous and sincere advocates of goods manufactured in the country, and continued to be such to his dying day. He was noted for his oratory in those days.

For a number of years he was Secretary to the Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes in Bengal and Assam, which has some 450 schools in various districts, and devoted much time and energy to its work with great devotion.

His services to the Brahmo Samaj, which he joined in early youth, were unique. He served the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj as a member of its Executive Committee, as secretary, and as president. But it was as a minister of religion that he will be remembered for his adorations, prayers and sermons. For this work of religious ministration he prepared himself by meditation and by extensive and earnest study of the scriptures of the principal religions of the world, particularly the Hindu. And yet all the while, he was a leading physician of the city in extensive practice. His knowledge of philosophy, science and history was also extensive.

He acquired considerable wealth and could have acquired much more. But personally he dressed and moved about like a man of ordinary means, and considered it wrong to spend money on himself. He bore calmly and silently losses of some Rs. 1,17,000 caused by two friends.

He had business capacity of no mean order, was chairman of the board of directors of some company or other during some years of his life, and did his work with integrity and ability.

He was a pious son, a staunch and affectionate friend, a faithful, loving and dutiful husband, and an affectionate and dutiful father.

He was a man of sterling independence of character, given to free and frank expression of opinion but without offence, and at the same time was very kind-hearted. His conversation sparkled and overflowed with wit and humour; but he studiously avoided speaking ill of others and would not even listen to slander and calumny.

Puran Chand Nahar

The late Mr. Puran Chand Nahar was a leading representative of the Jain community of Bengal. He was an M.A. and B.L. of the Calcutta University, but that does not give any indication of his attainments. He devoted a considerable portion of his time to research and was the author of several books and pamphlets. His "Jain Inscriptions" in 3 volumes contains over 3,000 inscriptions from all places of India —places which he personally visited for the purpose of taking copies of them at a great sacrifice of his time and money.

Puran Chand Nahar

He made a fine collection of Indian paintings, coins and sculptures which are preserved in the "Kumar Singh Hall" at 46, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, where is also housed his unique collection of Jain books and MSS. and many rare and selected books on Art and Archæology, etc. His museum and library were freely used by many research scholars and others, and his Kumar Singh Hall was allowed to be used for literary gatherings and conferences. His public and literary activities were manifold and he took a prominent part in the social reform of his community. He was for a long time a member of the Benares Hindu University Court representing the Jain Swetambar Community.

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of India, and was the first President of the All-India Oswal Jain Sammelan. He was a life member of the Jain Swetambar Education Board, Bombay, India Society of Gr. Britain, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and many other prominent institutions.

It is rarely that one comes across a man of such unassuming courtesy and humility as marked the character of Mr. Puran Chand Nahar.

Maxim Gorky

The world-famous Russian author Maxim Gorky passed away from this world last month. He was born and brought up in families which would be regarded in India as belonging to the depressed classes—which is a reminder to us in this country of the countless "mute inglorious" Maxim Gorkys condemned by our social system to live and die like beasts of burden.

Maxim Gorky or Gorki was not his real name. It was a pen-name, the real name being Alexey Maximovich Peshkov. He was born in 1868 at Nizhni-Novgorod. His father, an upholsterer, died when he was only five. His mother married again and he grew up in the family of his maternal grand-father, a dyer, who struggled on through increasing poverty. At nine, the lad was made to earn his own bread. In the fifteen years which followed he changed many trades, and in search of work covered the whole of east and south Russia from Nizhni to the Danube and to Georgia. In spite of this life of toil and uncertainty he managed to give himself an education, read voraciously and early began to write.

This indomitability and resourcefulness of Gorki ought to encourage our young men to fight valiantly against what they consider to be their fate.

While employed at the railway workshops at Tiflis, he was able to get a story of his published in a local daily over the pseudonym which became famous. He became a provincial journalist now. A leading St. Petersburg review accepted a story of his, *Chelkash,* in 1895. Some stories of his appeared in book form in 1897. So great was the success of this book that public opinion in Russia placed him as an author by the side of Tolstoy and before long he became one of the world-celebrities. His play *The Lower Depths* had a run of almost two years in the Berlin theatres. From 1899 his association with the Social-Democrats

Maxim Gorky and Romain Rolland

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brought police persecution on him, which only increased his popularity in Russia. From 1905 he became an active revolutionary and left Russia for an anti-Czarist campaign abroad. He settled at Capri in 1907, and about this time he and Lenin became friends.

"During the world war he took a pacifist attitude, and in 1917 he gave his, not always unqualified support to the Bolsheviks. After their victory he became the official spokesman for culture before the new Government, and did much to alleviate the hardships of the intellectual classes, as well as to preserve cultural treasures." The Encyclopædia Britannica.

Of the short stories which he wrote at first and which first made him famous the subject-matter was taken mainly from the lives of tramps and social outcasts.

"The best of these early stories (*My Fellow-traveller* and *Twenty-six men and a Girl*) fall little short of being master-pieces. After 1899 Gorki wrote longer and more ambitious novels, which aimed at presenting a broad and comprehensive picture of Russian life and at finding the solution of burning social problems . . . . . His proletarian novel *Mother* has been turned into a splendid film by the great film producer Eisenstein . . . . [His] *Childhood*, the first part of an autobiographical trilogy, of which the other parts are *In the World* and *My Universities*. Together with a volume of *Recollections* and *Fragments from my Diary* these works are the best Gorki has written. The penetrating and plastic realism with which he presents a vast gallery of Russian characters, is unrivalled."—*Encycl. Brit.*

Maxim Gorki was a great friend of Romain Rolland, the great French idealist. He did his very best for his fellow Russian authors struggling against destitution. Born among the Russian working people and a working man himself during the earlier part of his career, he had great faith in them. No wonder then that he has written :

"In the people are vested all possibilities, and with them everything is attainable. It is necessary only to arouse their consciousness, their soul, the great soul of a child who is not given the liberty to grow."

They were exhorted in the words :

"Arise, you working people! You are the masters of life! All live by your labour; and only for your labour do they unite your hands. Behold! you are bound, and they have killed, robbed your soul. Unite with your heart and your mind into one power. It will overcome everything."

Famine, Socialism, & the Zamindari System

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other socialists think that nothing but socialism can lead to an adequate improvement in the material and moral condition of the masses in India. But Pandit Jawaharlal has also said repeatedly that the introduction of socialism here would depend on the possession of political power by the socialists. Nobody can say in what indefinite future they will gain power, if they do so at all.

Another remedy for the poverty of the agricultural classes, who form the majority of the people, advocated is the abolition of the zemindari system. But as the landholding classes are considered a bulwark, however feeble, of the foreign autocracy, that system may yet have an indefinitely long lease of life.

In the meantime there are recurring famines in various parts of the country. And these famines, whatever name may be given to them officially, are only a periodical aggravation of the chronic state of insufficient supply of food obtained by the masses. They are badly housed—many have no hovels even to live in, wear rags in many cases, have not enough of even coarse food, have no medical treatment when ill, are illiterate and do not have the amenities of civilized life. It would be a grim joke to tell them that their great-grandchildren would be better off. What is wanted is the amelioration of their condition now—at least during their lifetime.

In the face of this problem, controversies in the Press and on the platform on socialism and zemindari and rayatwari systems seem trivial. The figures of starving men, women and children haunt the mind like a nightmare. But nightmares are dreams which are dispelled when we are aroused from sleep. But the living skeletons, alas! are a reality. How to relieve their misery? How to permanently banish famines and scarcity from the land?.....

"Barbarous If True"

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Harijan* :

A correspondent sends me the following paragraph from the "Hindu's" own correspondent dated 8th June at Ramnad :

"At a meeting of the Devacottah Panchayat Board held on Saturday at the Board's office, under the presidency of its President Mr. Mtt. Kr. Ar. Arunachalam Chettiar, the usual procedure was adopted, viz., the Harijan member entered the meeting hall, signed his signature in the attendance register, receded to the exit door of the meeting hall, and stood all the while till the close of the meeting.

"The Board sanctioned several estimates for providing electric lights in the various streets in the town and resolved to acquire sites for the construction of roads between Srirangapuram, Natarajapuram and Arunagiripatnam."

He very properly observes with reference to this shameful practice :

But whether the Panchayat is composed of congressmen or not, the conduct of the Board can only be characterised as barbarous, even as it would be of the Legislative Assembly if it made its member Rao Bahadur

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Rajah stand in a corner whilst its proceedings were going on.

But the "Hindu" correspondent lets the public know that the procedure is usual for the Devacottah Panchayat. . . . Even if the practice of making Harijan members stand in a corner by certain Panchayats is usual, public opinion should make it impossible of repetition. Evidently however the paragraph does not appear to have caused any public stir. The editorial columns of the Southern press seem too to have taken no notice of the incident which is ugly enough to demand strong condemnation. . . .

Not only is the practice barbarous, I think it is also illegal. The Harijan member has a legal right to demand a seat side by side with his fellow members. It would be no answer to the charge that the Harijan member was party to his own insult. I can well understand poor Harijans in remote parts of India being too timid to assert their rights. And for Harijans, Devacottah is unfortunately remote enough.

Mysore Widow Marriage Bill

The Indian Social Reformer writes :

A private member, Mr. Bhashyam, introduced in the Mysore Representative Assembly a fortnight back, a Bill to validate the remarriage of Hindu widows in Mysore State. The Assembly was unanimously in favour of the Bill and the Government of Mysore accepted it in principle. The Mysore Bill is in one important respect an advance on the law in British India. The British Indian Act provides that a Hindu widow who remarries will lose all her rights in her deceased husband's property, whether in respect of maintenance or by inheritance or even by virtue of any will, which does not expressly give her permission to remarry. Mr. Bhashyam's Bill provides that, in the absence of an heir to the deceased husband, the remarried widow will continue to enjoy possession of his estate as her absolute estate. The rights acquired by her under a gift of deed or will, will also be her absolute estate unless there is a clause in such documents expressly prohibiting remarriage. The British Indian Act presumes that if a deceased husband did not expressly permit his widow to remarry, he was against her doing so. The Mysore Bill, on the other hand, presumes that unless he expressly prohibited her remarriage, a deceased Hindu husband approved beforehand of his widow remarrying. The difference between the two is an index of the march of ideas in 80 years. Further, the remarried widow under the Mysore Bill, will continue to be the guardian of her children by her first husband unless a civil court appoints another person as a guardian at the instance of an interested person. It is not quite clear if the remarried widow would have any right in her husband's property where there is an heir.

Wifehood Franchise for Women Voters

In a statement issued to the Press by Mrs. P. K. Sen of Patna, who took part in the so-called Round Table Conference as a "representative" of Indian women, it is said :

"The All-India Women's Conference has published a letter in the newspapers over the names of its Chairwoman and Organizing Secretary in which they declare that 'Women should get themselves enrolled through the literacy qualification and should avoid enrolling themselves under wifehood franchise, as this provision has, in principle, been stoutly opposed by the Conference from the beginning.'

Mrs. Sen observes :

As it happens, the literacy qualifications laid down by the Act for the women of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam is either the School Leaving Certificate, or the Matriculation. These four Provinces are placed in a position of disadvantage, as compared with the others, for which bare literacy constitutes the qualification. What makes it worse is, that women having the literacy qualification 'must apply' for being enrolled, which will necessarily lead to a considerable reduction in the number of women voters.

Wifehood Franchise

"With a view to counterbalance this disadvantage, the Act provides for wifehood qualification without application, in the above four Provinces, whereas, in the other Provinces voters with wifehood qualification are required to apply for enrolment. Thus, taking India as a whole, the wifehood qualification, whether with or without application, is calculated to bring a large number of women voters on the rolls, who would otherwise be disqualified.

Misleading Propaganda

"If a propaganda, as intended by the A.-I. W. C., were started by which women voters are asked that they should avoid enrolling themselves under the wifehood franchise, the result would be a very substantial diminution of the women voters on the rolls. It will have the effect of educating qualified women voters not to exercise their votes. Leaving aside Bengal, the three other Provinces, namely, Bihar, Orissa and Assam will be grievously misled and injured by such a propaganda. In view of the unhappily low level of women's education, in those provinces, the wifehood franchise is their only stand-by. That alone can enable them to get a larger electoral roll, so that women may take a more effective share in measures against social and moral evils that vitally affect them and their children.

"I take the liberty of appealing to all men and women, who are interested in the welfare of the country, to try and give the women voters the fullest scope possible under Act, so that by the time the elections come, they may be in a position to claim and obtain a larger representation. Numbers are what counts now, and any measures taken to reduce, rather than augment numbers, will seriously harm the cause of women.—United Press."

We fully endorse what Mrs. Sen has said above. Adult suffrage is the goal to be reached by both men and women. Whatever qualifications, therefore, increase the number of male and female voters should be taken advantage of. Wifehood is not a disgrace, and can be resented or disliked only or mainly by confirmed or inveterate spinsters by their own choice or through bad luck, and also perhaps by disgruntled wives.

Queer Bengal Scholarship Rules

Henceforth Government scholarships, which were hitherto awarded to the most meritorious successful candidates at the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations of the university, are to be or are intended to be awarded to poor successful candidates. Those among the most meritorious candidates, entitled to a scholarship, whose guardians are sufficiently well-to-do

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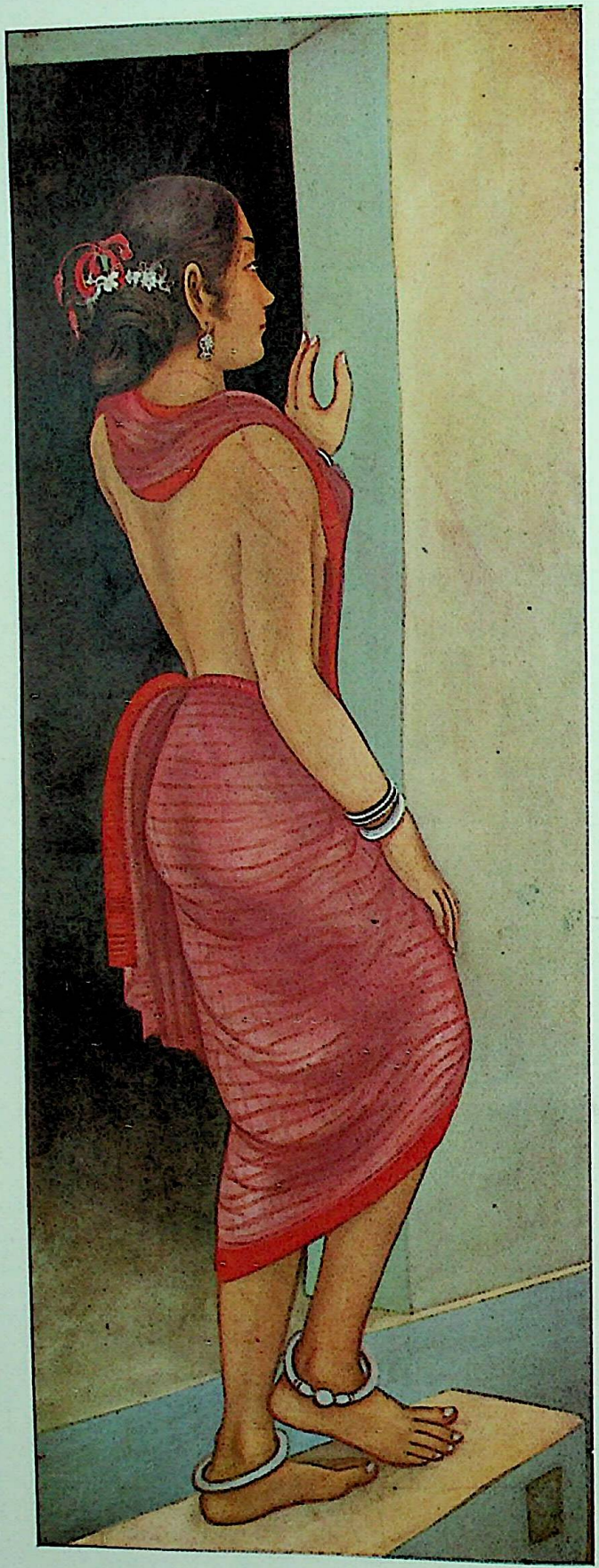

AT THE THRESHHOLD

By Indubhusan Gupta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST 1936

VOL. LX., No. 2 WHOLE No. 356

PROFESSOR SYLVAIN LEVI*

BY MADAME L. MORIN

SEVERAL months have now elapsed since Professor Sylvain Levi passed away, but his pupils and collaborators are feeling the loss more keenly every day.

When I was travelling in India two years ago, I realized how many friends and admirers he had throughout the country, and I thought it might interest some of them to have an idea of the life and career of the great scholar.

Sylvain Levi was born in Paris in 1863, in a family of humble Jewish drapers. He proved to be an exceptionally brilliant student, in Lycee Charlemagne, as well as in the Sorbonne, where he was to secure the title of "agrege"[1] at the very early age of twenty.

It is interesting to know that it was almost by chance that he became an Indologist. Up to then, his chief interest had been for Grecian studies. Yet he still remained undecided regarding the choice of a career. Let us quote the story as he was fond of relating it himself :

"When I was studying in the Sorbonne, a friend of mine and I had drafted the list of the lectures that we proposed to attend : thirty-two hours on the whole. But we were young and athirst for knowledge; we wanted to put in other subjects in spare hours and did not know of anything else to select. My comrade's father happened to be a friend of Ernest Renan. Why not consult the old master? The answer was not slow to come : "There is a professor of genius who has but few pupils," said Renan, "he is called Bergaigne, and teaches Sanskrit."

"So we added Sanskrit to our programme. I shall never forget this first lecture. Professor Bergaigne started by writing a Sanskrit verse on the blackboard; then he proceeded to explain it, almost without looking at us, as if he was following up some inner thought. There was nothing particularly striking in his eloquence or manner; yet from this first lesson, I knew I would devote my life to that study."

Sylvain Levi soon became Bergaigne's most devoted and most brillant pupil. His interest for the Sanskrit language, his lyrical enthusiasm for ancient Indian literature, became the centre of his life and preoccupations. We have had the privilege of looking through his first notebooks of the time; no document is more eloquent and more moving than those humble pages where we can follow our professor's initiation to the grammar and vocabulary of the sacred language of India. Here already we are able to detect the accuracy, the perfect conscience, the remarkable intelligence which were to mark his work in all the subsequent developments.

It appears that Professor Bergaigne, knowing that Sylvain Levi was not a rich man, advised him not to devote his energies exclusively to Sanskrit studies : it might fail to provide opportunities worthy of his pupil's rare ability. But the young man kept to his determination. Bergaigne then decided to have a talk with Sylvain Levi's father; the latter gave this simple and beautiful answer : "Sir, if my son can find his happiness in these studies, let him go on, there will always be bread for him at home."

In some lives, destiny seems to play a

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* While personal remembrances form the basis of this article it could not have been written but for the complementary information obtained through other sources which it is hardly possible to detail. I particularly wish to acknowledge the help received from Madame Sylvain Levi, Madame Stchoupak, Professor Renou, Professor Jules Bloch, and the latter's very interesting article published in "L'Univers Israelite." (8th Nov. 1935).

1. Fellow, or assistant professor.

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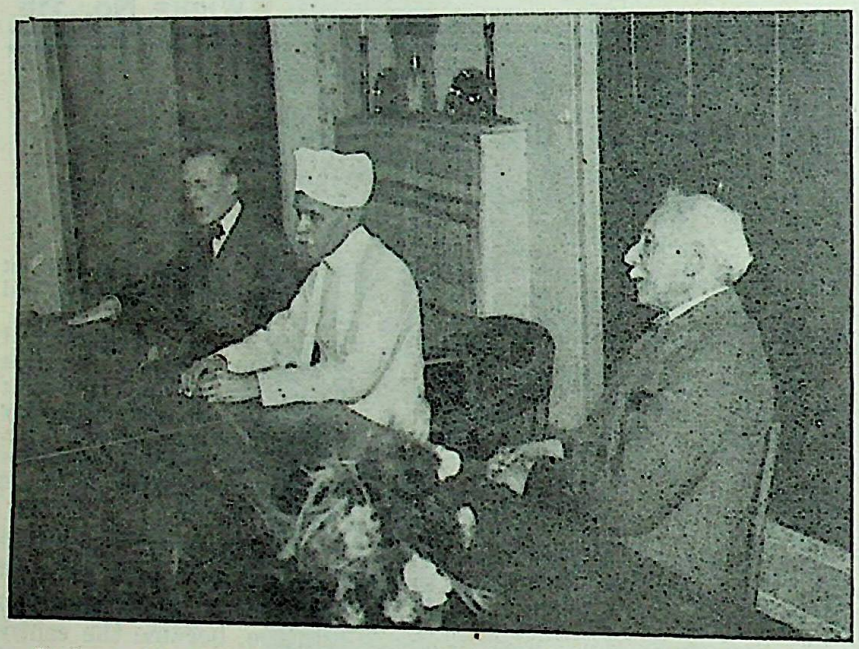
prominent part. Or is it rather that confidence and valour get the better of destiny? In 1885, Sylvain Levi became a lecturer in the Ecole des Hautes Etudes (School of Higher Studies). His first article on Indian questions (on the *Brihatkatha Manjari* of Ksemendra) was published during the course of the same year. Three years later, Professor Bergaigne met with a premature death in a mountain accident. It was a great and unexpeccted loss to Indian studies. Who would thenceforth be entrusted with the honour and responsibility of filling his succession? In spite of his young age, Sylvain Levi was chosen to replace him for the teaching of Sanskrit in the Faculty of Letters; in 1894, he was also asked to take the chair of Indian Literature and Languages in the College de France.



Professor Sylvain Levi presiding over Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's lecture in the Institute of Indian Civilization.

A growing number of pupils flocked in, but the master being about the same age as the disciples, Indian studies were pursued not merely through courses of lectures solemnly delivered, but essentially through team-work, by a very friendly and enthusiastic group. Translations of the *Mahabharata, Upanisads* and other texts were undertaken in common, and subsequently published. And the nature and scope of work were increasingly developed and enriched as years passed by. How fruitful this collaboration proved to be can be judged by simply mentioning the names of some of those who shared in it then, or in later years. Mr. Foucher, now professor of Sanskrit in the Sorbonne, and of Archæology in the Institut d'Art, author of the well-known books on Greco-Buddhist art; Professor Finot, who created the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient; Mr. de Lavallee-Poussin, professor in Belgium, author of several books and translations relative to Buddhism; Mr. l'Abbe Roussel, translator of the *Ramayana;* Mr. Herold, translator of the *Brihad Aranyaka Upanisad;* Mr. Godefroy de Blonay, professor of Sanskrit in a Swiss University; Mr. Mauss, professor of Ethnology, in Paris; Professor Pelliot, who has given such a lively impulse to Chinese and Central-Asian studies; Professor Jules Bloch, specialised in philology and modern Indian languages; Mr. Masson-Oursel devoted to the teaching of Indian Philosophy; Professor Renou, an expert in Vedic lore; the last three authors of valuable books on their special subjects of study, and teaching in the Institute of Indian Civilization in the present day. Of course the short list that precedes is far from complete.

Sylvain Levi, who had married early, used to invite his friends and pupils to his home about once a week, and there, friendly talks continued, enthusiasm in the common work was engendered and maintained, and a family spirit was fostered among the young Indologists. It is perhaps one of the finest traits of Sylvain Levi's influence, the creation of that "family link" between all people interested in Indian Culture, whether young or old, obscure or illustrious. This link was really made to a large extent of his personal genius, cheerfulness, liveliness and that power he had to advise, encourage and inspire all those who approached him. All through his life, he was to be a great animator of things and people. He made all his collaborators realize that science is a great bond and work in common the surest basis of friendship.

His thesis on the Indian Theatre, published as early as 1890, already reveals very characteristic tendencies of his approach to problems. While studying every subject with the closest scientific accuracy, he always sought to enlighten and enliven the scholarly point of view with the actual facts of life. For instance

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he was particularly anxious to know about the theatre as it was practised in India at the time when he wrote, and he had a kind of prophetic vision of a renaissance of India's theatrical art in the future. The book has long been out of print, but Sylvain Levi would never consent to its being published anew. "It is out of date," he would say, "I would have to write it all over again; a book is only good at the time when it is being written."

His work on the Doctrine of Sacrifice in the Brahmanas appeared in 1898. It is a remarkable contribution to the studies of religious sociology and magic.

Thus we find that Sylvain Levi's earliest researches were focussed on the Vedic and epic literatures of India. Very soon, however, his attention was drawn to Buddhism. Among his first pupils were two young Japanese Buddhist priests. To understand them and guide their studies, the young professor (he was no more than 25 then) acquired proficiency in Chinese Buddhism, and this led him to understand how interesting it might be to study India from the outside. He was always saying that in spite of her apparent isolation, India had never been closed to outer contacts; "Why, Indian merchants were already selling peacocks to the Babylonians!" Perhaps only those who have been his pupils can realize how eager he always remained to discover or hear about any novel detail or story regarding the travels of foreigners in India.

As a matter of fact, history, especially connective history, was perhaps Sylvain Levi's dominant preoccupation in his Indian studies. This interest can be traced as far back as the very first lecture he delivered in the university: it dealt with Greek documents relative to India. And in his Latin thesis, we find a complementary study of Indian documents relative to Greece. The conception of "Greater India," which met with so much favour in subsequent years, was to a large extent created and popularized by him.

The study of Buddhism could not fail to emphasise this tendency and open new fields of research. But, in Sylvain Levi, the historian was coupled with a humanist; and that is another reason why Buddhism became the living centre of his approach to Indian thought. Not only his mind, but his heart, had been won for good to what he was so fond of calling "Buddhist humanism;"

> "This glorious and gentle civilization which remains one of the "chef-d'oeuvres" of human thought, while it offers to a vast intellect an incomparable observatory, one of the most dazzling visions of human history: from Western Asia to Japan and to Indonesia."

Regarding Chinese Buddhism, he chose Mr. Chavannes as his collaborator. Later on, Mr. Demieville (now professor of Chinese in the school of Oriental languages) was to succeed Mr. Chavannes in that capacity, after the latter's death in 1916.

Sylvain Levi's interest for India and the East was bound to take him there some day.

His first journey (in 1898) brought the opportunity of a lengthy sojourn in Nepal. His previous studies had particularly fitted him to benefit by it. His wonderful knowledge of Buddhist literature, as well as his wide and accurate historical outlook, enabled him to

Prof. Sylvain Levi
Sketch by Haripada Ray

embrace vast perspectives of human thought and history in space and time. Nepal is a very nest of Buddhist sources; moreover, its history is so closely associated with that of the neighbouring countries (India in particular, of which it is really a part) that delving into it enables the scholar to pick up the threads of

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all the important trends of civilization, while explaining and connecting mutual influences.

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The importance of these critical comparisons of documents for the study of Buddhist expansion, for that of history in general, for comparative philology, as well as for the interpretation of Indian civilization and its influence, is so evident that it need not be emphasised.

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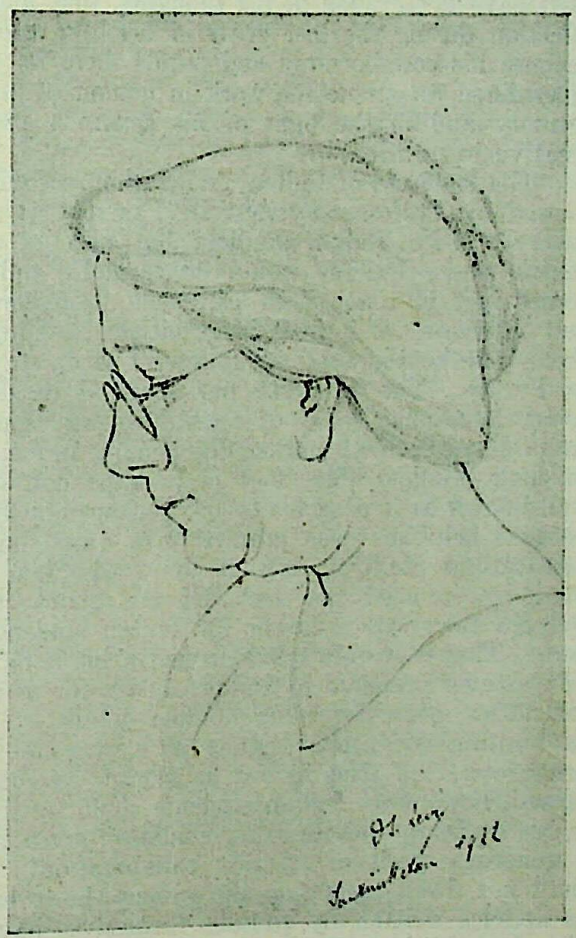

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Sketch by Haripada Ray

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scheme, however, had not yet found its realization.

Yet, not very long after he had returned from his last journey, Sylvain Levi was able to create the Institute of Indian Civilization, centralizing all the lectures delivered about India and connected subjects. Thanks to his wonderful animating power, this Institute soon became a lively nucleous of Indian culture, with considerable possibilities for further development. But a whole article would be required to give an idea of this institution's work. We only mention it because Professor Levi gave it so much of his thoughts, time and affection during the last years of his life; also, because his collaborators and pupils there have determined to pursue the work in honour of his memory and in the light of his generous and creative inspiration.

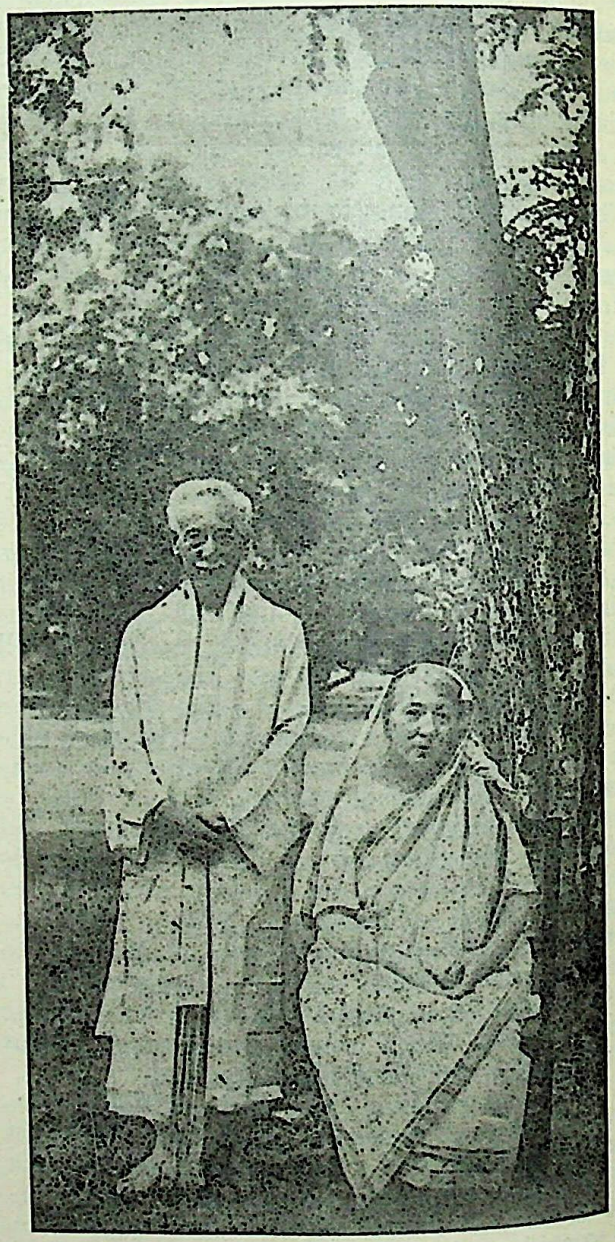
The Institute of Indian Civilization was not viewed by Professor Sylvain Levi merely as a laboratory for Indian studies; but also as a centre where Indians would be cordially welcomed, get in touch with European professors and students, and find information enabling them to take the best advantage of their stay in France. The Institute has received handsome donations; some of these, coming from India, have been earmarked for helping Indians in their studies. The fact is perhaps not so well known as it deserves to be; perhaps chiefly because help has been granted in a quiet, unostentatious manner, so that those who benefited by it need not feel delicate about it. Sylvain Levi was a father for Indian students here. They were always welcome in his home; he was ever prepared to find a solution for their difficulties, even regarding humble details such as hunting for proper rooms at a reasonable price, etc.....And as far as work was concerned, how many Indian students could testify to his untiring and inspiring guidance, given in a generous spirit of friendly collaboration! I shall not dwell longer on the subject, however, as articles written by Indians themselves have already paid due tribute to his kindness.

The brief survey attempted in the preceeding pages cannot pretend to give an adequate picture of Professor Sylvain Levi's work and variety of interests. Instead of quoting at random a number of titles of books and articles, we prefer to advise Indian readers to refer to Dr. Bagchi's article and bibliography, published in the Indian Historical Quarterly (March 1936).

Three other publications are due to appear shortly, which will provide still more complete information :

A notice by Professor Renou in the *Journal Asiatique*.

In the "Bibliographie Bouddhique," a complete bibliography of Sylvain Levi's works, prepared by Mr. Maschino, with a complete index of names, subjects, etc.....by Madame Stchoupak. (Geuthner, ed.)



Prof. and Madame Sylvain Levi in Indian Costume
Photo by Haripada Ray

A Memorial Volume (containing some forty-five articles of Sylvain Levi, reprinted from books or scientific periodicals) for which subscriptions are invited. (Hartmann, ed., 11, Rue Cujas, Paris, Ve).

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Even thus it is difficult to realize the amount, as well as the quality of valuable research and elucidation summed up in these writings. "None has been bolder in forming hypotheses, and yet more cautious in proclaiming results," very appositely remarked one of his earliest collaborators. It must not be forgotten, either that while Sylvain Levi won fame as a linguist, an epigraphist, an archæologist, a geographer, a historian, a humanist, etc., he was also, during all his life, a professor. And it is chiefly in that capacity that he remains in the memory of those who had the privilege of being his pupils.

Extraordinarily vivacious in spite of his seventy-two years, Professor Sylvain Levi always walked briskly into the lecture-hall, and, with a cordial smile, started by shaking hands with every one present, in his own dignified and informal manner. He had generally brought with him a load of new books, which would be circulated and commented upon. Or, he would read out to us letters received from friends and pupils, very often from India, and sometimes even in Sanskrit!

Then the lecture would begin. And whatever the subject, it always included unforseen digressions, where novel ideas, questions and answers, would flash backwards and forwards, provoking reflection and offering a wealth of suggestions for research work in various fields.

When a pupil came to him, whether young or old, rich or poor, he would be treated on a footing of equality. Sylvain Levi never "bossed over" people. He started by observing them, putting questions and listening to the answers: "What are you doing? Why? What is your idea?" He wished to understand those he met, and help them to utilize their capacities to the fullest extent. Many appealed to him for advice, and he never refused an interview. He was frank and of good counsel, never gave any but accurate information, never overlooked a failure or error, but the final note was one of sound and cheerful encouragement. Even after long years had elapsed, his pupils kept in touch with him and remained close friends of his. He had a gift for attracting people and was himself a most faithful and charming friend. It was delightful to see him in his family where he lived as the model of a perfect "grihastha;" in his country-house near Paris, he was fond of working in the garden, with his grandchildren playing round. There was a very pleasing contrast between his serious and accurate scientific mind and his sympathetic, humorous, human personality.

In addition to his professional work, Sylvain Levi had lately added a heavy burden upon his venerable shoulders. He took the lead in organizing relief-work here in favour of the Jews exiled from across the frontiers. Few of us realized how much of his time and vitality was devoted to this difficult and selfless task, until we heard that death had struck him as he was on the point of presiding over one of these Jewish committees. The strain and emotion had been too much for him.

His disappearance was so sudden, that even now it is difficult to believe that he is not simply on a journey and that he will never return in our midst again. But we realize the truth when we call at his home, and enter the room where we so often saw him at work. Madame Sylvain Levi is now sitting there alone, after so many years of close and faithful collaboration. Yet on the table, on the mantlepiece, on the walls, photographs of him smile at us and revive memories of his versatile genius. This photograph was taken when he was young, and that other during a journey in Palestine. There he is dressed as a Japanese among his Japanese pupils. And again in India he appears with the *dhoti korta* and scarf. And underneath another photograph, where he seems to be pensively reawakening the souvenirs of all these journeys in his heart and mind, a Sanskrit verse is written which was particularly dear to him, because it summed up his conception of life:

अयं निजः परो वेत्ति गणना लघुचेतसाम्।
उदारचरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्॥

He is my own, he is a stranger; this is the way light-minded people reckon; but for the high-minded, the world is their family-home.

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A JAPANESE EVANGELIST IN AMERICA

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE
State University of Iowa, U. S. A.

Toyohiko Kagawa, Japan's No. 1 Christian, has been visiting key cities and speaking to large assemblies in many parts of these United States for the last few months. Not only is he an evangelist, but he is a poet, a novelist, an editor, an organizer of the co-operative movement, a social reformer, a politician, and a pacifist. He is sometimes described as the "Gandhi of Japan." Tens of thousands of words are being printed about Kagawa in the American religious press. He is today probably the most widely known Japanese in America, especially among its church-goers.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose and Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa

Kagawa-sen, as he is called by the Japanese, is one of the most publicized men in the Sun-Rise empire. He is short, chunky, blunt and forty-seven years old. This little brown man with a heavy jet-black hair has a solemn face, though now and then it wears an evangelical smile. He is very weak-sighted. Sharing his lodging with a diseased beggar resulted in his contracting trachoma. "For forty days I was blind, but God was with me," he said. He lost the sight of one eye and can read with a lens only four hours a day with the other. Still, he manages to write three books a year.

Toyohiko Kagawa has had an unusual life and a challenging career. He is the illegitimate son of an aristocratic but profligate father and a "convenient" mother—a geisha woman. The father was rich, but morally impossible. The boy was given the name of Toyohiko or Rich Man. Kagawa itself means Happy River. Orphaned at four, Toyohiko went to live with his father's legal wife. She frequently beat him, screaming: "You are the son of my enemy!" His youth was one of loneliness, neglect, abuse and tears.

At fourteen he got permission to attend an English Bible class to learn the language. The class was run by an American missionary. His guardians proposed a diplomatic career for him. "Christianity is a traitor's religion," they warned him. But English is necessary for an educated man, they reasoned, and the Bible class under an American offered an excellent opportunity to learn English. His keenness for English insured his regular attendance at the class. Behold! inside of a year the boy was converted and baptized. It is, of course, an oft-told story in India. I dare say there are not many who do not know how Indian youths are subtly converted—or is it perverted?—in English Bible classes. It seems to me that all talk of running Bible classes to teach English is pure moonshine. Indeed, the under-handed activities of these classes are no longer news, even in Kamchatka.

Well, after Kagawa "fell for" Christianity, missionaries gave him a scholarship in the Presbyterian College, Tokio. From there he went to a theological seminary at Kobe, where he divided his time between books and working in the city's slums.

In 1909 he rented in Shinkaw, the worst slum district of Kobe, a little room. In this pest-hole he lived fourteen years surrounded by

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poverty, disease and misery. There he toiled unweariedly among outcasts, beggars, murderers, thieves, and other human derelicts. His room was theirs, so were his food and clothing. Kagawa never kept more than one suit of clothing—if some one gave him a suit, he said "Thank you"—and at once handed it to some desperate case, more needy than he. He denied himself food so as to feed someone hungrier than himself. He welcomed men dying of disease and nursed them with his own hands. From a filthy beggar with whom he shared his tiny room he caught trachoma, which cost him the sight of one eye. A ruffian knocked out four of his front teeth when he refused him money to buy liquor. Mr. Kagawa now grins when he relates the story: "I now have an alibi for not pronouncing the English language adequately." He loved those wretches. He refused to call upon the police for protection even when his life was threatened.

In 1917 Kagawa left his hovel for Princeton Theological Seminary in the United States. During the two years in this school he learned, apart from his theology, the meaning of a new word—"organization." When he got back to Japan he made a realistic application of it. Dr. Kagawa—for Princeton had granted him Bachelor of Divinity degree—devoted himself to various trade union activities. The young Princeton B.D. organized the Japanese Federation of Labor, the Farmers' National Federation, the first laborers' school, and the first laborers' newspaper.

Kagawa and his comrades first demanded and put through factory laws, first protected the peasant girls who were being drawn by tens of thousands into cotton and silk industries, and first organized the peasants into group resistance against the exactions of landlords. These pioneer reformers, according to one chronicler, founded and built farmers' and laborers' co-operatives and, in spite of the government's close connection with big business, forced it to be friendly towards co-operative manufacturing and distributing of food and clothing at cost. They had gone to jail in the first worker's strikes, for they held that laborers are first of all human beings. As such, they have inherent and inalienable rights to organize themselves to better their conditions.

Kagawa is a mystic—as all religious men are, more or less—but not to excess. In India there are some who spoof themselves into thinking that inertia is mysticism. There is, however, no disposition on Kagawa's part to say "Let God do it," and take no pains on his own account. No doubt he has religious faith; but it is not of the kind which says, "It is enough for me to lean upon the Rock of Ages," and then takes a snooze. Kagawa ventures out, comes to grips with political and economic realities, and proceeds to the best of his light about the business of Kingdom coming. He perceives the intimate connection between the spiritual and the economic problems of contemporary life. Even those of us—the majority, of course—who have no truck with theology can see that Kagawa's is no lean-back, lazy faith.

From 1919, onward, he had taken an active part in politics, speaking and writing for the cause of universal suffrage, for the betterment of the conditions of the working classes, and for social reform in general. He is a persistent agitator, as Christ of the Gospels was. It was largely through Kagawa's agitations that Japan secured in 1927 universal manhood suffrage.

Kagawa is a pacifist. In 1930 he was the only Japanese to sign the manifesto presented to the League of Nations against conscription. Other important personages signing it included Tagore, Gandhi, Romain Rolland, and Einstein.

The national tradition of Japan, like that of our own Rajputana, centers in a peculiar way around militarism. Japan's development as a modern power was largely through its military expansion in Asia. The few pacifists that there are in Nippon are therefore natural zeroes.

So far as is known, only one Japanese Christian had been imprisoned for outspoken opposition to recent Japanese militarism in eastern Asia, and that Christian was not Kagawa. Asked if he believed in the expansion of the Japanese empire, Kagawa observed shrewdly: "I suppose the Dutch expanded when they took Formusa; I suppose the French expanded when they took Indo-China. The British expanded when they grabbed India and seized large control of Chinese ports and Chinese trade. You see, we have excellent precedents for expansion, and we have also serious problems caused by overpopulation and unemployment." The little Christian man from Japan, a curious non-resister, does not seem to comprehend that the European imperialist countries, which have swallowed vast chunks of Asian territories, were motivated solely by altruism. Moreover, it was the "divine mission" that they were carrying out of making the world happy! Isn't the sword always right and just? Was justice ever seen in modern times to oppose conquerors and usurpers? Anyway Japan is now exposed to imperialism, and imperialism is a very contagious disease.

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Mr. Kagawa remarked on one occasion that there are four types of pacifists in the world: 1. sentimental pacifists who confine their activities chiefly to the press and platform; 2. moral pacifists such as conscientious objectors; 3. rational pacifists who organize the Hague conference, the League of Nations, peace conventions and disarmament conferences; 4. co-operative pacifists who "give their energies to laying economically and socially just foundations for future peace, yet realize that until such justice obtains and a fair distribution of the world's goods is realized, causes of war will persist and acquisition by fighting will continue to be preferable to starvation and loss of self-respect." More recently he said again: "The way to stop war is by co-operative movements, by co-operative international trade, by co-operative marketing." As a militant pacifist, he pins his faith to the establishment of co-operatives which are to reach out from a national to an international function. Kagawa gave tongue to hope that the co-operative movement will eliminate war, depression, unemployment, poverty and misery.

The co-operative brotherhood of which Kagawa is an evangel is to come here and now, and not at some distant and shadowy hereafter. He goes straight to the heart of the problem, to the starving millions of the underprivileged, and shows them how to organize co-operatives and how to improve their present lot. Besides consumers' and producers' co-operatives, he has helped the poor people of his country through international marketing, utilities, insurance and mutual aid co-operatives, as well as credit unions for banking. These mutual aid co-operatives include 67 co-operative hospitals all over Japan, where the physicians enjoy the certain security of fair salaries, and the people can have their hospitalization for about one-third of what the old system cost them. His establishment of co-operative societies, which have enrolled 25 million farmers and laboring men of Japan, is perhaps his greatest single achievement. Religious nature often unfits a man for practical existence, but not Kagawa's. If Mahatma Gandhi is a combination of Jesus, St. Francis and Tolstoy, Kagawa-sen may be described as a combination of Japanized St. Paul, Karl Marx and Henry Ford.

Despite his smallish stature, the Japanese messiah is a man of bulk and beam. He is also a hard worker, a prolific writer. His working hours are reported to be long. They permit him only four or five hours of sleep a night. Only 47 years old now, he has something like 60 books to his credit. These books range from religion to poetry, and fiction to economics. He has produced some of the "best sellers" in Japanese fiction. "By novels," he said, "I can reach such people as prostitutes who otherwise remain untouched" by higher literature. The book which did most to establish his fame as a writer was an autobiographical novel called *Shisen Wo Koete*, or "Across the Death-line." This volume sold through nearly 400 editions.

When I requested him to give me a list of his most important works, he shook his head and said with apparent modesty that he was "a bad writer." He admits that he is writing too much, but that since it is one way of laying before his countrymen the necessity for social and political reforms, he intends to continue using his pen.

Those who are connoisseurs of Japanese poetry assure me that Toyohiko Kagawa is a poet with an authentic gift for lyric utterance. To give a sample of his poetry, let me quote his poem on "Discovery" which appears in his *Songs from the Slums*:

I cannot invent
New things,
Like the airships
Which sail
On silver wings;
But today
A wonderful thought
In the dawn was given,
And the stripes on my robe,
Shining from wear,
Were suddenly fair,
Bright with a light
Falling from Heaven—
Gold, and silver, and bronze
Lights from the windows of Heaven.
And the thought
Was this:
That a secret plan
Is hid in my hand;
That my hand is big,
Big,
Because of this plan.
That God,
Who dwells in my hand,
Knows this secret plan
Of the things He will do for the world
Using my hand!

Kagawa, with the immoderate zeal of a convert, exhibits the greatest passion of his life to proselytize Japanese into Christians. But Japan is a country of vigorous nationalism—nationalism which strives constantly to glorify and deify the nation. Whatever may be the academic

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shortcomings of this philosophy of nationalistic devotion, it alone is capable in this treacherous modern world of standing up and hurling back Western aggressions. And since the Japanese are intensely nationalistic, they are not in favor of wholesale importation of an alien religion.

In 1930 Rev. Doctor Kagawa launched with loud hosannas a three-year evangelistic campaign, called the Kingdom of God Movement. This was to increase the number of Japanese Christians from a quarter of a million to a million. When remonstrated with upon the magnitude of the figure aimed at, the Rev. Doctor replied: "There are twenty-seven million Japanese frequenting houses of ill-fame, is it an exaggeration to aim at one million converts?" The first year of his three-year plan was given to evangelism, the next to education by which was meant the training of lay preachers to reach the non-Christian masses. The third year was devoted to propagating the Christian cult through the churches, the co-operatives and the mutual aid societies. The Kagawa co-operatives even offered their own "Kingdom of God" soap. But did they succeed in recruiting a million customers? After the evangelistic crusade of three years, it was found that the number of Christians in Japan—all told—did not far exceed 250,000 and that the houses of pleasure were still more popular than the Christian churches.

Toyohiko Kagawa is an "Exhibit A" of the Christian missions. That explains in part why he is so popular in America with churchmen and other missionary workers, and why they surround him with aura of hero-worship. As the Chicago *Unity* reported the other day, he is being entertained in America at great dinners in luxurious golden banqueting halls. They are de luxe parties. He is taken to gorgeous hotels and asked to speak in still more gorgeous churches, frequented by the swanks and snobs. "We do not recall," says the Chicago paper, "that when Gandhi went to London in 1931, he was received in this fashion. On the contrary, he spoke to London at the Friends Meeting House, and he was entertained at Kingsley Hall in the depths of the slums of Bow." That may be due to the fact that Gandhiji is a non-Christian and worse, a representative of what Tagore delights to call the "no-nation" country.

I heard the Japanese exhorter once address a mass meeting, and I also read a good many of his speeches as reported in the press. Mr. Kagawa is not a great speaker. Most of his exhortations seem to be fourth-rate utterances, especially when they confine themselves to post-mortem religious matters.

As Mr. Kagawa warms up on the platform, he begins to fling his arms around. His voice reminds me of the harsh rumbling of empty casks. He is not of course at home in English, and his pronunciation is so poor that he is not even easily understood. When he tells the audience that he belongs to the Presbyterian "denomination," it sounds exactly like Presbyterian "damnation."

Kagawa, in the stellar role of a missionary, avers that America is half Christian and half pagan. "Young men in this country do not know the New Testament. Too many are skeptical. Sixty-two millions of Americans never go inside a church. Materialism will not win. You should apply Christianity to industry and politics," I heard him say. It was not all pretty.

The substance of many of his sermons is that the church can no longer succeed with sales talk about attractive sites in Paradise, while ignoring poverty, slums and oppression in this world. He also tells Americans that rev. clergymen and missionary societies should stop to satisfy people in this life with gaudy promises of gold-paved streets in the next. These are certainly dangerous thoughts. And Americans, with patriotic fervour, do resent the free advice of a foreigner. Indeed Rev. Dr. Harold Strathearn, executive secretary of Interstate Evangelistic Association, has publicly demanded to know: "Do we need to import the Japanese to tell us how to run our business, our homes, our churches?"

Missionary enterprise is a sort of boomerang. About seventy years ago the United States sent its first Christian missionary to Japan. And now a Japanese practitioner of conversion invades America and wants to convert its citizens to Christianity. Oh, how the chickens do love to come home to roost!

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GREAT BRITAIN'S FOREIGN POLICIES

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

In an after-dinner speech at Oxford last week-end the Vice-Chancellor made an interesting comment upon present day youth and the difficult position in which it finds itself. In the days when he was an undergraduate young men came up to Oxford with the idea that for the next few years that was their job—there they were free to learn from their studies and from each other while the world outside could be left for the time being to the guidance of their elders and betters. But for the present generation it is far otherwise. If anyone said to an undergraduate today that he could safely leave the world to the guidance of his elders, he would probably reply: Oh yeah. . . ! For they must all feel now that the world is moving so rapidly towards disaster that unless they take hold of things now there may not be any world left for them to come into.

It is bad luck on the young that they should be growing up in times so out of joint, bad luck that they should have to grapple with the world before they have had the time to equip themselves. And one wonders indeed whether they really will have the satisfaction of influencing the course of events the least little bit. The Oxford Union declares that it will never again fight for King and Country (though it might for law and order as evinced in the League of Nations). The Cambridge Union makes the Emperor of Abyssinia an honorary member, thereby showing its contempt for the timid policies of the British Government. But is the present collection of our rulers even interested? They seem to have no policy whatever except that of rearmament. No idea behind the rearmament except the old idea that Germany is a menace and must be outdone in war preparations.

The cry goes up on every side that what we want most now is leadership. In a play by Tchehov now running in London someone remarks that whenever anyone cannot think of anything to say they remark: O youth, youth! Similarly in politics today, whenever anyone cannot think of anything to say they remark: O what we want is leadership! But what we want is not so much leadership as a *policy*. The peace movement is probably the strongest body of opinion in the country. If only our so-called leaders (and several seem to aspire to that title in and out of the Government) would hearken to that opinion, and really define a foreign policy based upon the pursuit of peace, a new direction would be given to world affairs—perhaps the world could even at this late date be turned away from disaster.

But the British Government at the present moment is speaking with several voices. A week or two ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer revealed to a local Tory meeting that Sanctions were as good as abandoned. To continue with them, he said, would be midsummer madness. The matter of such a speech was deplorable enough, but what could be said for the manner? It was a novel way for the country to learn of an important change in Government policy! Didn't it embarrass the Foreign Secretary? Didn't it embarrass the Prime Minister? It was presumptuous in a Chancellor of the Exchequer to make such an announcement at his own particular meeting: he was usurping the role of the Prime Minister. As Mr. Lloyd George remarked, the heir to the throne was trying on the crown in public.

Perhaps by the time this reaches India the heir to the throne will have made himself king and we shall have Mr. Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister. Mr. Baldwin, at any rate, is behaving very oddly. He is resting at Chequers. As one political observer unkindly comments, he is following the example of his "extinguished predecessor" who used to make a habit of resting at Lossiemouth. . .

But the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not the only member of the Government who has been showing himself more royalist than the king. The Secretary of State for War, Mr. Duff Cooper, has also been making announcements. This time it was in a speech made in *Paris* that the country learned it was committed to a new direction in foreign policy. Mr. Duff Cooper said to a French audience: "Mr. Baldwin, our Prime Minister, has said that the frontier of Great Britain is on the Rhine. Your frontier is, therefore, our frontier." And he went on to refer to the covenant of the *entente cordiale* as being sealed with blood. Passing over the use of the word covenant (there is nothing like borrowing your opponents' phraseology) the reference to its being sealed with blood is most unfortunate and provocative. As Sir Archibald

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Sinclair asked in the House of Commons, isn't this a reference to two nations united against a third—to France and England united in fact against Germany?

This latest indiscretion was debated in the House of Commons yesterday and Sir John Simon was put up by the Government to defend it. It is an index to the Government's state of mind, as to their apprehension, that they always put up Sir John Simon when they have anything sticky to defend! As if a defence by a brilliant advocate proved anything—could mitigate in the very minutest degree the genuine alarm of the common people, not to mention the repercussions abroad. But the Government by now is quite out of touch with public opinion anywhere.

Sir John Simon stated that a draft of the speech made by the Secretary of State for War had been submitted to the Foreign Office for its approval. Certain alterations were suggested by the Foreign Office and were incorporated in the speech—but *owing to pressure of engagements* the Foreign Secretary did not see the final form of the speech! (Whose is the hidden hand at the Foreign Office? It will be remembered that a most uncalled for telegram was sent to Abyssinia at a critical time in its affairs.) Owing to pressure of engagements, we may add, Germany's rapidly vanishing goodwill has been given every encouragement to evaporate altogether . . . Mr. Lloyd George tried to get Sir John Simon to state what were the alterations proposed by the Foreign Office. Were they merely verbal alterations or were they alterations of substance? But Sir John Simon evaded the question. He tried to turn it off by reiterating that the impression had got about that the Secretary of State for War had been advocating a military alliance between England and France—and by insisting that he did nothing of the kind. With a rhetorical flourish he concluded by "challenging" any member who had read the speech to contradict that.

But if a verbal challenge like that cannot be met with a verbal exactitude, it is still the case that Germany, and everyone else, believes that the War Secretary was in fact advocating a military alliance. The time of the speech, and the place, all subscribe to this impression and lend their powerful aid. As Mr. Attlee pointed out in the House of Commons, the speech was made at a time when there had actually been staff conversations arising out of foreign affairs between this country and France!

Germany, at any rate, is deeply offended. *The Diplomatic Correspondence,* the official mouthpiece of the German Foreign Office, says: "One must ask oneself how the co-operation and understanding which Germany also desires can be attained in such an atmosphere," and it adds that "if German efforts and traditions are discussesd and judged in such a layman manner, Germany cannot help drawing conclusions as to the nature of a willingness to come to an understanding which unhesitatingly produces injuries and insult." (This last sentence is too German evidently to stand up to translation. But the strange allusion to German traditions shows that once again Germany's pride has been hurt.)

It is humiliating for the British people that the present Government has shown itself from the beginning completely unable to mark out and follow any consistent policy in foreign affairs. There have been three Foreign Secretaries—all alas failure—and things have now come to this pass that anyone in the Cabinet seems to think he can say anything he likes anywhere he likes. Even the *Times* is getting a little anxious, a little conscious that it is not merely the Opposition but opinion abroad that has to be taken into consideration. As it remarked in a leading article yesterday, "If it becomes necessary to ask after every speech whether it is or is not an exposition of authentic and collective poicy the influence of the British Government towards peace in Europe must infallibly be weakened."

The influence of the British Government towards peace in Europe. . . . . What does that influence amount to-day? In the long run, whether of individuals or of nations, the only influence that counts is an influence on the side of justice. Expediency is always a bad guide, whatever the state of the times, if expediency means the betrayal of principles or peoples. At the present moment the British Government has, in the interests of expediency, betrayed both the principle of collective security and the people of Abyssinia. They have done so because they are afraid of Germany. They daren't risk the chance of a brush with Italy because they do not know which way Germany would jump. But what good has their timorous policies done them? Italy is contemptuous, the League is in ruins, and Germany ponders that we are saving ourselves up to go to war with her.

It is useless for the British Government to contend any longer that it supports the League of Nations or even thinks it worth while to make it an instrument. Useless for Government spokesmen to get up in the House and say that

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it was Britain who at Geneva has all along taken the lead in the matter of collective security, of initiating sanctions and so on. It was never in earnest about sanction. If it had been, it would have put on the only effective sanction: the oil sanction. ("Abyssinia," Signor Mussolini has just remarked, "will be held by aviation.") Or if it was in earnest about sanctions, about *collective* security, why did it decide independently to abandon sanctions? Why did not wait till its delegates were at Geneva, and in consultation with the delegates of the other fifty sanctionist nations, before coming to such a decision? How very incongruous to talk about collective security and at the same time allow a leading member of the Government, a Chancellor of the Exchequer, to get away with so grave an indiscretion: the grave indiscretion of letting out, at a local party meeting, the first intimation that the British Government, one of fifty sanctionist nations, was preparing to call off these sanctions.

Any one who retraces the course of the Abyssinian tragedy must feel anxious about the future. Not only Abyssinia but the last reasons for feeling any security in the world have gone too. Whatever the bogeys were that frightened our so-called leaders, they have not got rid of them. Ringing all through the mess and muddle seem to be the words: It will not and it cannot come to good.

The one person who through all these months has kept a clear head seems to be the Emperor of Abyssinia himself. He showed himself, as Professor Gilbert Murray recently pointed out at a luncheon to the Emperor of Abyssinia which I attended in London, in the beginning a consummate diplomatist. In the end, it seems, he is showing himself a scourge and a prophet.

Britain has blown hot and cold because of fear of Germany and fear of Germany is the reason why France, which more than any nation has reason to be grateful to the League of Nations, to want to support it, has sabotaged the League to placate Italy. None of these things has been overlooked by the Emperor and he has put them on record so that history shall not overlook them either. "God and history will remember your judgment," he told them in a speech to the League Assembly yesterday. And he told them in so many words: "The situation would never have developed as it has if a certain Government in Europe had not felt it necessary to obtain the friendship of Italy. A secret treaty has really affected the whole course of events." So much for France. But what of England, who administered the last stab in the back? "On the eve of my last supreme attempt to defend my people before the Assembly," he said, "has not the initiative to raise sanctions robbed Ethiopia of one of her last chances to obtain the help and the guarantee of the other members of the League?"

No. It will not and it cannot come to good.

1st July, 1936.

IS MODERN INTELLIGENCE OUTGROWING GOD?

Answers by Eminent Scientists and Other Thinkers

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

When president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sir Oliver Lodge read a paper in which he declared:

"We are deaf and dumb to the infinite grandeur around us unless we have insight enough to appreciate the Whole, and so recognize in the woven fabric of existence, flowing steadily from the loom in an infinite progress toward perfection, the ever-growing garment of a transcendent God."

In an address delivered at University College, London, Lord Kelvin (William Thompson, the eminent mathematician and physicist) related the following incident:

"More than fifty years ago, walking in the fields one day with Baron Liebig, the great German chemist, I asked him if he believed that the grass and flowers which we saw around us grew by mere electrical forces. He answered, 'No, no more than I believe that a book of botany describing them can grow by mere chemical forces.'"

I could sooner believe all the fables of the Talmud and the Koran than that this universal frame is without a Mind.—*Sir Francis Bacon.*

To the philosopher the existence of God may seem to rest on a syllogism. But in the eyes of the historian it rests on the whole evolution of human thought.—*Max Muller.*

In my scientific studies of the plant world I see God everywhere.—*Carolus Linnaeus.*

Posterity will one day laugh at the foolishness of the modern materialistic philosophers. The more I study

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nature the more I stand amazed at the works of the Creator.—*Louis Pasteur.*

The materialistic position, that there is nothing in the world but matter, is as utterly devoid of justification as the most baseless theological dogma.—*Thomas H. Huxley.*

Mind is the one aspect or phase that one knows, in everything that exists. We can know nothing but Mind.—*Baruch (Benedict) Spinoza.*

The belief that the Religion of Humanity (religion without God) will be the religion of the future is a belief countenanced neither by induction nor deduction. However dominant may become the moral sentiment enlisted on behalf of humanity, it can never exclude that sentiment, alone properly called religious, awakened by that which is behind humanity and all other things. No such thing as a "Religion of Humanity" can ever do more than temporarily shut out the thought of a Power of which humanity is but a small and fugitive product, a Power which was in course of ever changing manifestations before humanity was, and will continue through other manifestations when humanity has ceased to be.—*Herbert Spencer.*

The doctrine of Evolution asserts, as the widest and deepest truth which the study of nature can disclose to us, that there exists a Power to which no limit in time or space is conceivable, and that all the phenomena of the universe, whether they be what we call material or what we call spiritual, are manifestations of that Infinite and Eternal Power.

There is a power which is revealed every moment in every throb of the mighty dynamic life of the universe. That power we call God.—*John Fiske.*

Is there a vast spiritual existence pervading the universe, even as there is a vast existence of matter pervading it—a spirit which, as a great German author tells us, sleeps in the stone, dreams in the animal, awakes in man? Does the soul of man arise from the one—this universal spirit—as man's body arises from the other—the universal matter? Do they both in like manner return to their sources? If so, we can interpret human existence.—*John W. Draper.*

We know too much about matter to be materialists. —*Arthur J. Balfour.*

Evolution includes the whole man, all that is in man, and all the work and thought and life and aspirations of man. It all comes from the one great Source, the great Intelligence. From what other source could it come? There are reverent souls who scan the fields of nature in search of gaps,—gaps which they fill up with God, as if God lived in gaps. But evolution shows God everywhere.—*Henry Drummond.*

The infinite expanse of the universe, its growth through immeasurable periods of time, the boundless range of its changes and the rational order that pervades it, all demand an Infinite Intelligence behind the manifestations. . . . Modern Science has no kinship with atheism.—*David Starr Jordan.*

So far as we know, man is the latest development in the whirling star-mist. But the fact that he has intelligence enough to trace his evolution stands unexplained except by the presence in nature of an Intelligence far superior to his own.—*S. I. Bailey.*

Too many people have a microscopic idea of the Creator. If they would only study His wonderful works as shown in nature herself and the natural laws of the universe, they would have a much broader idea of the Great Engineer. Indeed, I can almost prove His existence by chemistry.

One thing is certain, the universe is permeated by Intelligence.

I tell you no person can be brought into close contact with the mysteries of nature, or make a study of chemistry, without being convinced that, behind all, there is a Supreme Intelligence. I am convinced of that. I think I can, perhaps I may sometime, demonstrate the existence of such Intelligence with the certainty of a demonstration in mathematics.—*Thomas A. Edison.*

Here is a blade of grass. What is it? What is it that has pushed it up through the soil, that has given it its color of green, that makes it grow larger and larger every day? We say "nature," but what is that? We say "life," but what is that? Take this grass-blade, let it dry and wither, pulverize it, turn it back to dust, burn it, until you have only the moisture, the gases, the minerals, that composed it, and have you the grass-blade? You have all that your senses can come in contact with; but what is the difference between the dead and pulverized grass-blade and the live one? Can any man on earth explain the difference without uttering the great word God? This blade of grass is a part of the universal life and spirit that is shining from its distant suns, that is swinging the planets in their orbits, that is beating in my heart, that is throbbing in my brain, that is in this mysterious thing which we call consciousness, which enables me to think "*I*" and to ask a question. It is the same life in the grass-blade that is in the "*I*," that is in all things—Infinite Life, the Soul of the World. What other name for it is there but God?—*Minton J. Savage.*

I am not an atheist, for three reasons. Atheism is wholly dogmatic in its attitude toward life. Atheism is utterly negative in its approach to life. Atheism explains nothing, and this universe demands an explanation.—*John Haynes Holmes.*

Definitions of God have been vanishing, idols have been tumbling, symbols have been falling away; but the Being has been steadily coming forward, from the background, looming up from the abyss.—*Octavius B. Frothingham.*

The evidence is overwhelming that there exists an Eternal Energy, which is Intelligent and Purposeful, and which infuses and inspires the whole creation every instant of time and throughout the infinite space.—*Charles W. Eliot.*

If religion evolves to its final satisfaction, it runs through three stages. It is the transition from God the void (no God) to God the enemy and from God the enemy to God the companion.—*Alfred N. Whitehead.*

This universe is not a vast machine of which we are merely insignificant cog-wheels driven by a blind force. It is an organism of which we are among the self-active constituent parts, each with an individuality of his own. It is a living universe, or we could not have been brought forth by it. And it is a spiritual universe, or we would not be animated by spirit. We cannot contemplate it as a whole without being impressed by its power and majesty. And we cannot examine it in detail

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without being struck by its intelligence and beauty. The manner of our birth shows that it is driven by the power of Creative Love. And taking it in the whole, Truth, Goodness, Justice, Beauty, Love, form its supreme and all inclusive character.—*Sir Francis Younghusband.*

Until man has found God, and has been found by God, he begins at no beginning and works to no end. . . . Nothing in the universe or in man's life falls into place except with God; with God who fights with man and through man against everything that is evil; who loves us all as a great captain loves his men, and stands ready to use in His immortal adventure against waste, disorder, cruelty, vice, blind force, non-existence, everything that destroys.

God is the end and the meaning of the universe, the only King. God's Kingdom on earth is not a dream or an uncertain project, but the inevitable destiny of mankind.

The end and substance of all real education is to teach men and women the battle of God against unnecessary suffering—the battle which God wages through men, to make a new and better world.—*H. G. Wells.*

The old categories of physics are not adequate even in the physical world, and purely mechanistic explanations of even the simplest living organisms are found impossible. . . . Spirit is the reality of the cosmic process.—*Professor Radhakrishnan.*

All the power that impregnates the vast field of Nature is simply and entirely what religion calls God. Science may call it by grand foreign names, and tell you of refraction and polarity, electricity and gravitation; but in the dialect of reality it is still and only God.—*James Martineau.*

I am persuaded that there is something present in the universe, pervading every atom and molecule in it, that knows what it wants—a Cosmic Mind or Intelligence that we must take account of if we would make any headway in trying to understand the world in which we find ourselves. When we deny God it is always on behalf of some other God. We are compelled to recognize something not ourselves from which we proceed, and in which we live and move and have our being, call it energy or will or Jehovah or Ancient of Days. We cannot deny it because we are a part of it. As well might the fountain deny the sea or the cloud. Each of us is a fraction of the universal Eternal Intelligence. Is it unscientific to believe that our minds have their counterpart or their origin in the nature of which we form a part? Is our own intelligence all there is of mind-manifestation in the universe? Where did we get this divine gift? Did we take all there was of it? Certainly we did not ourselves invent it. It would require considerable wit to do that. Mind is immanent in nature. . . . Wherever there is adaptation of means to an end, there is Mind.

I see the Nature Providence going its impartial way. I see drought and flood, heat and cold, war and pestilence, defeat and death, besetting man at all times, in all lands. I see hostile germs in the air he breathes, in the water he drinks, in the soil he tills. I see the elemental forces as indifferent toward him as toward ants and fleas. I see pain and disease and defeat and failure dogging his footsteps. I see the righteous defeated and the ungodly triumphant—this and much more I see.

And yet, I behold through the immense biological vista behind us the race of man slowly, oh, so slowly! emerging from its brute or semi-human ancestry into the full estate of man; from blind instinct and savage passion into the light of reason and moral consciousness. I behold the great scheme of evolution unfolding despite all the delays and waste and failures, and the higher forms appearing upon the scene. I see on an immense scale, and as clearly as in a demonstration in a laboratory, that good comes out of evil; that the impartiality of the Nature Providence is best; that we are made strong by what we overcome; that man is man because he is as free to do evil as to do good; that life is as free to develop hostile forms as to develop friendly; that power waits upon him who earns it; that disease, wars, the unloosened, devastating elemental forces, have each and all played their part in developing and hardening man and giving him the heroic fiber.

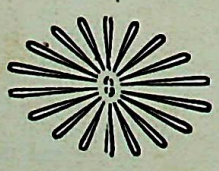
God is the fact of the fact, the life of the life, the soul of the soul, the incomprehensible, the sum of all contradictions, the unit of all diversity; he who knows Him, knows Him only in part; he who is without Him, is full of Him; turn your back upon Him, then turn your back upon gravity, upon air, upon light. He cannot be seen by physical eyes; but by Him all seeing comes. He cannot be heard by physical ears, yet by Him all hearing comes. He is not a being in the ordinary, limited meaning of that word, yet apart from Him there is no being—there is no apart from Him.—*John Burroughs.*

Wherever science has explored the universe, it has found it to be the manifestation of a definite guiding principle which leads from chaos to cosmos. Religion's name for this is God. Because the universe is a cosmos, showing everywhere guidance, continuity, dependability, therefore it cannot be the result of mere haphazard happenings. Still further, because God exists I believe also in the immortality of man's soul. Man's soul is the highest product of God's creative power. After God has spent untold time in creating man, with a nature like His own, it is unbelievable that He purposes to extinguish him at the end of this brief span of this earthly life.—*Michael Pupin.*

I am ready to give, as often before, the simple foundations of my belief, that the Author of Nature has not left Himself without a witness in any sane mind; that the moral sentiment speaks to every man the law after which the universe was made; that benefit is the uniform aim; that there is a force always at work to make the best better and the worst good.

Nature is too thin a screen; the glory of the omnipresent God breaks through everywhere.

O my brothers, God exists. There is a soul at the center of Nature and over the will of man. Ineffable is the union of God and man in every act of the soul.—*Ralph Waldo Emerson.*



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A PILGRIMAGE TO MOUNT KAILAS

By C. B. KAPUR, M.A., LL.B.

Mount Kailas in western Tibet has a prominent place in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. The mountain (22,028 feet above sea level) is best seen from a distance, and has the appearance of a somewhat lop-sided white bowler, placed on a square plinth of considerable steepness. As one approaches, the summit is more and more concealed until one can get only an occasional glimpse of it, between the ridges running down from the snow-clad cap. Though it first becomes visible on reaching the neighbourhood of the sacred lakes, Manassarowar and Rakkhas, its best and closer view is obtained only from Dindiphu Gompa, one of the four monasteries round Kailas. From this monastery it presents one of the most celestial sights I had ever the luck to see.

Kailas is about 240 miles from Almora, and this journey can be entirely done on a pony or mule. There are no political difficulties to prevent Indians from entering western Tibet for the sake of pilgrimage or trade, though Tibetans are somewhat loath to grant permission to Europeans. So this fact affords the opportunity to many devout Hindus from India and Nepal to make this pilgrimage, perhaps the most difficult and holiest of all, in fairly large numbers every year. A few years ago, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore visited this place. As one has to cross the high Himalayas before entering Tibet, the best period for doing this pilgrimage is from June to September, for until then the Himalayan passes remain buried under heavy snow.

A traveller wishing to enter Tibet from the Almora district of the United Provinces, has before him the choice of two main routes. The first goes by the valley of Sarju to Milam, thence over the Himalayan passes of Utadhuva (17,700 feet), Jaimti (18,600 feet) and Kingribingri (18,400 feet), to the Tibetan market at Gyanima.

The other and easier route and the one most popular with the pilgrims is up the Kali Valley *via* Garbyang to Lipu-Lek-Pass (16,700 feet) within easy reach of the big Tibetan market at Taklakot. This pass can be crossed about 6 months in the year and also by mules.

These two valleys pierce the central chain of the Himalayas and are the homes of Bhotias, a people, probably of Tibetan origin, though now professing the Hindu religion. They prefer to be called Rajputs, for the name Bhotia is also applied to the people of western Tibet, than whom they are ten times lovelier and cleaner.

A Bhotia woman in daily wear

These people have a monopoly of trade between India and western Tibet, which no one is likely to deprive them of while the means of communication remain in the present state. Every year, they carry up into Tibet, on their mules, jibhoos (a mixed breed of yak and cow) and sheep, rice and other grains, cloth and various kinds of haberdashery, returning with wool, borax and salt. But for these people western Tibet would probably starve, as the high altitude of most of the Tibetan plateaus,

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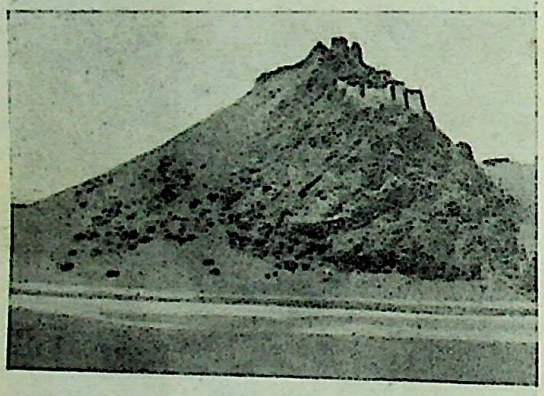
and the nomadic habits of the people render cultivation impossible. Thus the country has the appearance of a big, treeless, barren, dry desert, with beautiful plains of immense extent.

I did this pilgrimage with a friend of mine in the months of May and June, about a month earlier than the usual period. And in doing so we had the advantage of avoiding the rainy season in Tibet, which commences usually in the month of July. But one chief disadvantage we suffered from on this account was the scarcity of obtaining even the simplest of provisions. For there was yet a month more for the holding of the big annual markets in Tibet at Taklakot and Gyanima, and it is in these three market months that the people of Tibet do all their year's shopping.



Jiu Monastery

Our main preparations for this tough journey were made at Lahore, I mean the purchasing of some tinned food, photographic materials, a light cooking apparatus and hiring of small waterproof tents. The first stages of our journey were easy. The train carried us to the terminus station Kathgodam, whence a motor bus brought us to Almora, the chief hill-station in the province. The motor-road from Kathgodam to Almora is one of the best I have so far seen in the hills in India, and passes through a green valley.

On 4th May, quite early in the morning, we left Almora after making our last preparations there, with one cook, a young man of good physique, and two local coolies, obtained from the Almora coolie agency. We all carried our luggage on our backs, though we two were more lightly laden than the rest. We took about 8 days to reach Bulwakot, the lowest and the hottest place on our route (2,500 feet only). One day's march from here brought us to another low place, Darchula. These two places are the winter homes of Bhotias. Nearly 6 months in a year they live in these two places and in summer they move up to their higher valleys. When we reached these places, most of these Bhotias had already started upward with their women, children, and cattle, all fully loaded. We met hundreds of them on our way and were on very good terms with these charming people.

The road up to this time was quite good and broad, but with a lot of ups and downs. The permanent residents of this part are called only Paharis and are Hindu Rajputs. They live mainly by the cultivation of the soil, which is done on a fairly large scale, but it went on decreasing as we ascended up into the narrow and colder valleys. From here till the crossing of the Himalayan pass, we had climbing all the time—a climb from 2,500 feet to 17,700 feet was nothing short of a tough job. Here for the first time we saw the real lofty Himalayas with steep and straight walls of solid rock. This part of the journey from Darchula to Garbyang was done in eight marches. It has one of the most unsafe roads ever crossed by me. Somewhere it is as narrow as to be only a foot in width and we were told several cases of cattle falls occur every year in this part of the journey. This path has been built at the expense of thousands of rupees. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, we were told, also devoted Rs. 40,000 to the making of this way, which has been made by cutting solid and huge rocks.

About two marches before reaching Darchula and also at Askot, one gains an incomparable view of the serene beauty of the peaks of Nanda Devi, Nanda Kot and Trisul. Sometimes when we climb to 10,000 or 20,000 feet above sea level, it is not only our bodies that we raise to that height. I believe, it happens sometimes that our minds are also uplifted to a higher plane. When I first looked upon that marvellous vision of Nanda Devi and Trisul, I felt that they well deserved the words of Victor Hugo and might well be termed "headlands into the infinite."

Nanda Devi (25,600 feet), in the Garhwal Himalayas, is the highest mountain situated entirely within British territory. There are no political difficulties to prevent anybody from going there at any time. Inspite of this no one has yet succeeded in reaching the base of this grand mountain, much less in setting foot on its top. But the summit of Trisul was reached by that great intrepid mountaineer, Dr. Longstaff, many years ago.

After a tiring ascent of about one thousand feet, we reached Garbyang on the evening of May 20th, all drenched in pouring rain. This

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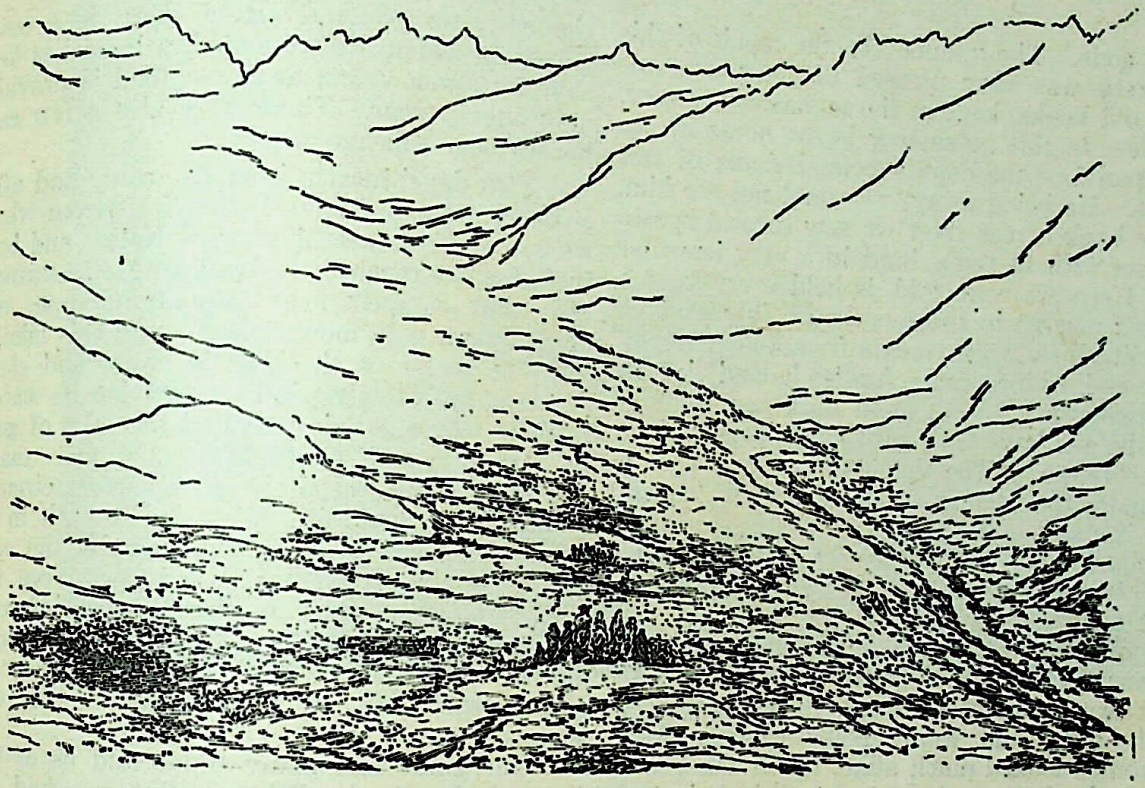

A Himalayan Pass
Sketch By PRAMODEKUMAR CHATTERJEE

is the last British station and post office, on the Almora-Kailas route and is situated in a big plateau about 10,300 feet above sea level. All the Bhotias had not returned yet to this village and it was still pretty cold here. From here the Nepal border across Gouri Ganga river, on whose bank we had been marching so long from Darchula, is hardly 200 yards. The high snow-clad mountains on the Nepal border give a special charm to Garbyang.

We spent two days here in resting, and, as we had to dismiss our Almora coolies, also in arranging for new coolies. As the snow was still deep on the pass, no animal could be obtained for carrying our luggage over the pass. But we were lucky to get three Tibetan coolies, who knew the pass very well. We also took from here a guide for Tibet. He knew its language very well and spoke it much better than he spoke Hindustani with us. He had already served with many big people as an interpreter and guide and was very clever. He proved to be a great help to us all the time we were in Tibet.

After two days' upward march from Garbyang, we camped at Synchum, a place about 15,200 feet high, just at the foot of the Lipu pass. The whole place here was covered with snow except a small portion where we had pitched our tents and were cooking our food, with the wood brought from the last place of stay, Kalapani. It was terribly cold and windy here, but we were lucky in having ideal weather and started towards the pass at about 3 in the morning. We saw the sunrise at the top of the pass and on 23rd May pitched our first camp in Tibet, at Taklakot, which is only 7 miles across the Himalayan border.

From the top of the pass we had the first wonderful view of the vast treeless plains of Tibet, the highest country in the world, better known as the 'Table-land' of the world. The soft and bracing air of the pass very soon soothed our tired nerves. We seemed serenely apart from the noisy turmoil of humanity, and, bathed in the healthy morning sunlight, I was able to drink in all the spirit of loveliness around me.

Taklakot is situated on both sides of a muddy river Karnali, and has several houses, with small flags flying over the roofs of them all. This is one of the districts of the province of western Tibet. The capital of this province is Gartok, where lives the "Gorpan" or the viceroy, who is appointed from Lhasa. At the top of a muddy hill across the river, is a very big 'gompa' or monastery, in which we found very well kept brass images of Buddha and some

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Hindu gods. The "lama" or the monk of this monastery was very pleased to show us some of the old books, kept in the monastery library.

Close to this monastery is the house of the "Jongpan" or the deputy commissioner of this district. He being away, we could not see him. On the bank of the river we saw several houses of stones without roofs, built in a very irregular way. Here, we were told, is held every year a very big market in the months of July, August and September, when traders from India, Nepal, Lhasa and China, come for trade and live in these temporary houses or in their own tents.

Tibetans have their own currency, which is called "tanka." The value of one tanka is a little more than 2 annas. But, Indian (rupees only), Nepalese and Chinese coins are also taken in exchange here. Tibetans have no faith in paper currency and they always refused to accept our currency notes.

Soon after our arrival in Taklakot, several Tibetans flocked to our camp and stayed there till it was absolutely dark. They were all awfully dirty and wore greasy clothes. Men and women looked much alike, for in Tibet men (except the lamas) do not cut their hair and very few have hair on their chins. They all smelled profusely and touched nearly all the things we wore or carried with us, like children. They have never seen the things which we had, modern material civilization not having reached their country yet.

In Taklakot, we hired yaks (the Tibetan bulls) for carrying our luggage, and on the 25th May at about 7 A.M. made our way towards the holy lakes. For some 3 miles the way was fairly level, but after passing the tomb of Zorawar Singh, the Sikh general, who was defeated and killed here in 1841, we found ourselves breasting a long and steady climb. Up to this point there had still been some amount of cultivation to be seen, with here and there a house, but we never saw a single tree in Tibet. There are no regular roads in Tibet. They are simply paths made by the habit of yaks of walking one after the other. They are also somewhere marked by the erection of 'monies' and 'chortens' (holy walls of stones) in the middle of the paths, which have always to be passed on the left.

Towards midday the wind rose and the sun was very powerful, while water was absent till we reached Rumgong. We pitched our tents on the bank of the river Gurla. There is here a fairly good camping place partially sheltered from the winds by the high banks of the river and partially by the stone walls made round the camping grounds. Here there is a small gompa in which, we were told, a lama has been shut for seven years, to whom food is provided only once a year. There were also a few cave houses near this monastery.

Two days' march from Rumgong and after crossing a col of about 16,000 feet, from where we got the first distant view of Kailas and both the lakes, we reached the bank of Manassarowar lake and camped near Thukar Gompa, one of the seven holy monasteries round this lake.

The water of the lake is sweet and clear. A strong and steady wind was driving its waters in little waves. This is called the lake of gods by Hindus and Buddhists. We met many Tibetans doing the holy *parikrama* (circumambulation) round it. We tried a bath in it, but were forced to come out soon by the cold of the water. After tea, we went to see the Thukar Gompa, which we found quite interesting and curious. In Tibet, we had not to open our shoes outside the gate of the temples as in our country, but went everywhere with our shoes on.

Our guide had many times told us of the fear of dacoits in Tibet. But we had no weapons at all with us. Before we left Rumgong, he cleverly made our ice-axes look like guns, by wrapping over them some pieces of cloth. These two imitation guns we carried on our shoulders till the last day of our stay in Tibet. Here, on the bank of Manassarowar we met a party of fearful-looking dacoits, who carried long and short spears in their hands. But seeing us young and stout people, with two guns, they changed their minds and left us uninjured after a little chat with our guide. After this incident, we felt assured how unsafe and unpleasant it was to travel without a gun or pistol in Tibet.

These dacoits usually pounce upon those people whom they consider weak, poor and harmless. They are afraid of the European dress and big *bandobasts* which they presume to be of officials and fully armed.

Leaving Thukar Gompa and walking about 14 miles along the shores of the lake, we spent the next night near Tiu monastary on a beautiful grassy plot, but highly exposed to the winds. Tiu Gompa is built on the corner of the lake, on an isolated rock about 100 feet above the shore of the lake. It is a foundation much favoured by Olokpas, and must be one of the districts in Tibet. It overlooks a well-defined channel, running westwards from Manassarowar to Rakkhas, which has a level 50 feet lower than that of Manassarowar, which is 14,950 feet above

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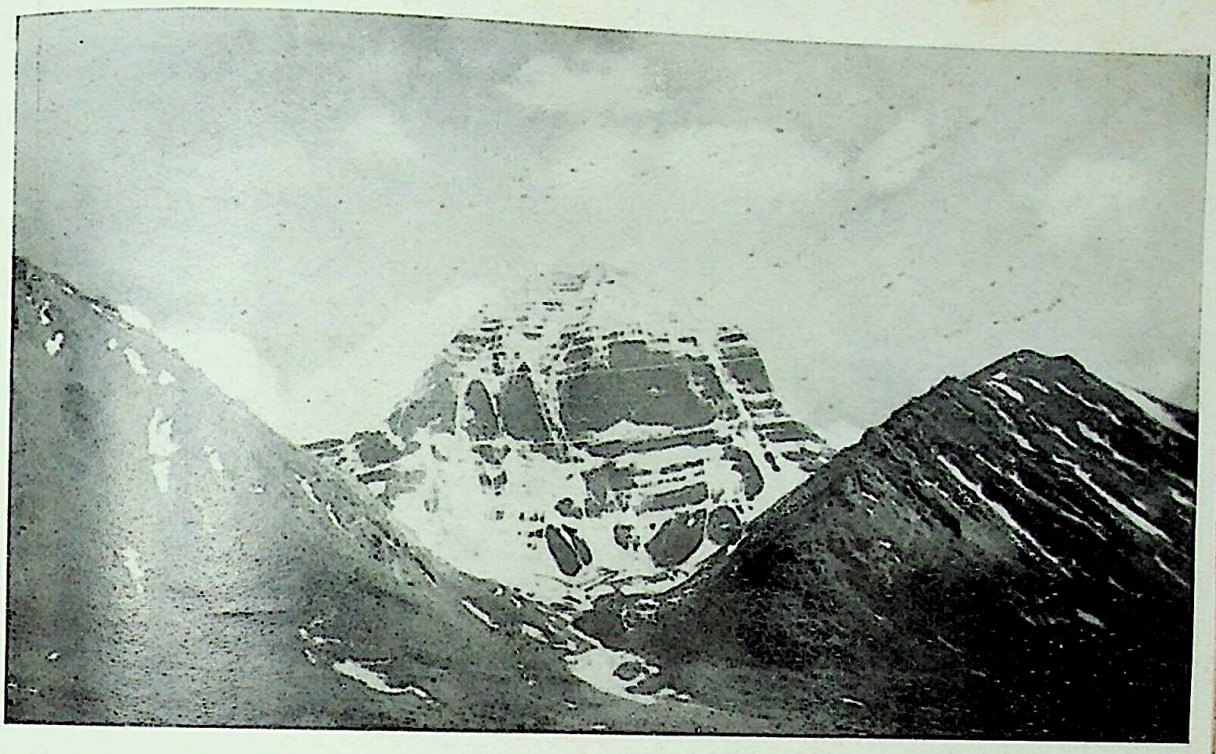
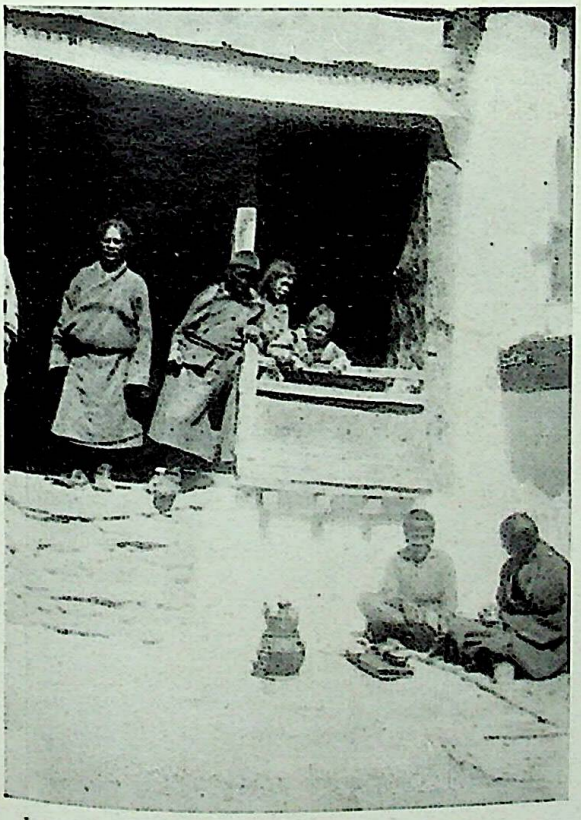
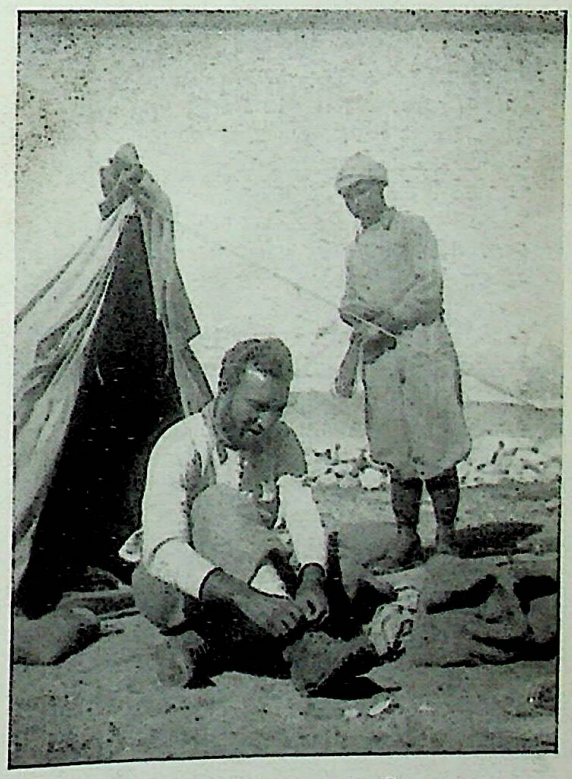


Mount Kailas from Dindiphu Monastery



Staff of Thukur Monastery



Author before his camp in Rumgong

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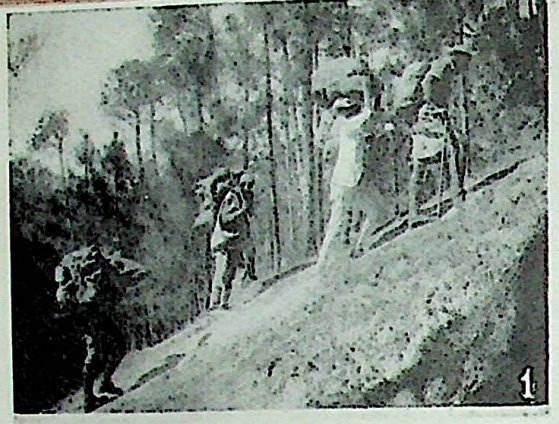

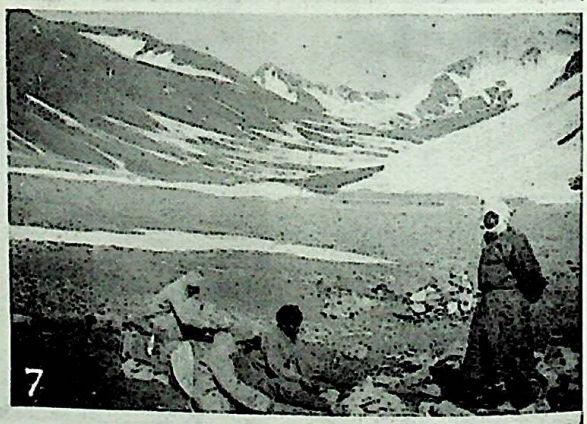

1. Party headed by author. *2.* Garbyang, last British station on Almora-Kailas route. *3.* Family photo taken at Garbyang. *4.* Bhotia women weaving. *5.* Tibetan lad performing *parikrama* by successive prostrations. *6.* Cooking on bank of Gouri Ganga. *7.* At foot of Lipu Pass, guide in forefront. *8.* Lip Leke Pass, 16,700 feet.

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On the way to Almora
Sketch By PRAMODEKUMAR CHATTERJEE

sea level. This seemed to carry the water to Rakkhas during heavy rains or the melting of large quantities of snow.

Next day, passing through the gold mines, we entered the big and open plain of Barkha, one of the great grazing grounds of this area. The village of Barkha itself is not easy to find, as it lies under a bank and is invisible till one reaches the top of it. At the northern end of this plain rise suddenly the buttresses of Kailas. Kailas looks from here like a perfect *shivalaya* in the middle of a lower range of hills. We were fortunate to see it only once from Barkha, as it was covered under heavy clouds all the time we were in Barkha.

Barkha lies on the Ladak-Lhasa trade route, and in the market season lots of camps of traders can be seen pitched in its big plain. Otherwise off season, there is not much to see here. There are only two mud-houses and a courtyard. In one of these lives the "Tasam" or the Tehsildar, who paid a visit to our camp soon after our arrival there. He was a tall man of very good manners and was dressed cleanly. Next morning he invited us to his house and offered us Tibetan tea to drink. From here the post from Lhasa to Gartok changes.

Here we saw the Tibetans' different way of killing a goat. They do not cut it by the throat, as in our country, but by closing the mouth and nose tightly can kill it in two minutes by strangulation. The reason for not cutting at the throat is that they do not want to waste a single drop of blood, which they very fondly take by cooking it with *sattu*.

As nothing grows in Tibet itself, nearly all their food they import from other countries, mostly from India. Their main food consists of tea, *sattu*, butter, meat and milk of cow yak. Salted tea and butter mixed together in a wooden tube called "chatung" is liked by them very much. Vegetables and fruits they have perhaps never seen. But though devoid of all these luxuries of life, they are nevertheless very healthy and content. Their life on the whole is very dull and monotonous. They mainly live on the wool which they get from their innumerable herds of sheep and the salt and borax which they bring from far-off places. But most of the time they spend with their "manis" or praying-wheels or wool spinning.

Next day, crossing this plain of Barkha, at the foot of the Kailas range, we reached "Dorchan" the next big place after Taklakot in very bad weather. From here the 'parikarma' route branches off to the westward for the clockwise circuit of the mountain. Here in Dorchan is one of the four monasteries round Kailas. We were told that the Gorpan or the Viceroy was also here, staying in the monastery, for his several annual rounds of Kailas. We were glad to hear this news, as an interview with this great man was highly desirable. We were told that as he was resting quietly in the monastery after doing two 'parikramas,' it was not pleasant to see him in Dorchan. We should

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better meet him somewhere on the 'parikrama' route.

It snowed heavily all the night in Dorchan, but became clear again next morning. Leaving all our unnecessary luggage and animals at Dorchan, at about 6 A.M. on June 2nd, we set off westward for our 'parikrama' round Kailas. After walking about 3 miles we entered into a narrow but grim-looking valley, one of the grimmest I have ever seen. About 2 miles up this valley lies the Nandiphu monastery with a staff of 3 men and one woman. They showed us their well-kept brass images and library with pride. They also showed us one fierce-looking image, explaining that as policemen were few in the country, it was necessary to guard against thieves by more frightful means.

Some Tibetan boys

Coming down from this monastery and having our lunch on the bank of the river flowing in the valley, we continued our journey and reached Dindiphu monastery at about tea time in the evening. We were a little lucky to have clear weather on our 'parikrama' day and thus obtain views of Kailas. We had the most wonderful and closer view of Kailas. The light was fading and clouds were rapidly approaching the summit of Kailas and I lost no time in starting with my photography of the mountain and soon after I had finished it, Kailas was all covered with clouds.

As we carried no tent with us, we spent the night in this monastery, which has a height of about 16,000 feet above sea level. Before it was dark, we were called by the viceroy, who was also resting in the same monastery. Through our guide, he asked many questions about the new King of England, Mahatma Gandhi and our belief in God. He offered us tea and was very polite and clean. This short interview with him was very interesting and romantic.

Next morning broke fine, and we left much before sunrise to climb the Dalma pass (16,600 feet). This climb begins right after leaving the Dindiphu Gompa and ends at the top of the pass, where is also situated the famous frozen lake of "Gauri kund." As we went fasting we felt the altitude a good deal. There were several cheerful parties of Tibetans busy in performing this 'parikrama,' a distance of about 28 miles. A young Tibetan was doing this distance not by walking, as all the others did, but by lying prostrate on the ground, marking the distance to which his hands reached, and then lying prostrate from that mark again, and so on. Reaching the top of the pass we saw them crying aloud and the performing of some other religious acts by the Tibetans. The viceroy's party went a little ahead of us.

A steep descent after crossing the pass brought us to a green valley watered by the river, and about 6 miles up in this valley we reached the Jumtilphu monastery, where we stopped for our lunch, but continued our march soon again, and before it was evening we were back in Dorchan. We were terribly tired and hungry when we reached there, but a heavy dinner and sound sleep overnight made us fresh and fit as ever. Thus ended our Kailas pilgrimage at Dorchan on the 4th of June, 1936, and we began the preparations for our homeward journey.

Being afraid of the monotony of the return journey by the same route, we decided to enter India by the other route. Although we were told persistently by all whom we asked that the Kingribingri pass was not yet crossable, but still we were optimistic, and being young began our journey towards the pass fearlessly. Six days of tiresome and waterless marches *via* Gyanima brought us to the foot of it, at a place called Chitichun. Here we dismissed our guide and yaks with very liberal *bakshish*. As we were the first to cross these three passes in this year, we needed someone to show us the way over the snow. And we were lucky to find three shepherds, who on good payment agreed to go with us up to the top of the second pass.

Leaving Chitichun very early, we were able to cross the first pass of Kingribingri and be at sunrise on the top of the second pass of Tinti. Our new guides left us on the top of this pass, after showing us the third and smaller pass of Utadhura.

It was not difficult at all for mountaineers of our standing and experience to cross this third pass ourselves, after all the way had been explained to us by our Tibetan guides. But the high and steep ascents and descents of these

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three high Himalayan passes had nearly exhausted us, when we laid our limbs at rest at Dung near Milam. Here I may take the opportunity of suggesting to intending pilgrims in future to avoid as far as possible the crossing of these passes, which we found nothing but unsafe and troublesome. But the journey from Almora to Milam is as good as the one from Almora to Garbyang.

It is impossible to convey the delicious sense of relief we felt in descending from Milam, leaving behind us all the rigors of severe mountain travels and the intense cold of Tibet and with each easy step downward, feeling the air growing warmer and warmer and at length throwing ourselves into the comfortable arm-chairs of the forest rest-houses.

My friend and myself completed our return to the crowded haunts of men, accompanied by two coolies and a cook *via* Milam and Bageshwar. Thus ended at Almora some 600 miles of enjoyable pilgrimage, done entirely on foot, to the scandal of many right-thinking Indians and Tibetans.

NEWSPAPERS IN AMERICA

By PASUPULETI GOPALA KRISHNAYYA
Columbia University, New York, U. S. A.

It requires no great perspicacity to note the great standardization in American life. One can travel from one end of the United States to the other and perceive very little change in the mood of the life of the people. For instance, whenever I go out of New York to some city like Philadelphia or Boston, I hardly feel that I am out of the "big town." The same motor cars, movies, drug stores, tall buildings and the ballyhoo are everywhere. Even the political parties in America are similar. Speaking of the two leading political parties of America, someone has said with very great justification, I should venture, "Republicans are possibly more blond than Democrats but aside from that there is very little difference."

Of this standardization by far the best example is the American newspaper. Of course, there are some exceptional papers, like the *New York Times*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *Boston Transcript* or the *Christian Science Monitor*, which through the fostering of old standards or the maintenance of new ones, combined with distinctive make-up or editorial individuality, have managed to make themselves at least distinguishable from the general run of newspapers in this country.

As a rule most newspapers use matter for all their departments except local news, features from one or more efficient syndicates. This extends even to editorials.

It is these great news services which feed the journals of the country which are responsible for a large part of this standardization. The Associated Press of America, which serves nearly 2,000 papers, has representatives all over the world, besides practising the feat of deriving news from within its own family. For the "A. P." is something of a club, with limited membership, a non-money-making institution existing solely for the mutual propagation of news among its members and the co-operative gleaning of information throughout the world. It is supposed to be non-partisan, as its membership includes papers of both political parties, but, in times of what its sponsors consider national emergency, it has been known to exercise a certain paternal censorship in the matter of what news shall be sent out over the wire and what shall not.

The most successful rival to the Associated Press is the United Press, a frankly profit-making organization to which any paper may belong, even Associated Press members. Originally designed to serve the evening papers, it now goes wherever it is wanted and has acquired a membership equal to that of the "A. P.", or over 1,000 papers. It is still primarily an evening paper service, however, and, as the evening papers in America are more in the nature of household magazines and cook-books, the "U. P." dispenses more "human interest" material than its more dignified rival the "A. P."

Thus we have the inspiring thought that on the same evening throughout the broad land of America, readers of over 1000 newspapers are not only reading the same account of the current dis-

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armament conference, but are in unison devouring the same story about Hindu child marriages or about the little dog in a German town who swam through the flooded area to rescue its master's hat. Is it any wonder that America presents a united front to the world in matters of sentiment?

The two other services which carry news to the papers of the country are the International (Hearst) and the Scripps-Howard, both serving only those papers which belong to the chain owned by the distributing firms. This means that the papers in these chains get not only the same news dispatches but the same comic strips, the same recipes for cake, and the same information concerning the care and treatment of the skin. The Scripps-Howard syndicate owns papers in 30 cities, and is the nearest thing to a liberal influence in American newspaperdom (the Socialist or Labor press is practically negligible and consists almost entirely of house-organs seen only by zealots). The Hearst syndicate extends to 20 cities, although in some cities are two Hearst papers. The editorial policy of these papers depends on Mr. Hearst's current whim and that it is loud but singularly impotent is shown by the fact that Mr. Hearst has never been able to get himself elected to any public offices.

These four services, together with those syndicates which are devoted entirely to enlightening the country from coast to coast with stereotyped humorous articles, comic strips, gossip-columns, and sermons for daily spiritual needs put the finishing touch on the standardization of the American press.

In New York City where, with a few exceptions, the only real newspapers in the country are published, there is still another factor which reduces news-gathering to a mechanical reaping and binding like the preparation of wheat. An organization called the City News Association serves the press of that town with a concise and factual account of almost every event of importance taking place within the city walls. A newspaper may send its own reporter out on the story or rewrite the City News account (which comes in over the ticker, like stock-market reports) to suit the individual tone of the journal itself, but, in case the reporter happens to be looking in the other direction when an important event takes place, or if there are no reporters handy to send out on the story, the City News may be relied upon to give the unembellished facts.

It will be seen, therefore, that a paper which is a member of the Associated Press, the United Press, and the City News Association really needs no reporters at all. In fact, one of the most famous of New York newspapers was reported, during a low financial period a few years ago, to be existing almost entirely on its news services, with one or two reporters and the re-write men to give it what individuality it had.

With this great impersonal mass of machine-gathered news coming into a newspaper office, it will be understood why the reporter is becoming less and less important. And this degradation of the reporter is one of the most serious factors in weakening American journalism as a force while strengthening it as a business proposition. There is no class of American professional men of equal intelligence and ability, working every day regularly, who are as poorly paid or as badly treated as the newspaper reporters. The result of this is that eighty per cent of them consider their jobs only as stepping stones to opportunities in other lines where the financial remuneration will pay them for their apprenticeship. This attitude of mind on the part of the men who are getting out our newspapers does not make for the fostering of great journalists or the maintenance of an important journalism. In America there are hardly any journalists now of the type of W. T. Stead or our own Mahatma Gandhi, Ramananda Chatterjee, K. Natarajan or Sachchidananda Sinha, to whom journalism is more a mission than a business.

The sentimental side of newspaper life has been stressed in magazine fiction and reporterial legends until there is a general feeling, even among laymen, that the reporter's life is a romantic and happy one. The bustle of the City Room, the clatter of the presses, and the smell of the ink, all have been played up in the memories of those once connected with it until "the Newspaper Game" has become something with as many tender associations as the Old Oaken Bucket or the Swanee River. The affectionate term "newspaper game," however, is heard most often from the lips of those who were formerly engaged in it and who are now working for more money in other fields. There is a great deal of talk about how they wish they were back "in the Old Newspaper Game." But you will notice that they never go back.

The youngest, or "cub," reporters are usually just out of school and are looking for "experience." Possibly the more sentimental have hopes of some day becoming a "star reporter" or may be a great editor, but for the most part they are young men with an eye for

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PAYOFF EDITION DAILY MIRROR APRIL 2

Vol. 12, No. 244 New York, Thursday, April 2, 1936 2 Cents

Vera's Ex-Love

Here's an exclusive hitherto unpublished photo of Vera Stasty, as a child with a [illegible] sweetheart, who succeeded the slain Dr. Gebhardt. He is Ray Snell, who died of pneumonia in 1934 at the age of 21.

Story on Page 18

Official Payoff Prices and Bowie Charts on Page 36

WEATHER DAILY MIRROR PAYOFF EDITION

Vol. 12, No. 244 New York, Thursday, April 2, 1936 2 Cents

PLOT BEHIND BRUNO STAY

(Copyright 1936, Daily Mirror, Inc.)

TRENTON, April 1.—A unique political hookup, engineered in a desperate but deliberate plot to delay the execution and perhaps eventually save the face of Governor Harold G. Hoffman, of New Jersey, stands back of and makes possible the preposterous situation which is keeping Bruno Richard Hauptmann alive.

The Daily Mirror tonight established the fact that Major Allyne M. Freeman, foreman of the Mercer County Grand Jury, that took the extraordinary action which stayed the execution, is not only Hoffman's personal and political friend, but the leader of the Hoffman Republicans in Mercer County.

Continued on Page 18

The First and the Last pages of the New York *Daily Mirror*.

the future in publicity-work, scenario-writing, short-story manufacture, or political "easy money." The ideal progress for a newspaperman has been exemplified in the case of an express-correspondent who is now secretary to the President of the United States and then, as the next step up, was offered a job with a motion picture concern at three times his government salary. This is the reporter's ideal march to a Heaven on Earth.

Occasionally you will find a young reporter who hopes eventually to be a columnist (with syndicate possibilities which would bring him in almost as much money as he would get in the movies) or even who has, God help him, an ambition to become a dramatic critic. For one of these reasons he is willing to stick to the grind and poverty of newspaper work at the bottom of the ladder. Thus inspired, he tries to attract attention by injecting what is known as "personality" into his style in reporting the drab events of the day. Fortunately, most of this "personality" touch is deleted by the disillusioned editors on the Copy Desk before it reaches the printed page, otherwise American newspapers would be quite unreadable. Too much of it is allowed to get by as it is.

The older reporters, if they have not become "special writers" who sign their own names to their copy (a distinction which is becoming less and less of an honor with its widespread distribution) or who are not on their way to the good newspaperman's goal—political correspondence in Washington—are more grimly in earnest in their search for "something else." They have tried short-stories "on the side" and perhaps failed. They have possibly dabbled in theatrical press-agent work and found it a broken reed. They are now rather bitterly hanging on to the jobs they have, with a weather-eye out for those openings which good newspapermen have so often slipped into: "public relations counsel" for a Wall Street firm or a public-service corporation (a "public relations counsel" is a press-agent who gets more than $15,000 a year), private secretary to some big man in public office, or, if Heaven is good, an offer to go to Hollywood and write for the movies. The chance of becoming sub-editor on their own paper is not sufficient lure to keep their eyes away from the Great Outside. And why should it be? At best they can make only a small fraction of what they might make elsewhere, and even then they would be constantly under that sword of Damocles which hangs over all newspapermen, editors, and reporters alike, the danger of the paper being sold, or merged or discontinued, with a resultant dismissal of the entire staff with no more notice than one would give the man who comes to shovel snow from the sidewalk.

Of course, there are still reporters—and editors—who have been genuinely caught up by the spell of the work that they are doing and who would not, short of an exceptional offer, do anything else. There are also a few reporters who, like the late Mr. Lingle of Chicago, have found a way to eke out their pittance by commercializing their influence to the advantage of certain forces of evil who are willing to pay well for it. Mr. Lingle, however, found that this course of action did not pay in the end, as he was not allowed to live to enjoy the whole harvest of his duplicity. The general run of newspapermen is made up of honest, disillusioned, and for the most part thwarted writers who have a fine contempt for their bosses and for the public for which they write.

This state of affairs has led to an almost complete elimination of competition among newsgatherers. The old-fashioned "scoop," or exclusive story, is almost non-existent now in a large city, owing to the fact that the reporters are more interested in fair-play to each other than they are in furthering the interests of their respective papers. In the first place, even if a newspaper does secure an exclusive story which appears in its first edition, the other papers have picked it up by the time the late city editions have gone to press and the public knows nothing of any enterprise or delinquency in any one journal. The reporters, knowing this, club together on a story, and, in the event of a riot or a parade or a fire, it is no uncommon sight to see the men from all the papers in the city getting together in a "huddle" before turning in their stories to check up on the statistics of the event, so that all accounts will agree and no one paper will come out with facts which diverge to any startling extent from the rest. A reporter who holds out on his colleagues and turns in a story with additional facts which he himself has secured, will find himself not only unpopular but unable, when he needs it, to get help from the men he has "scooped."

The American newspaper, therefore, comes to us as a machine-made, stereotyped, efficient and, with few exceptions, entirely trustworthy, typographical arrangement of the news of the day. Its features, such as personal columns, comic strips, service-departments, and sporting pages are its money-making assets, and the American newspaper is naturally out to make money. Its chief political influence on the

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2 CENTS DAILY NEWS THE LARGEST CIRCULATION IN AMERICA

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

LAWSON LITTLE TURNS PRO

The net paid Sunday circulation for March exceeded Daily—1,600,000 Sunday—2,900,000

2 CENTS DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

'CONFESSION' SPLITS JURY

New Reprieve Looms for Bruno

Electric Chair's Shadow Lifts

The First and the Last Pages of the New York *Daily News*

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public mind comes through its political cartoons, for the American public is not much given to reading editorials. The editorial writers of most of newspapers are men of considerable intelligence, but they, too, have felt the deadening hand of the machine-made newspaper, and the stuff that they turn out is, for the most part, colorless and uninspired and concerned with general matters, such as tonsilities and snow-removal. There are certain subjects, also, on which a firm editorial stand is taboo, varying, of course, with the individual papers, but when the Pope issued his encyclical on Chaste Marriage only one New York paper (the *Times*) commented on it editorially, in spite of the fact that it presented a rich vein for controversial writing. Religion is too dangerous a subject for editorial treatment and might affect the circulation.

There is one field of American journalism which might well be made the subject of a whole article—the tabloid, or picture-paper. The tabloids are, however, not strictly newpapers in the sense that the *Times* or *Herald Tribune* are newspapers, as they make no attempt to cover any news which cannot be sensationalized or adapted to the camera's uses. They are more in the nature of daily magazines, and very low-class magazines at that, and their standards of veracity and journalistic ethics are so low that they have established a class by themselves quite outside the pale of newspaperdom and magazine editing. Their popularity is enormous, as a large percentage of the reading public does not read but looks. And if they can buy a sheet every day which will give them something spicy or startling to look at, their contemplation of the world's affairs is taken care of for the day. Some years ago the *Chicago Tribune* in an attempt to do something with its millions of dollars which might reduce its income tax to the Government, established the *Daily News* in New York with the frank intention of losing money on it. This tabloid, however, refused to lose money and became a veritable gold-mine for the *Tribune*, for it was exactly what hundreds of thousands of "readers" wanted. Since then the *Graphic* and the *Mirror* have entered the field and have so far outstripped the *News* in sensationalism (although not in circulation) that the *News* is now comparatively respectable. Other large cities in the country have taken up this form of journalism and the public is now supplied with its full quota of murders, divorces, rapes, and gossip without having to take the trouble of looking through columns of international or civic news to find it.

To return to the legitimate press of the country, which should be a great force in the moulding of public opinion and the fostering of vital writing, and we find it a business proposition of increasing efficiency, given over to circulation schemes and the gathering of millions of lines of advertising, efficient but colorless in the presentation of news, generally artistic in typographical make-up (except for papers like those belonging to Mr. Hearst which are abominable hodge-podges of type-matter) and, in comparison with most French and many English papers, paragons of clear-cut and comprehensive journalism. The American press is also, for the most part, free from venal influence and increasingly unbiased in its news-writing. Of course, it is open to persuasion in the matter of running innocuous publicity furnished to it by the hundreds of publicity organizations which every day send out tons of "flinsy" marked "For release Monday, please," and a big advertiser is usually a little more successful in "landing" a picture of his daughter in the rotogravure sections than an ordinary citizen would be. The Government, too, is favored with space in the news columns whenever it wants to disguise its propaganda under the head of "news." But all this propaganda and publicity to which the papers lend their columns is generally harmless and designed "for the public's good" and is usually detected by its unimportance and dullness as reading-matter. On the whole, we may say that the American press is free (with certain obeisances to the advertising department), honest according to its lights, and wholly uninspired.

Yes, American journalism does in a way reflect American life. The days of personal journalism is gone. Newspapers hardly inspire—they just inform; they just benumb one's feelings with all sorts of curious nothings. So long as dollars and cents are found on the right side of the ledger, who cares any way. I do hate to end this way, because in spite of the business end of journalism there are still some journalists in America like Hayward Broun, Walter Lippman and the talented wife of the President of the United States, Eleanor Roosevelt, who through their syndicated columns in newspapers exert wholesome and inspiring influence. But they are the exception rather than the rule.

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TRAVELLERS IN THE NIGHT

By SITA DEBI

(11)

BIRESWAR BABU was true to his word. He presented himself at the shop next morning, walking with the aid of a stick. Satyasaran began to feel extremely embarrassed; but he could hardly prevent the proprietor from entering his own shop. He could guess very well what the other employees must be thinking about him. But though he felt awkward, there was nothing he could do to save his own face. He had not called Bireswar Babu in to punish the others, but he knew that Bireswar's advent would be interpreted in this way by the others. He was partly to blame at least, as it was he who had made the old gentleman acquainted with the state of affairs at the shop.

As soon as the old gentleman had gone into the shop, Satyasaran left it on some excuse. He had to see the lawyers on some business, though it was not very urgent. But he was too nervous to wait at the shop, while Bireswar Babu lectured his employees. So off he went to the lawyer's without delay.

When he returned to the shop, the old man had already left. He could but guess what he had said to the others, from the glum expression on their faces. Bireswar's visit had borne fruit in another way also. Everyone was behaving towards Satyasaran with extra politeness. He could have done with less.

A batch of letters had arrived, Satyasaran was turning these over, when the sight of a post mark from Rangoon on an envelope made him start with uneasy surprise. Why this uneasiness now? Was his mind beginning to change already ? He had ever been eager for news from Rangoon, but why was he beginning to regard the same with fear now ? Should he allow his mind to behave in this way at its will ?

But since the letter had arrived, he must open and see what it contained. He tore open the envelope with unnecessary violence. It was from Gopal Babu. He had received the money Satyasaran had sent. He had been many a time to Kanakamma's relatives to obtain news of the girl. They were now eager enough to accommodate him, since they had begun to guess that the service might bring them pecuniary profit. The old aunt was the cleverest of the lot. She wanted to grab the money first, before divulging the news. But the uncle was unwilling to wait till the negotiations were over, so he had paid Gopal Babu a visit at his house on the sly. He had accepted a rupee, given out Kanakamma's address at Bassein, in exchange. Gopal Babu was thinking of going over to Bassein for a day very soon and see for himself whether Kanakamma was really living there and how she was faring.

Satyasaran thrust the letter inside a drawer and sat like one petrified. Work began to pile up and the durwan had to go away again and again from his room, without being able to make him hear messages. Satyasaran's mind was soaring he did not know where. He could not pull it back to his present surroundings and put it into the business before him.

But the arrival of an important customer, obliged him to get up to attend to him. He forced himself to work and in the process the weight on his heart lessened somewhat. But he could not feel normal. He began to feel extremely restless. He wanted to leave the shop and return home. What was this urge that drove him on ? What could satisfy this thirst ? Was his pride of determination going to roll in the dust now ? Was he really too weak to fight his desires ? He prided himself always on the strength of his character, but was he lacking in that very thing after all ? His life was practically held in bondage by another, who had sold herself into slavery for him. Could he now think of offering that life to another ? But alas for the frailty of human vows ! The more Satyasaran upbraided himself, the louder became the rebellious clamour of his heart. No matter if he was ungrateful, inhuman and a slave to another's sacrifice ! Still he did not want to extricate himself from this mad fascination that had got hold of him. He wanted to surrender himself to it, body and soul.

He could not remain at the shop till the evening. He made excuses to himself, saying that he was too unwell to work full time. He finished the day's work somehow and got up

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to go, much before his time. The car had not yet come for him. He called a hackney carriage and ordered it to drive him home.

It was not yet four. He did not know what the people at home did, at this time or where they stayed. Where was Tapati now? What was she doing? Was she at her evening toilette? Or was she immersed in her studies? He proceeded slowly to his own room, busy with his thoughts.

But he came to an abrupt halt at the door. Tapati was seated inside the room. She was sitting on the very chair, where Satyasaran usually sat, while working. Her head was on the table in front of her, and her long curly hair swept down to the floor, covering most of her face. Satyasaran could not see at first whether she was sleeping or awake.

He stood silent for a while, then called in a low voice, "Tapati!"

Tapati raised her head and looked up at him. She did not seem at all embarrassed. Her eyes became brighter than before.

Satyasaran came and stood by her side. "What were you doing Tapati?" he asked. "Were you reading?"

Tapati shook her head. "I had come to tidy up your room," she volunteered, "but suddenly I felt rather unwell, so I sat down here to rest."

Satyasaran sat down on the bed and asked, "Do you come everyday to tidy up my room?"

"Don't I though?" said Tapati with a smile. "Do you think your room gets tidy of itself?"

Satyasaran too smiled, rather embarrassed. "Men are unobservant by nature, you see," he said. "I never noticed whether the room was tidy or not."

"I know that," said Tapati with a pout. "It is useless, doing anything for you. You never notice anything."

Satyasaran could easily have let the matter drop here. But he was feeling very daring today. He wanted to do everything, that he should not have done, that prudence forbade doing. "Why do you do it then?" he asked.

"Because I want to," replied Tapati.

"Why do you want to do it?" asked Satyasaran again.

"I don't know," said Tapati. "But I don't like to see your room lying untidy and uncared for, as if you have no one of your own to do things for you. It makes me very sad."

Satyasaran turned away his face. "But it is true," he said, "I have none to call my own, no one at all."

Tapati gazed at him steadily for a while, then said, "But there is your sister."

Satyasaran tried to laugh. "Yes, my sister is there," he said. "But I have almost forgotten that she exists. We don't even write to each other."

"Why don't you?" asked Tapati. "You ought to write, as she is an invalid. You ought to inquire after her health. Perhaps she feels this neglect on your part, as you two are the last of the family. She too has none else to call her own."

"What a thing to say?" said Satyasaran. "Why, she has got her husband with her."

"Yes, she has got him of course," said Tapati, a trifle embarrassed, "but she has none of her own family, that was what I meant."

"You are right," said Satyasaran. "But I have lost the habit of writing to relatives. Akhil Babu wrote twice to me, but I have not replied even once. I am satisfied to think that they must have heard about me from Nikhil."

"Such is the way of men," said Tapati, wisely. "You think that women should do everything for keeping up relations. If you reply to one letter, after receiving ten, they ought to thank their stars for it."

"You seem to have a lot of experience," said Satyasaran. "How did you come by it? Did you hear stories from your sisters?"

"Mostly so," said Tapati. "But I look about myself also and see how people behave. It is true that you know better how to take than to give."

Satyasaran was about to answer, but he stopped himself. Did Tapati really want an answer to this accusation of hers? But Satyasaran knew very well that he had not the right to give her a good reply. What did Tapati mean by her words? Who would explain that to Satyasaran? Satyasaran did not know how much she had given to him, but he had given himself heart and soul to her, wretch that he was. He could no longer hide it from himself. He loved Tapati with the whole strength of his being. He did not know how long he would be able to hide this love from others. Love was like light, it was impossible to hide it for long.

Tapati was feeling a bit nervous at his silence. "Are you angry with me?" she asked.

"Why should I be angry?" replied Satyasaran.

"But all men are not of the same type," said Tapati, now trying to modify her comments a bit. "And I have seen very few men. It

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may be that you are totally different from the general run of men."

"I hope God will never let you know what kind of a man I am," said Satyasaran, his voice deep with emotion. He could trust himself no longer and hastened out of the room.

Tapati understood nothing of the storm that was raging in his heart. She looked into his eyes and what she saw there was enough for her, she did not want to know anything more. She sat there for a while looking at his receding figure. Then she too left his room and went back to her own.

They met again after an hour at the tea table. Tapati's face was serene and beautiful as ever, no shadow lingered over it. Every evening she dressed carefully, this evening too, she had not omitted to do so. Then had Satyasaran imagined everything? Had not she meant anything particular when she uttered those words? Had he then imputed deep meaning to simple words, out of the unnatural excitement of his heart? Was he nothing but an ordinary friend to Tapati? His whole being protested in agony. Not that, not that. He could not bear it. He had given his all, and in exchange he wanted all from her. He could never be satisfied with a beggar's pittance. He desired her with body, soul and mind, and unless he got her entirely, this hunger of his would never be satisfied. He had fallen from his ideal, he had transgressed, still he was unrepentant.

Bireswar Babu peered at his gloomy face and asked anxiously, "Are you unwell, my dear boy? Why have you returned so early?"

"Yes, I am feeling very unwell," said Satyasaran, a bit awkwardly.

"Tapati, see if he has got any temperature," cried Bireswar Babu, all in a flurry now. "Bring the thermometer. It is in your mother's room. You boys never know how to take care of yourselves. Once you begin to work, you go on working, without a thought for your health."

Before Satyasaran could say anything, Tapati had gone out of the room, after casting an anxious glance at him. Satyasaran was feeling extremely awkward. He should never have said anything about feeling unwell. But what other reason could he have given, for returning home before time?

"We too were like you once," Bireswar Babu continued. "And we are reaping the fruit now. My eyes would not have been ruined like this, if I had been careful of them in time. Look at my wife. Before she became totally disabled, she did not let anyone know about her ailment. People think that a man's body can be made to bear anything, but it is not so. You must take proper care of it, else it lets you down at once."

Tapati came back at this moment. "The thermometer is not in mother's room, father," she said.

"It does not matter," said Satyasaran hastily, "I don't need it at all. I don't think I have got fever."

Bireswar Babu stretched out his hand and began to feel Satyasaran's pulse. "You can never be sure," he said, "The pulse is rather quick. Do you think you have caught cold? Have you got a sore throat?"

It would be stupied to say that he had no symptom of illness, since Satyasaran had confessed to feeling exceedingly unwell. So he was obliged to say that his throat was rather sore.

"You are in for an attack of influenza," said Bireswar Babu. "You must not move about at all. Finish your tea and then go and lie down in your room. Tapati, take some hot water and the glycothymolene to his room, he must have a gargle. And if there is any essence of cinnammon in the house, give him twenty drops of that too."

Satyasaran had to escape to his room, in order to get out of the old man's clutches. He must now bear the punishment for shirking his work.

But as Tapati arrived soon after with the medicines and hot water, Satyasaran felt that he was being rewarded instead. If he could pretend to be seriously ill, he could have Tapati by his side for sometime more. But he felt ashamed to do it. Tapati put the things down and went out again.

(12)

Satyasaran finally admitted to himself that he loved Tapati, but the struggle in his heart did not cease. What was he going to do after this? Which path should he follow? Should he submit to this love and give up all the plans he had made for his future? But that would mean a depth of degradation for him, from which he shrank back in alarm. Was it right for him to give in without a fight? He would have to forget Kanakamma completely and forget also her absolute trust in him and her supreme sacrifice for him, if he wanted to have a blissful home with Tapati. Could he become so inhuman, so lost to every sense of decency? How would he deserve to gain Tapati then? Would he hide his true self from her and cheat her into accepting him as a husband? Was

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this the way to get the prize he so ardently desired? Would he be happy if he won her in this way? It was not possible. Someday, somehow she would be sure to find him out, how would he survive this exposure?

He could confess everything to Tapati and ask her advice. But he did not dare, not at least before knowing what she felt about him. If he had been sure of the fact that Tapati loved him as ardently as he loved her, he could have opened his heart to her. It would have been impossible then to conceal anything from her. They could have been united only then knowing each other thoroughly and completely. But how could he know whether Tapati loved him or not, unless he asked her? But whenever he looked at her calm face and her eyes lit with some inner fire, his words stuck in his mouth. He could go to Bireswar Babu for help in the orthodox way, but this method seemed supremely ridiculous to him, where a girl like Tapati was concerned. He did not want a wife merely and did not also covet the position of a son-in-law of Bireswar Babu. He wanted Tapati. Unless she gave herself to him, he could not accept this treasure from any body else.

He thought and thought and went nearly crazy over it. But he found no way out. Bireswar Babu had already been commenting on the state of his health, now Tapati too, became anxious about him. Satyasaran was getting ready to start for the shop when Tapati came in suddenly and said, "You had better stay at home to day."

"Why on earth?" asked Satyasaran in surprise.

"Look in the mirror, and you will get the answer to your question." replied Tapati.

Satyasaran did not look in the mirror. "I am feeling a bit below par," he admitted, "and may be looking somewhat the worse for it, but I can't stop work on account of that."

"You are looking extremely unwell," said Tapati. "If rest would put you right, you ought to take it by all means. What would happen to your work, if you became seriously ill?"

"I would have to lie down, as others do," replied Satyasaran. "But you know, don't you that I am here to work? Your father has given me sole charge of the business. I can't shirk work on such a flimsy pretext."

Tapati's face became unnaturally sad. "Why can't you see that this is not a flimsy pretext?" she asked. "Your health is a thing of supreme importance to you. Have you the courage to wait on, till you become really seriously ill? Don't you remember the history of your family? You ought to be far more careful than other people. Father would not mind it at all, if you stay away from the shop for a day or two."

Satyasaran was visibly upset, far more by the look in Tapati's eyes than by her words. What a wonderful girl! She seemed a worldly-wise woman one instant and in the next she was nothing but a guileless innocent girl. Which was she in reality?

"It is impossible for me not to do what you ask," he said at last. "But you must explain to your father."

"Of course I shall," exclaimed Tapati at once, her face lighting up. "Since I am detaining you at home, I shall take the responsibility."

"Could you accept this responsibility for all time to come Tapati?" asked Satyasaran suddenly. "You could save me then."

Tapati became strangely silent. After a while she lifted her head and looked Satyasaran full in the face, with bright eyes and replied, "Yes I can, if you entrust it to me."

Satyasaran sprang up from the chair, on which he had been sitting. He went and stood by Tapati's chair. "Have you thought of the implication of your words?" he asked in a trembling voice.

"Yes, I have," replied Tapati. "I thought of everything long ago."

Satyasaran clasped one of her hands in both of his own. He forgot that someone might come in any moment and interrupt them. Tapati too stood up.

"Perhaps you have already understood what I want to say. Still I shall try to say it, as I don't want the shadow of a doubt to lie between us. You don't know how unworthy I am of you, I can't find courage enough to tell you. But will you still accept me of your own free will?"

Tapati turned away her eyes and said in a low voice, "Yes. I will. I too am unworthy of you."

Satyasaran could not control himself any longer. He stretched out his arms and drew Tapati into them. He kissed her on the forehead, saying in a voice thick with emotion, "You unworthy of me? There is no man on earth, of whom you are unworthy. My greed is boundless, because of that I am trying to get you for myself. Else I am not fit even to touch the little toe of your foot."

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Tapati's head fell on Satyasaran's breast as she sobbed out, "No, no."

Satyasaran turned her face up to his and kissed her tear stained cheek again. "Let that be," he said, "no use discussing it. Calm yourself now. I must go to your father, and tell him everything."

Tapati wiped her tears and moved off from his embrace. "Yes," she said, "You must tell everything to father and mother."

"Where is your father now?" Satyasaran asked.

"I think he is in his bedroom," said Tapati.

"Will you come with me or shall I go alone?" he asked again.

Tapati turned away her face again rather shyly, "Please go alone," she said.

"All right," said Satyasaran with a laugh. "Wait here for me."

"No, I am going to my own room," said Tapati, "If father calls me, I shall go to him then." She left the room with that.

Satyasaran hardly knew how to broach the subject to Bireswar Babu. He thought and thought but no words seemed adequate. He decided at last to go to the old gentleman and trust to the spur of the moment.

He proceeded slowly towards Bireswar Babu's room and at last stood before it. The master of the house was busy then smoking his favourite albola. He could discern faintly a human figure standing before the door. "Who is there?" he asked.

"It is I, Satyasaran," was the reply.

"Come in, my dear boy, come right in," cried Bireswar Babu. "Tapati was saying just a while ago that you were feeling very unwell. She wanted you to stay away from the shop and take some rest. You can do that very well. What's the harm if you don't go there for a few days? That fellow Lalmohan is a rogue, but he knows his job. He is working there for the last twenty years, and he will certainly be able to carry on for a few days."

Satyasaran came in. He drew up a cane chair by the side of the old gentleman and sat down. "Yes, I am not going to the shop today," he said. He did not know what to say after this.

Though Bireswar Babu's sight had become weak, his understanding was strong as ever. He had been dealing with men all his lifetime and he could at once sense the diffidence in Satyasaran's manner. "Do you want to tell me something?" he asked. "Is there further trouble at the shop? I gave those fellows a good dressing down the other day."

"No, it is all right at the shop," said Satyasaran. "But I want to say something to you about myself."

"You need not say it," said Bireswar Babu, nodding his head wisely. "I know what it is. Do you think that I don't understand that a salary of a hundred rupees is too little for you? I have already decided to make it two hundred, from the next month. It is impossible to carry on with a hundred now-a-days. It is because you are a bachelor that you have managed so long on it. When you marry, your expenses will be more than doubled."

"Do what you think best about it, sir," said Satyasaran rather shyly. "I did not come to say anything about my salary. But I must confess to have done something which perhaps I should not have done without consulting you. I have spoken to Tapati about my great regard for her. She has accepted me. Please forgive me, if you think I have done wrong. I have come to ask your blessing."

Bireswar Babu apeared a good deal perturbed, but he kept hold of his pipe. He blew out the smoke through his nostrils after a while, and said, "I bless you with my whole heart, my dear boy. May you two be happy for ever. Tapati is a very good girl, though owing to the continual illness of her mother, we have not been able to train her up well in domestic duties, as we did with our other girls."

Satyasaran's feelings were tuned up too high then. So these words sounded exceedingly ludicrous in his ears. But he could hardly laugh in the old man's presence. He bowed down to Bireswar's feet and asked, "Shall I go to mother, myself? Or will you tell her?"

"I think I had better tell her, my dear boy," said Bireswar Babu. "You know what women are. Perhaps she may cry and shout, for all I know. You have no match, as regards family, culture and education, but women look to the financial side of the matter, more than to anything else. If your father had been alive, there would have been no question at all. But don't take any offence, even if my wife puts up some opposition at first. She will understand it all, when I explain it to her."

"Why should I take offence?" asked Satyasaran. "She has every right to oppose the match. I am not worthy of your daughter in any way—." Suddenly he heard footsteps behind him and looked back to find Tapati standing there. The tearful look in her eyes made Satyasaran stop in the middle of the sentence.

Satyasaran signed to her to come in. She

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came in and falling on her knees before the old man's chair, placed her head on his lap. Bireswar Babu put down his pipe this time and drew his daughter in his arms affectionately. He stroked her tear-stained cheeks and asked, "Why are you crying, my foolish little mother? I bless you, may you be the happiest of women. You have been the light of my home, like Uma in the home of her father. And now you have got a husband like Shiva, as a reward for your goodness."

Satyasaran looked on silently at the scene before him. How little this affectionate old man knew him, he thought sadly. A husband like the great god Shiva indeed! In poverty of worldly wealth he could be compared to the great god indeed, but not otherwise. Satyasaran was a man fallen from his ideal, bereft of honour and every sense of decency. The old man was giving his beloved daughter to him, not knowing what he really was. Was Satyasaran worthy of such implicit trust? He loved Tapati with his heart and soul, but had he any right to love her? He was not only devoid of humanity, but he was a coward as well. He had not the courage to tell Tapati everything. He had got what he so ardently desired through cheating and falsehood. He did not have the courage to confess and he never would have the courage.

Bireswar Babu got up from his chair, saying, "Wait a bit my darling, while I go and tell your mother. Don't be uneasy, my dear boy, everything will be all right." He thrust his feet inside his heavy slippers and left the room.

Tapati and Satyasaran both had stood up. As soon as the old man had left the room, Tapati came up close to him and whispered, "Why do you say those nasty words again and again?"

Satyasaran stroked her hair lovingly as he said, "I can't forget it, Tapati. It is so terribly, so cruelly true."

Tapati's eyes filled with tears again. Satyasaran drew her into his arms saying, "Don't cry again, my darling. I cannot bear the sight of your tears. I don't want you to begin with tears, dearest. I won't say anything about my unworthiness again, though God knows how great it is."

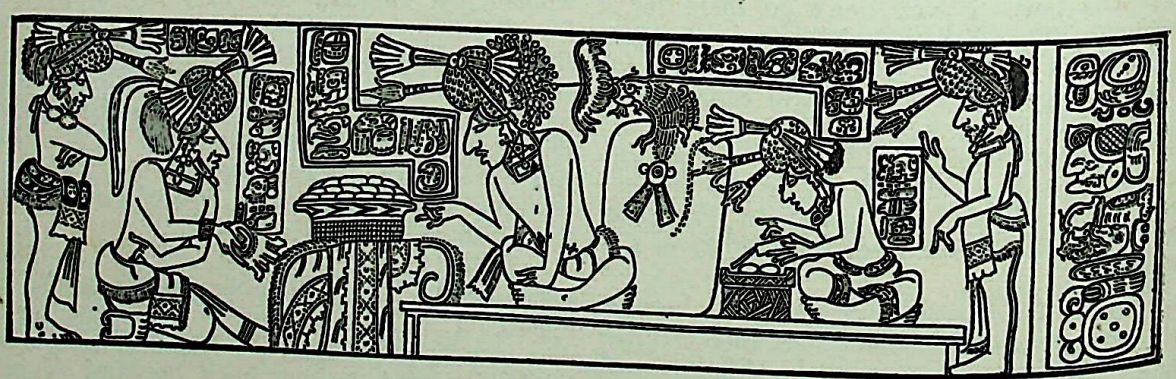
Tapati smiled through her tears. She stood within the circle of his arms playing with his fingers. She did not try to move away.

Satyasaran released her after a while and said, "Very well, may I try to get to the shop now? I am all right now in body and mind."

Tapati clasped one of his hands in both her own and cried, "No, you are not all right. I won't let you go until you are completely cured."

"That would take sometime yet," said Satyasaran jestingly. "We shall need the priest and the auspicious hour for that."

(To be continued)



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THE PARSIS : THE PRESERVATION OF THE RACE

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

[Mr. Nagendranath Gupta delivered an address at the Katrak Hall, Karachi, on the Preservation of the Parsi race to a large audience. Dr. M. N. Dhalla, the High Priest of the Parsis, a scholar of international reputation, presided. In opening the proceedings Dr. Dhalla said :

Mr. Gupta is going to speak tonight on the Parsis and the Preservation of the race. The subject is of great importance to us. Ours is the solitary instance of a people who once inhabited this globe in vast numbers when Iran was the Queen of Asia under Cyrus and when Darius and Xerxes, Nochirvan and Parviz ruled over the largest empire in their days of glory.

Today we number 1,25,000 souls in the midst of some seventeen hundred million peoples of the world. No wonder thoughtful persons have from time to time looked at the situation with apprehension and raised a voice of warning for our welfare. Professor Max Muller wrote in the eighties of the last century that a hundred years hence Parsis would no longer be living upon earth, they will be a mere matter for history. And yet the causes that threaten today to diminish the number of the of the Parsis did not exist in his days.

Mr. Gupta has lived long and in intimate connection with several members of all grades of our community, he has studied the statistics of the births, marriages and deaths in our community and pondered over the figures. He is consequently well fitted to speak upon the subject. His views require our careful attention, and we shall now invite him to favour us with them.

Mr. Gupta said, Dustoor Dhalla and members of the Zoroastrian race :—]

Is it presumptuous for the stranger at the gate to discuss the people dwelling in the house; is an outsider debarred from speaking of a community to which he does not belong? I deny that we who are living in this country are strangers, no matter what our race and religion may be. Here in this ancient land, the treasure-house of wisdom and kindliness, of charity and neighbourliness, we are brothers and sisters all, children of the same motherland, nourished and sustained by her and laid to our last rest on her ample and tender bosom. As for you, you to whom I am speaking tonight, there was a time when your race was one with mine, knit close together by ties of blood and kinship, owing allegiance to the same religion, following the same customs and sharing the same sorrows and joys. Divided for many centuries you have been restored to us in order that you may participate in fashioning the destiny that awaits our common race. Let my love for you plead with you to grant me an indulgent hearing.

The instinct of mating is essential for the preservation of the species and the institution of marriage is necessary for the growth and preservation of the human race. In adolescence and adultness no attraction is more powerful, more lawful and more in accordance with nature than the attraction of sex, each sex being the complement of the other. Next only to the wonder of creation is the miracle of procreation, the bringing forth of new life into the world, the merging of the love of man and woman into the love of the father and mother. Over and over again is the commandment laid upon human beings to marry and multiply. It is not of the living but of those risen from the dead that Jesus Christ has said, 'In the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven.' Our concern here is with the living and a living race and about these there is another saying that marriages are arranged in heaven, and for this there is much older authority than a teaching of two thousand years ago.

In the Rigveda (X, 85) there is a hymn describing the marriage of Surya, the daughter of Savitar, the Sun-god, to Soma, the Moon. This is a marriage among the gods, but the maiden represents the typical human bride as may be easily judged from the context. It is a marvellous hymn, profoundly poetical in conception and matchless in its beauty of expression. When the bridesmaids lead the bride to her new home, Gatha is mentioned as sacred song and praise personified :

'Raibhi was her dear bridal friend, and Narasansi led her home.
Lovely was Surya's robe; she came to that which Gatha had adorned.
Thought was the pillow of her couch, sight was the unguent for her eyes :
Her treasury was earth and heaven when Surya went unto her lord.

* * * *

Her spirit was the bridal car; the covering thereof was heaven.

* * * *

Mount this, all shaped, gold-hued, with strong wheels, fashioned of Kinsuka and Salmali, light-rolling,
Bound for the world of life immortal, Surya : make for thy lord a happy bridal journey.

* * * *

Go to the house to be the household's mistress and speak as lady to thy gathered people.
Happy be thou and prosper with thy children here : be vigilant to rule thy household, in this home.

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Closely unite thy body with this man, thy lord. So shall ye, full of years, address your company.'

The bridegroom addressing the bride says :

'I take thy hand in mine for happy fortune that thou mayst reach old age with me thy husband.

* * * *

O Pushan, send her on as most auspicious, her who shall be the sharer of my pleasures;
Her who shall twine her loving arms about me, and welcome all my love and mine embraces.'

The concluding exhortation is unforgettable in its impressiveness :

'Be ye not parted; dwell ye here; reach the full time of human life.
With sons and grandsons sport and play, rejoicing in your own abode.

* * * *

O bounteous Indra, make this bride blest in her sons and fortunate.
Vouchsafe to her ten sons, and make her husband the eleventh man.
Over thy husband's father and thy husband's mother Lear full sway.
Over the sister of thy lord, over his brothers rule supreme.'

In the Gatha Vahishtoishti there is a reference to the marriage of Pourachishta, Zarathushtra's daughter, with Jamasp. Pourachishta is Perfect Wisdom, Sofia. Wise words of admonition are addressed by the Prophet to the bride and bridegroom. The translation by Sorabji Pestonji Kanga is somewhat free, but it may be quoted here :

'Zarathushtra says, ye young and happy brides
And bridegrooms, strong and brave prepared to wed,
Take my few words as your inspiring guides.
You all are by a noble instinct, led.
The path of union you intend to tread.
I am a champion staunch of married state,
It binds two souls with a bright golden thread.
Lead pious lives, let not your love abate,
And thus enjoy your bright auspicious fate.'

Pourachishta declares that the love of woman exceeds that of man :

'Said Pourachishta, my husband, I'll adore.
My love for him will drown his love for me.
Each woman in her heart must fully store,
Attachment strong, affection frank and free.
For father, husband, kin of each degree.
Her faithful servants she should kindly treat,
That they are well and happy she should see.
For welfare of the world her heart must beat.
In heaven she will gain her lasting seat.'

For Surya it was prayed that she should have ten sons. Precisely the same number of sons was asked for King Vistaspa when Zarathushtra blessed him.

The need of sons and the necessity of marriage are repeatedly stressed both in the Veda and the Avesta. In a hymn to Agni, the Fire-god, in the Rigveda (VII, 1) it is stated :

'Let us not sit in want of men, O Agni, without descendants, heroless, about thee : But, O house-friend, in houses full of children.

* * * *

Let me not want, with thee a son for ever : let not a manly hero ever fail us.'

The note is even more insistent in the Avesta. In the Ashi Yasht we read :

'For her third complaint mourns the good Ashis, the sublime : That is the worst deed which hostile men commit, when they keep a maiden from marriage and immure her as an unmarried one.'

In the Avan Yasht Ardvisura is addressed thus :

'Thee maidens, when they are fit for marriage, implore for strong men and valiant husbands.'

In the Ram Yasht the following prayer is offered by maidens :

'Grant us this grace, that we may obtain a husband, a youthful one, one of surpassing beauty, who may procure us sustenance as long as we have to live with each other, and who will beget us offspring : (a wise, learned, ready-tongued husband).'

Equally convincing is the testimony of other scriptures to the imperative need for the growth of the human race. After Noah had come out of the ark :

'God blessed him and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth . . . Be ye fruitful, and multiply : bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.'

When Abraham, at the bidding of the Lord, offered to sacrifice his only son Isaac, and took up his knife to slay him God stayed his hand and, through His angel, abundantly blessed him.

'In blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore : and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies. And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed : because thou hast obeyed my voice.'

Psalm 127 in the Old Testament contains the following beautiful verses :

'Lo, children are an heritage of the Lord : and the fruit of the womb is his reward. As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man; so are children of the youth. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them : they shall not be shamed, but they shall speak with the enemies in the gate.'

If it is maintained that sayings of this kind are not necessary when the members of any race are sufficiently numerous, evidence is forthcoming to show that even in these circumstances the matter was not neglected and precepts of the nature of those quoted above were repeated in much later times. In a Pahlavi tract called *Shayast la Shayast* it is stated :

'The rule is this, that a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death; but when a

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woman does not wed a husband it amounts to a sin worthy of death.'

In another Pahlavi treatise called *Andarze Atrepat Mahrespand Dasturan Dastur Adarbad Mahrespand*, the author of certain portions of the Khordeh Avesta, gives some valuable advice to his son Zartusht, named after the Prophet. Among other matters there is a reference to marriage :

'Love a modest woman and get her married to an intelligent and learned man, for just as seeds dropped into fertile soil produce varieties of eatable fruits, so does the union of an intelligent and learned man with such a woman beget children.'

The same idea is repeated later on. In the *Ganji-Shayigan* written by Vazorgmithra, the minister of King Khusro (Noshervan the Just), it is stated that the sun conveys three messages during the course of the day to the inhabitants of this world. The midday message is :

'It is the command of Ahurmazd to you that you should marry, multiply your progeny, and do other works relating to your industry.'

What was the number of Zoroastrians when Noshervan was king and what is their number today? How far did the empire of Kurush (Cyrus) extend and how many millions had been converted to the pure faith of which the all-purifying fire was the symbol? Do you remember how it has been told in the Holy Book of the Hebrews that the Kingdom of Chaldea passed to the Persian Darius when Belshazzar, the impious king of the Chaldeans, was slain? Even now is to be seen at Naksh-i-Rustam the proud inscription of Darius the Great :

'I am Darius, the great King, the King of kings . . . the son of Vishtaspa, the Achaemenid, a Parsi, the son of a Parsi, an Arya of Aryan lineage.'

Gone is the great Persian Empire, gone are the millions that followed the faith of Zarathushtra, only the remnant that remained faithful found sanctuary, welcome and a home on the west coast of India.

Other empires and other nations have been swept away by the silent and swift waters of Time and their names are remembered only as dreams of the night, but the religion established by Zarathushtra is still a living religion and those who profess it, though numerically few, hold a record even in India of which they have every reason to be proud. The danger lies in the neglect of the imperative need for the increase of numbers, the rapid expansion of the race. Apart from the ancient authoritative declarations there have been quite recent instances of a rapid growth of population. The British and other settlers and colonists in Australia once doubled their number in twenty-five years. Among the Zoroastrian community of India the number of unmarried men and women is steadily on the increase and the rate of the growth of population is alarmingly small and slow.

There is high and holy authority for the growth of numbers, but in Avestan literature there is no authority for celibacy or abstinence from marriage. In India the order of monkhood among the Aryans is a very ancient one, perhaps the most ancient in existence. The most important organization founded by the Lord Buddha was the Sangha, or the Brotherhood of Monks. Afterwards nuns also were admitted and the two sections were known as Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis, because they begged their food. The Buddha himself begged his food every morning from the low-born and the high-born householder alike. In the Christian church monks and nuns were recognized from the days of the early Christians. But among the Zoroastrians there were no Brahmacharis or Sannyasis, there is no mention of a monastery or a nunnery anywhere. Marriage was the universal custom. No Parsi virgin can be permitted to tend the sacred fire like the vestal virgins of ancient Rome. There is no cloister to which a man may retire to spend his days in prayer and meditation.

Not very long ago Parsi girls were married quite young like Hindu girls, the marriages being arranged by the parents. Such marriages were almost always happy. In the Avesta the age of fifteen is repeatedly mentioned as the period of full growth. That may be a sign of precocity, but young men and young women should be married at a reasonably young age, for in India the average of life is shorter than in Europe and marriages should not be delayed too long. What is the reason that so many Parsi young men and women remain unmarried and become confirmed bachelors and spinisters ? They take no vows of celibacy, for such vows are unknown in the community. They do not consecrate their lives to any high ideal. They can not do missionary work, because Zoroastrianism, like orthodox Hinduism as also Judaism, admits no converts. They are merely men and women to whom the bliss and ordeal of a married life have been denied.

The only explanation given is the lack of means to rear a family. Money is getting scarce and it is difficult to find the wherewithal to live in comfort and support the burden of a wife and children. This is by no means a convincing

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reason. At all times and in all ages, there have been fat years and lean years, periods of struggle have alternated with periods of prosperity, but the world has rolled along and men and women have mated and begotten children. If it were a question of absolute penury the matter would be different. The change has been more of ideas than circumstances. There has been an insidious advance of a cultural subjugation, the lure of a new civilization to which a considerable section of the community has surrendered. How has it been possible for the Parsis to forget that their most priceless inheritance is an ancient civilization, so ancient that compared with it modern civilization is nothing? Is not this new civilization a menace to itself and is it not threatening to devour its own children? If the Parsis have survived the cataclysm it is because they have held fast to their ancient moorings, otherwise the flood would have carried them away long ago.

With the change of clothing and a new standard of living new notions of comfort have been imbibed and there has been a marked increase in selfishness and the reluctance to undertake responsibility. The immediate cause why the number of unmarried Parsi girls is constantly increasing is the preposterous dowries demanded from the parents or guardians of girls. A young Parsi gentleman who sports an English hat and wears immaculate English clothing and defiantly and openly smokes a cigarette has no objection to walk out with a girl, to flirt with her and even to make love to her, but when it comes to the crucial test of marriage he demands a dowry utterly beyond the means of the parents of the girl and so there is no marriage. There is no sanction for such a demand in the Zoroastrian religion. On the contrary, in the religious ceremony of the marriage it is the bridegroom who is required to pay a sum of money to the bride. The priest asks the witness for the bridegroom whether he has promised to pay the bride 2,000 dirhems of pure white silver and two dinars of standard gold and the witness replies in the affirmative.

It is somewhat curious that in Gujrati Parsi marriage songs the name used by way of illustration is usually Khurshedbanu, which corresponds to the Vedic Surya, the Sun-maiden. Some years ago the following song used to be sung on the occasion of a Parsi marriage :

'After turning away the evil eye from the bridegroom, the mother-in-law comes out with a chaplet of flowers (pearls) round her head. At an auspicious hour was the ceremony performed, a garland of flowers was put round the bridegroom's neck, he was taken to a seat on the dais after the ceremony had been repeated with flowers, coconut and a ring. O Khurshed-banu thy bridegroom has come, he seeks a place where to rest. Give him mango and tamarind groves, give him a town and a village, give him eighty-four squares of land with cross-roads on them, give him a large wooded forest.'

(*Translation.*)

The bridegroom replies :

'I will not take mango and tamarind groves, I will not take a village and a town ; I will not take eighty-four squares of land with cross-roads on them, I will not take a large wooded forest. I will take Behramji's daughter, my promised bride ; I will take my mother-in-law's daughter, my promised bride.' (*Translation.*)

Spoken like a man. This is what every bridegroom should say at the time of marriage. He wants the woman of his choice. How far will a dowry extorted from a father help the bridegroom? His wife and the children to come must be his care. A bird and a beast feed their young. When an animal seeks a mate, does it ask for a dowry? Is a man less than a brute? Has he not hands to work with and a brain to think? He must clear the cobweb in his brain spun by the foolish notions of a foreign civilization. Life can be made simpler and far more wholesome. Every man born in the faith of Zarathushtra must remember that he is a custodian of a very ancient and a very valuable heritage and it is his first duty to hand it down intact to his sons and daughters. Among other communities marriage is a social usage; among Zoroastrians it is a sovereign and sacred duty.

Have you, young men and old, who belong to this ancient of faiths and repeat your prayers morning and evening, given any thought as to how this repression of nature and this mercenary traffic in the sacrament of marriage have reacted upon the girls of your community, even those of a tender age? Why do they feign indignation at the very mention of marriage? It may be that they do not really mean what they say, but even a pretence on such a subject is worng. The springs of life are being turned bitter at the source. If I am outside the pale, I have not been denied access into hearts tender and true. I have known intimately young men and young women, with whom lies the future of India, all over North India, and nothing has struck me more forcibly than the earnest, intellectual outlook of many Parsi young women. The glowing heart looks out as twin shining lamps through the bright eyes; the earnest enthusiasm, the swift responsiveness, the quickening sympathy constrain admiration. It is a joy to behold them, it is good for the soul to know them. And then my heart is wrung with a paroxysm of agony and my eyes burn with unshed tears as I think of the near future—the abrupt shutting off of the course of nature, the starvation of the sex instinct, no waiting for the footsteps of the

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husband returning home, no chance for the growth of mother love, no sound of the babble and laughter of children, the citizens of the kingdom of heaven. I see the maiden before me; can I visualise the mother and the matron? I see the flower in bloom; can I behold the tree laden with fruit? Alas, the maiden may never become a mother, the flower may never bear fruit. The bright thing before me may droop and languish with an aching void in her heart, the taste of the Dead Sea apple in her mouth. It is a tragedy in any case; to the Zaroastrian community it spells disaster.

Women cannot be acquitted of blame. There is a growing disinclination noticeable among them for household work, such as sweeping the floor, cleaning utensils and pots, and so on. Those who can afford to keep servants need not do this kind of work, but otherwise there is no degradation and no humiliation in doing all work pertaining to the house. There is dignity and even nobility in all manual labour and no work lowers any man or woman. General Gordon, who perished in the discharge of his duty at Khartoum, wrote in his diary that there was one servant upon whom he could rely, who was bound to obey him and give him satisfaction and that was himself. Habits of extravagance must not be encouraged. I remember one instance in Karachi which happened many years ago. There was a Parsi who was in receipt of a salary of Rs. 150 a month. His wife had a jacket made which cost Rs. 75. The story was told to me by her indignant father, who had come to Karachi from Bombay on a short visit.

Harken to the call of the world. The world ever calls upon us all to obey the dictates of nature, to bear our share in maintaining the teeming life of the world. It is matter for general congratulation that education is spreading among the women of India, and Parsi girls and women are among the best educated women of India. The matriculation examination is an admission to the membership of a university, but there is a much bigger university of which all are members without any exception. This is the University of the world. Every one of you, boys and girls, young men and young women, should obtain the highest degree this university has to bestow. The highest degree is M.A., which interpreted means Marry All. Acquire this the highest diploma in the university of the world and become masters and mistresses of your hearths and homes.

At no time were the commandments and exhortations I have cited more urgently needed by the Zoroastrian community than at the present moment. It has pleased Providence to spare a remnant of your race so that the ancient faith and the ancient tradition may be preserved and carried on. In the thirteen centuries you have lived in this country your achievements have been worthy of your past and the great traditions of your race. Resist the siren voice of modern civilization that seeks to seduce you from your loyalty to the past and your adherence to the ancient teaching, for that way lies disaster. Let not the reproach lie at your door of the promise of youth remaining unfulfilled, of young hearts being turned to bitterness, of the normal course of nature being repressed. There is a great future awaiting you if you will be loyal to yourselves and to your scriptures. The first requisite for the attainment of anything great is an increase of members. As has been promised of old, grow even as the stars in heaven and the sands on the seashore. Lift this pernicious ban on marriage, the inhibition which threatens the very existence of the race. Let every young woman find a husband and home, let every young man find a helpmate to share his hopes and aspirations, his joys and sorrows. Ring in the New Year of Love, ring out the Old Year of Self!

'Love took up the glass of Time, and turned it in his glowing hands ;
Every moment, lightly shaken, ran itself in golden sands.
Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all the chords with might;
Smote the chord of Self, that, trembling, pass'd in music out of sight.

[After Mr. Gupta had concluded his address the chairman, Dr. Whalla, moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer. In doing so he said :

Mr. Gupta's lecture breathes deep sympathy and great concern for the safety and welfare of our community, which he loves. He has interspersed his lecture with words of kindly advice and gentle admonition, and we welcome them both with gratitude. He has correctly interpreted the spirit of our religion regarding the marital side of human life. The Vendidad tells us expressly that Ahura Mazda prefers a married man with a home and children to an unmarried one without them. Herodotus says that the Persian Kings gave rich presents to those who had many children. The learned lecturer has rightly observed that at all periods of its history Zoroastrianism did not favour the monastic life and that there were no celibate orders of monks and nuns. When the Sasanians came to power they found Christian monasteries already established in Persia from the days of the Parthians. The Sasanian legislators always looked upon them with disfavour.

Mr. Gupta deplores the dowry system that holds the community in its grip. Our social reformers have fought this evil unsuccessfully for over fifty years. It was in the nineties of the last century that by the endeavour of that great social reformer, the late Mr. Kaikhusru Kabraji, an association called *Lagan ni motebari galavnari mandli*, or The Society for the preservation of the greatness of marriage, was formed with influential men and women as members. It worked hard by means

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of lectures and sermons, leading articles in newspapers and the free distribution of thousands of pamphlets, but without any success. The organizers were broken-hearted and bruised in spirit and the society ceased to exist after five years. As Mr. Gupta has said, when the bridegroom is asked at the wedding ceremony whether he has given 2,000 silver Nishapuri *dirhems* and two gold dinars to the girl he is about to wed the complacently says, yea, though the anomalous fact is that he has calmly relieved his dear father-in-law of the burden of two to twenty thousand or more rupees before entering the wedding hall. The dowry system taxes the minds of social reformers of other sister communities also. It was only the other day that our neighbour Mr. Jethmal Parasram speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Hindu Baradri said that the *deti-leti*, or the dowry system, could be stopped only by inter-sectional marriage, because marriage in our restricted community tended to raise the value of the bridegroom. The other ladies and gentlemen who spoke after him agreed with his views.

Disinclination to married life has become universal among the youths of all civilized countries. It is the gift of modern civilization to society. Modern science and machine have revolutionized human life. They have created in unbounded measure fresh necessaries of life, luxuries of life, and even the destructives of life. They have unprecedentedly multiplied desires. Desires demand satisfaction, satisfaction requires resources, and resources are getting harder to win day by day. Life has become expensive.

The West was confronted with this crisis in the latter part of the last century. She had evidently to choose betwen two philosophies of life; one of self-abstention and the other of self-indulgence. She decided in favour of the latter. It was like animals, her people argued, merely to exist; to live was human. They embarked upon living fully, luxuriously, stylishly and fashionably, richly and grandly. Whence was the added cost to come? They ruled that God had given a dual power of earning to the family. The women should come out of the house and earn a living to double the income of families. So girls and young women soon filled shops and stores, offices and banks, posts and telegraphs and also the prison and the police as wardesses and police-women. The home was neglected. Science and machinery came to their help, booking was simplified. The market was filled with canned food. Ready food was sold in restaurants and cafes. The age-old institution of the family was almost broken up and young men and young women became reluctant to undertake the responsibilities of wedded life.

To the traveller the cultured East from Japan to Turkey and Egypt to Mesopotamia appear to be drifting in the same direction. Our small community cannot afford to go the same way. As Mr. Gupta has fervently appealed to them, our youth should shoulder the responsibility of wedded life, learn to live economically and contentedly, and rear families so that the race to which they are proud to belong may live and grow. His exhortation to them will have borne fruit if on his return next year we can greet him with the gladsome tidings that the number of weddings in the year following his lecture has broken all previous records and that our youths were doing their duty towards the preservation of the race.

We offer our heartiest thanks to Mr. Gupta for his stimulating lecture and wish him *der zi u shad zi*, 'long life and happy life!']

ECLIPSES

By the late Rao Bahadur Pandit
K. VEERESALINGAM PANTULU,
Rajahmundry

Enter—Pantayya Pantulu[1] and Singayya Siddhanti.[2]

Singa. Pantulu, what's that paper you are poring over?

Panta. Next new-moon day, it seems, there is to be, sir, an eclipse of the sun.

Singa. Discomfiture-doomed incapables they are! I have worked out the almanac; and no eclipse do I find anywhere. They publish all falsehoods in the papers. A fig upon them! The white ones know neither head nor tail of it. Whatever betide, eclipses do remain outstanding witnesses to the intactness of Brahminhood.

Panta. Why, are Brahmins alone and not the white ones able to predict eclipses? What's *your* superiority in this?

Singa. Let them turn their heads upside down for a thousand years; they simply cannot predict as the Brahmins do. Of late, they only draw out the secret from the Brahmins and struggle on a bit. The Brahmins are compromising themselves for the sake of lucre, imparting all our *sastras* to them and thus bringing about no end of havoc. That is alone '*sastra*' which is kept esoteric. But once all people come to know it, then, what *sastra* is it? With everybody in the know, the efficacy fails whether in the case of the *sastras* or of the *mantras*. Never mind that; what do the white folks say eclipses are due to, sir?

Panta. When the moon intervenes between the sun and the earth, they say it causes the solar eclipse. And when the earth comes in between the sun and the moon and the shadow of the earth falls upon the moon, they say it makes the lunar eclipse.

Singa. Rama! Rama! Rama! What lies they have written out! They know not any-

(1) An honorific for 'Brahmin.'
(2) Astronomer.

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thing. Void of *sastraic* knowledge like this in all things, they put in reasonings, bring about hybrid intermixtures and perpetrate all species of perversion! Were I paid a thousand rupees, I would unfold the story of the eclipses along with all related mysteries and dispel every doubt. There is so much of cash in the Treasuries. If only, instead of throwing it away upon canals and roads to no purpose, they just gave a thousand rupees to build a house and present it to me as a worthy Brahmin, oh what an amount of *punyam*[3] should ensue to them! These officials are all given to appropriating bribes for nothing. But they will not make them give a single well-merited donation of this kind! Now-a-days, all reverence for Brahmins is clean gone. This whole ruby-like land of *karma* is being immersed in Christian perversion.

PANTA. If I get an appointment tomorrow, I'll recommend you to the Collector and get you a present of an *inam* land. Just tell me the truth about the eclipses with the secret thereof.

SINGA. I'll none of any land situated far away. Please procure me, sir, by evicting him, the land of the toddy-drawer-casteman to the east of my own field. Do lay the palm of your hand, sir, in mine in token of a promise to that effect; then, you will rise to be Sheristadar later on without fail. Be this ever so much 'the age of *Kali*,'[4] no Brahmin's word will yet go in vain. Myself being a man of penance, my word will come to pass all the more unfailingly. Rest assured, sir, you incur no sin in taking away his livelihood. What matters it to him? Toddy-drawer-casteman as he is—afire be the fundament of his frame!—he will draw toddy and live his life even in the absence of a cultivation-field. Yours, then, will be also the *punyam* of setting him up in the profession of his own caste and thus of sustaining *varnasramadharma*.[5] At all events, there is no *punyam* to match with the worship of the Brahmin. Even God Almighty will bow His head before the word of a Brahmin. Haven't you seen Sree Krishnamurti *varu*[6]? Wasn't it just for his scorn of Brahmindom that Indradyumna Maharaj came to be born an elephant and Nruga Maharaj was turned into a chameleon?

PANTA. Why all that rigmarole? Do, please, deign to tell of the eclipse.

(3) Moral or religious excellence or merit.
(4) The fourth age of the world, signifying the era of degeneracy *cf.* 'the iron age.'
(5) The rules and regulations for the several castes and stages of life.
(6) An honorific for particularly dignified personages and for the deities.

SINGA. Of old, at the time of the churning of the ocean, that fellow of an ass' son, Uranus, sat stealthily amongst the gods and quaffed the nectar. As Sun and Moon went and reported it to Sree Vishnumurti *varu*, he took up his 'disc' and split the head of Uranus in twain. So you see how even Sreemannarayanamurti has his own partiality for the gods. And ourselves (the Brahmins) being the gods of the earth, everyone ought to entertain a like partiality for us as well. All varieties of good will accrue to him who is partial to the Brahmins. Even Brahma has confessed his inability adequately to extol the glory of a Brahmin's benediction.

PANTA. Do drop your intervening comments and proceed with the story.

SINGA. Seeing that you are young and not fully aware of the preeminence of Brahminhood, I have only slightly hinted at it. It being impossible even for God Brahma to set forth the glory of the gods of the earth in full, how will it lie within the power of my grandfather? Even after the decapitation by Sree Hari, who incarnated himself as Jaganmohini[7] that Uranus defied death by reason of having drunk the nectar; and nursing the grudge at heart since then, he keeps devouring the sun and the moon on *parva*[8] days and subjects them to no end of torments. What a peril has beset those high-souled beings, sir, all on account of that 'pariah widow's son'[9]! We ought certainly to bathe, when these world-adored ones are defiled with the taint of 'pollution.' If, at that crisis, one takes the bath of 'seizure' and also the bath of 'release' and gives presents and donations to Brahmins, the resultant *punyam* is simply beyond all measurement. Those who are noble-minded give away the ten varieties of gifts, make cash presents to the tune of lakhs and amass all *punyam*. The school-going 'widows' sons'[10]—all so many unmannerly boors—of the day do not so much as wet their hairs but sit stolid upon the bank and, into the bargain, indulge in mockery of those who do bathe.

PANTA. Do wind up these descants and get on to the end of the story, please.

SINGA. What more remains? That is just the cause of the 'seizure.' If, as soon as there is the 'seizure,' that is, the beginning of the eclipse, the Brahmins take their bath and utter forth their *mantras*, these latter become transformed into (Indra's) diamond-shafts of

(7) The charming paragon of the world.
(8) Periods of especial sanctity when the sun enters a new sign; *e.g.*, the equinox, solstice etc.
(9) Contemptuous reference to Uranus.
(10) A colloquial term of scornful reproach.

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thunder-bolts and hit ever so hard, so that the vile demon can tarry no longer but must take alarm, leave off his grip and flee away. Of course in this *karmabhoomi*,[11] if only the Brahmins come to know of it and recite *mantras*, Uranus and Neptune cannot but take to their heels. But I wonder how, in the land of the *mlechchas* devoid of *varnasramadharma*, such a danger befalling the sun and the moon can be averted at all!

PANTA. Whenever there is an eclipse in the continent of Africa, the Negroes, it appears, raise a huge outcry to the effect that a serpent has bitten the sun or the moon, blow their horns, beat their drums and create a tumultuous uproar filling all heaven and earth; and at the end of the eclipse, they rejoice that the serpent has let go its hold of the sun or the moon and fled away through the affright of that din.

SINGA. Perhaps, that is precisely the truth of it. Being inelligible for *karma* and destitute of *mantras*, they terrify and chase away the demon of Uranus in that fashion. They, too, are righteous-spirited to some extent. If nobody took it upon himself in any way, oh, what rescue should there be open to these noble ones when overtaken by such a disaster? At the nick of time, Providence, of course, shows a redeemer in some one or other.

PANTA. In the country of China also, it seems they take it that a monster of a serpent comes up and clutches the sun or the moon; and they have recourse to the beating of kettledrums and the sounding of bells in order to frighten it away.

SINGA. Ha, what more, sir? Does the truth come home to you now? Do the Chinese people and all together agree that an eclipse is caused by the bite of a serpent? That is just the serpent called Uranus. While the thing is patent enough to large masses of people, why all this stark stupidity on the part of these white folks? Fie upon them! What is 'the earth's shadow'? And what is 'the moon coming in as an obstruction'? The white-faced ones possess neither natural intelligence nor even the docility to learn when wise men like myself and others vouchsafe the enlightenment! Lo, I forgot in the midst of the conversation: it is getting to be late for *sambhavana*.[12] There's to be a nuptial ceremony in the house of Toddy-drawer Thathayya *gadu*. I must away quickly.

(*Exit*)

[Translated from Telugu by Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., PH.D.]

(11) Land of (efficacious) deeds.

(12) Gifts (to Brahmins) at mass gatherings on ceremonial occasions.

THE FRIST PROFESSION

Once upon a time a physician, an engineer and a politician were discussing the antiquity of their professions. "Medicine is the oldest of all," said the physician "It is recorded in Holy Writ that God removed a rib from a man—surely the first surgical operation."

"But earlier than that," said the engineer, "God created order out of chaos—an engineering problem."

"Well," said the politician, "my profession antedates both of yours. Who created chaos?"—*The Inquirer*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN ITS INSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND: *By Harvey W. Peck. Allen and Unwin, Pp. 379. Price 12s. 6d.*

People are apt to complain, and rightly, that the social sciences, and especially economics and politics, are backward as compared to physical science. Physical science however is free to experiment, but there is fairly strong opposition to proposals for social change, and naturally progress in the social sciences becomes more difficult. Further, in the case of economics, it is the past that is the basis of study. Now it may be possible to explain why certain things took place in the past when one is able to study the different factors, but the knowledge thus gained may not help one to understand the cure for the present difficulties. Society is not static; conditions are always changing; and therefore the "laws of economics" are really deductions based on a knowledge of the past and past conditions, and any attempt to apply them to the present when conditions have changed, is bound to end in failure. Looking at the matter from another angle, one can say that a particular economic theory will be the result of a particular set of economic conditions. The history of the development of economic thought therefore runs parallel to the history of economic development. The value of Dr. Peck's book lies in the way in which he traces out this point. This enables one to realize that economic theory is developing in an evolutionary manner from the individualism of Adam Smith and the beginning of the "industrial revolution" to the "collectivism" of the present machine age. Dr. Peck was originally a professor of English, and as a result his style is clearer, and more intelligible than that of the ordinary economist. He is widely read, and thoughtful, and one can only hope that others beside professional students of economics will read this book.

SOMETHING TO SAY: *By E. C. Scott. Published by the author, Ramsey, Isle of Man. Pp. 62. Price 1s.*

Puerile prose printed as poetry.

SOVIET SIDELIGHTS: *By M. R. Masani, with a Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru. Congress Socialist Publishing Company, Bombay. Pp. 90. Price 12 annas.*

At present there is a tendency for socialism to be the fashionable "ism," and not only is there growing up a deplorable cult of socialist jargon, and catch-phrases, but there is also a dangerous ignorance of the difficulties experienced in trying to establish socialism in other countries. The needs of mankind for food, clothes, and the material and other necessities of life are fundamentally the same in Europe and Asia, and the mental attitude mankind adopts to such needs is again startlingly similar. The attitude adopted towards the possibility of satisfying these needs depends on the belief that it is possible to satisfy them. When one sees the abject poverty of the great masses of Indians the tendency is to adopt one of two attitudes, either to feel that the situation is hopeless, and that nothing can be done, or to believe that a complete change can and must be brought about. This little book will help the former class by suggesting to them what it has been possible to do in a country where the conditions approximated to those obtaining in India. The latter class of persons will not be helped however, since it will not help them to think clearly, and to realize the difficulties to be overcome. The criticism that might be made against this book, together with many other books on Russia, is that the difficulties are not sufficiently emphasized and thus in reading it one misses the sense of struggle, of strain and stress which is necessary if a backward, illiterate, and superstitious people are to be roused to the possibilities of a fuller and more complete life. In short the book is a pleasant little book containing an interesting series of impressions of modern Russia, and as such can be compared with M. Hindus' books of the same type such as "Humanity Uprooted," "Red Bread" and "The Great Offensive."

MUNICIPAL MEETINGS: *By R. Sasta Aiyar. Educational Book Depot, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 95. Price Rs. 2.*

A great deal of time is wasted, and many unedifying scenes take place, because neither the chairman, nor the members appear to know the elements about how a public meeting should be conducted. The author of the book has written from experience, and writes clearly, comprehensively, and best of all, briefly. It is a book which those aspiring to take part in municipal affairs should study.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

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REGENERATION IN MAN: *By M. A. Ansari with Foreword by Dr. Robert Lichtenstern, M.D., Urologist, Krankenhaus der Wiener Kaufmannschaft. Publishers D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road Fort, Bombay. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 8.*

The recent death of the illustrious author lends a special interest to the book under review. The problem of conquest of old age has engaged the attention of laymen and scientists from time immemorial. Of recent years rejuvenation or regeneration, as the author prefers to call the process, has been studied by numerous medical men and biologists from different standpoints. A vast literature has grown up round the subject and commissions have been organized to examine the claims of different workers in the field. The lay press has printed sensational accounts of rejuvenation and a good deal of sheer nonsense has been circulated misleading the earnest seeker after truth. No authentic account of rejuvenation was available to the lay public. Dr. Ansari's book, therefore, has come just in time. Dr. Ansari speaks from personal experience of cases and the book has the stamp of authority on it. It has been most wonderfully written. Intricate physiological processes have been explained in such lucid and simple way that laymen will find no difficulty in following the book. The book will also appeal to the specialist. It is no mean performance for anybody to be able to appeal successfully to both the technical and the lay readers at the same time. The author has discussed the effects of ligaturing the *vas deferens* or Steinach's operation as it has been usually called, of grafting human and monkey glands and also of implanting glands from the sheep, goat and the bull on senility and other disorders of the human system. He has given a classified analysis of 440 cases all done by himself and all observed up to 4 years after operation. Although the author is extremely cautious in adjudging his own results there is no doubt that he has proved the efficacy of such operations definitely.

The book is a fascinating record of scientific achievement in a difficult and important field of human life. The only fault that the reviewer has to notice about the book is the rather loose way in which statistics have been employed. It is not considered a sound procedure to express results in terms of percentages when the total number of observed cases is as small as two or three; neither is it desirable to have figures in the tables running up to two places of decimals when the data do not warrant such fineness. These defects do not in any way detract from the value of the book. The book is one that would be read with great interest and profit by everybody.

G. Bose

THE THIRD ENGLISH EMBASSY TO POONA: (*Comprising Mostyn's Diary and Letters 1772-1774*), *Edited by J. H. Gense, S.J., Ph.D. and D. R. Banaji, M.A., LL.B. Publishers D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.*

The editors of this volume of Mostyn papers have rendered a very great service to students of Indian history by publishing an important original source of Anglo-Maratha relations during the critical years, 1772-1774. The veteran historian of Maharashtra, Mr. G. S. Sardesai, remarks in the *Preface*, "The history of the three eventful years 1772-1774 long suffered from a lack of authentic materials....Why Forrest omitted to include in his voluminous selections such excellent documents is difficult to surmise. He did not either notice the existence or realise their importance. But Forrest's neglect proved Father Gense and Mr. Banaji's opportunity." It is not perhaps difficult to surmise the cause of Forrest's omission, because the contents of these papers are not at all flattering to British pride. Mostyn's position as a British envoy was hardly enviable owing to niggardliness of his merchant masters and the scanty respect which the Poona Durbar, fully conscious of its imperial role, accorded to the representative of the East India Company.

This volume is an important supplement to political papers published in the Peshwa Daftar dealing with the events of these three years *e.g.*, [Peshwa Daftars, Vols. 35 and 36]. It is indispensable to students of Maratha history of this period. Mostyn's *Diary* "gives us an insight into the character of many distinguished individuals, notably: Nana Fadnavis, Sakaram Bapu, Raghoba, Fathe Singh, Govind Rao, Sabaji Bhonsle, Mudaji Bhonsle, Ghaziuddin IV, Shujauddaula and others." The editors have added 60 pages of historical notes in the Appendix, to elucidate important passages of the text.

But the editors ought to have cited authority for the unique geneological table under Note 1. According to this document, Chimnaji Appa, father of Sadasiva Rao Bhao, was a *son of Baji Rao I.* Not to speak of contemporary Persian and English authorities, so far as our knowledge goes, all Maratha writters hold that Chimnaji Appa was the *brother* of Baji Rao I; *e.g.*, Mr. Sardesai writes Balaji Vishvanath had two sons; Baji Rao and Chimnachi Apa (Marathi Riyasat, Part 2 p. 125). Such unwarranted statement is rather unfortunate in an otherwise excellent publication.

K. R. Qanango

SONG OF ETERNAL PEACE: *By M. S. Nirmal. Guru Arjan's "Sukhmani" rendered into English from original old Punjabi. Model Press, Lahore.*

The verses are inspiring and gives us an insight into the Sikh scriptures. Intellectualism cannot solve the Lord Invisible "all the more it creates confusion." The vision of the Lord must be drunk. This God-intoxication brings eternal peace. And so on.

GLOW-WORMS: *By Suryanarayan Sadhu, Madras.*

There are many marvellous short poems. In the one addressed to his cow the author says:

Like to a crimson cloud she's red
And crescent horns adorn her head
And silver showers she loves to shed.

Unadulterated poetry and undiluted silvery milk are very acceptable no doubt, and we wish the poet fame and fortune.

SITA'S CHOICE AND OTHER PLAYS: *By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., F.R.S.L., Madras.*

In these plays the author portrays modern Indian life. The book is a thriller with daggers and all that and will no doubt be read with interest.

THE STORY OF RAMA AND SITA: *By Stella Mead. (Illustrations by Stewart Hardy). Oxford University Press.*

This is whole Ramayana told in 200 pages, but in an interesting manner. The old hunckback Manthara's plot has been narrated in such a way that it seems we read a perfectly new plot. This may be said of other chapters. The type is excellent. The style would fascinate the old and the young.

Critic

LEO TOLSTOY ON SOCIALISM: *The Hogarth Press, 52, Tavistock Square, London, W.C. 1936. Price One Shilling net. Pp. 24.*

This is the last article Tolstoy wrote before his death. Although it could not be revised by him as carefully as

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he would have liked, yet the article will remain as one of the clearest expositions of the difference which lies between Socialism and Philosophical Anarchism.

Socialists maintain that man has no free will of his own; all his activities being conditioned by previous circumstances. If he has any freedom to choose; he has no power to mould world-evolution one way or the other. But in contrast to this, Tolstoy emphatically maintained that "man is a being differing from all other beings of the animal and vegetable kingdom by virtue of his reason and free-will peculiar to man only. Therefore, man's life has been built and must be built, not on the basis of general objective laws deduced from observation and proclaimed by various learned men, but invariably on the basis of something quite different—on the basis of a law common to all people" and proclaimed by the religious leaders of mankind. "This moral law defines all manifestations of human life—family, social, political, international—and, incidentally, also the manifestations of economic life, but in a way entirely different from that in which it is defined by all political, international, social and socialist teachings."

According to Tolstoy, the root of the present distress did not lie in the existing arrangements of society alone,—for they are merely things of the surface —but in his selfishness, his pride and in the profound ignorance in which all mankind was steeped. All mankind is working under "a superstition according to which certain people have the right to use violence, must and can use it for the purpose of arranging the lives of other people in no way differing from themselves."

It is this faith in violence, and the widespread use of violence, which lies at the bottom of half the sorrows of mankind. Our faith in the State, in Socialism and in all that goes by the name of Science are only expressions of this superstition and of our own ignorance. And it is to wean men out of this violence that all the great religious teachers of mankind have set the moral law for men to follow.

But Tolstoy confesses his inability to predict what outward *form* society will then take, and what will be its economic arrangements, In fact, he holds it is impossible to do so. One can only define the spirit in which men will live; that being one of love and of non-violence. It did not matter to Tolstoy whether only one man in the world followed the moral law or many; for the act of that one moral man "is more important, more fruitful of consequences, than all parliamentary speeches, peace conferences, or socialism," built upon the conviction that man lives more by habit than by free-will; and all of which thus "hide the truth" from humanity.

A better statement of the Anarchists' point of view could hardly be desired; and, we hope, our readers will find much food for thought in the present brochure.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

BANKING AND INDUSTRIAL FINANCE IN INDIA: *By Nabagopal Das, I.C.S., Beereswar Mitter Gold Medallist. Modern Publishing Syndicate, Calcutta, 1935. Pp. 257. Price Rs.5 or 7s. 6d.*

The reader of this book gets the impression that its two halves were written at different times and in different circumstances. The first half is mainly historical, and, after an introductory chapter in which Hayek and Irving Fisher have been brought together, it proceeds with an analysis of banking developments in India in the pre-modern times. These chapters of historical analysis are full of interesting details the collection of which must have been the result of careful investigation. The history comes upto 1860, and contains, *inter alia*, a good description of the working of the Agency Houses and the European commercial banks. Valuable information regarding the Presidency Banks and also the schemes that were from time to time made for starting large-scale banking in India has been made available and for all these, students of economic problems will be grateful to Mr. Das.

It is unfortunate, however, that the second half of the book which deals with the period when the "problem" of Industrial Finance had really arisen, is little more than a summary of the information that is already available. This portion seems rather to have been hastily written and the author, it must be stated, has failed to do full justice to the subject. The chapter on industrial finance in other countries is certainly noteworthy; but, the other chapters do not mark any improvement upon the corresponding portions of the Central Banking Enquiry Report. The absence of any reference to the *Indian* joint-stock banks now operating in the money market, or to purely Indian experiments as the Tata Industrial Bank, is also striking. And, while his readers will agree with the statement that "no amount of banking metamorphosis can solve the fundamental defects," it will be difficult for them to accept Mr. Das' ultimate conclusion that the banking system has not failed in its duty in the field of industrial finance.

BHABATOSH DATTA

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF HAR BILAS SARDA, *with a Foreword by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Vedic Yantralaya, Ajmer.*

Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda became famous throughout India as the author of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, popularly known as the Sarda Act. He is also the author of *Hindu Superiority, Maharana Kumbha* etc. He has studied Hindu India from more than one angle. The volume under review brings us into contact with a man, whose reading has been wide, whose cultural interests are wide, and one who has never broken lose from his surroundings.

How wide his interests are will be apparent from some of the chapters :—Awakening of Women; Child Marriage; Hindu Widow's Right of Inheritance; Col. Ingersol; Hazrat Imam Hussain; Rabindra Nath Tagore; Jangaladesa and its capital Ahichhatrapur; Sivaji; University for Rajputana; Reforms for Ajmer-Merwara; Darakhas of Rajputana; The Beard and the Rulers of Rajputana; Hindus : their strength and their weakness. In every one of the papers the author has thought deeply. We would ask our social reformers to read carefully his writings on Social Reform; and the Hindus his diagnosis of the causes of their weakness.

J. M. DATTA

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA : *By P. L. Bhargava, with a Foreword by Dr. R. K. Mukherji. Published by Upper India Publishing Limited. Lucknow. Pp. viii+138+a map.*

This brochure on one of the greatest rulers of ancient India, is perhaps the latest attempt at a serious contribution on the period. We are delighted with the wide mastery of facts shown by this promising young scholar, his impartial frame of mind and well-balanced judgment. At the same time, we are extremely shocked by the poor get up and low standard of printing of the book. The publishers who are unable to do proper justice to works of this nature should never undertake such publications. Though Mr. Bhargava with his characteristic good sense, has apologised for the absence of diacritical marks, it is bound to decrease his book's intrinsic merits. The author has very properly treated the whole subject under different heads, each constituting

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a separate chapter. The first two chapters are devoted to the 'determination of chronology' and 'early history of Magadha.' The third chapter summarises in an intelligent manner the known events of Chandragupta's life. The following chapter gives an account of the executive organization of the Maurya empire. The next chapter deals with social and economic conditions of India under the first Maurya king; while chapter VI purports to give an admirable account of literature and art. The section on art, however, is too brief. Chapter VII is an estimation of Chandragupta's achievements, while concluding chapter brings together the groups of legends that have grown around the hero's name throughout the centuries. Three appendices and an index conclude this useful work.

Inspite of the undoubted merits of the book, in the field of scholarship, there always will be honest difference of opinion. Thus Mr. Bhargava's method of arriving at the date of Bimbisara by relying on the data furnished by a particular *purana* is rather unfortunate. The regnal period of the same king has been given differently in several *puranas;* no reliance can therefore be placed on one, unless Mr. Bhargava is able to establish beyond any shadow of doubt, that, the evidence of *Vayu Purana* is always to be relied upon. It is also to be regretted that the author while relying on *Arthasastra* has not thought fit to mention the fact that here are some scholars who hold that it was not the work of Chandragupta's minister. He has also forgotten to mention Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's attribution of certain types of P.M. coins to Maurya sovereigns. It is undoubtedly an important contribution. These and others, however, does not prevent us from appreciating the good qualities of the book, and we sincerely hope that this publication will give the much needed incentive to other scholars.

ADRIS BANERJI

POST-WAR PRICE CHANGES: *By Professor K. T. Saha, University of Delhi. 1935.*

This is a series of lectures on "The consequences of Post-War Price Changes," delivered by Professor Saha in March 1934 under the auspices of the University of Delhi. The first three lectures are introductory and contain a survey of world conditions at the end of the war and a theoretical discussion about the laws of price-making and the factors governing price-movements. The decade after 1919 has been broadly classified in to two periods—Periods of reconstruction (1919-24) and Period of Rationalisation (1924-29), and each has been the subject-matter of a special lecture. Professor Saha also provides a vivid description of the course of events in U. S. A. leading to the economic crisis and the gigantic recovery programme initiated by the American Administration. The "Period of Depression" has also been fully analysed; The Russian Experiment and Economic Nationalism have been rightly enough the subject-matter of the last two lectures, as these are the two lines along which the economic crisis is being fought. As regards economic crisis in India, Professor Saha makes some isolated references of which the following is typical:

"The only Indian essay in national reconstruction consisted of the Bombay Development project, costing us 30 crores, to provide orders at top prices to British manufacturers and employment at fabulous salaries to the members of the British Steel frame. As if that was not enough, we had a Five Years' Railway Expansion Programme, voted in one lump sum of rupees 150 crores, for extending and expanding an enterprise of which all the raw materials and accessories must come from Britain" (p. 185).

It is a common experience with us that reconstruction programmes are launched in India, almost always with an eye to the question of economic recovery in Great Britain. It is unfortunate that Professor Saha has not made a seperate study of economic crisis in India and the measures if any introduced by the Government to combat the same.

Nevertheless Professor Saha's "Lectures" form a valuable contribution to the existing literature on the subject of post-War Economics.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

GORDON AT KHARTOUM: *By John Buchan, Published by Peter Davis Limited, 30, Henrietta Street, London, W. C. 2.*

As the name of the book suggests, it is an account of how Gordon struggled to maintain British prestige at Khartoum against the Mahdi and was eventually slain by his men. It is a chapter of Britain's imperial expansion. The author accuses Gladstone's Government of wavering and weakness in the administration of British interests in Egypt. Britain's relation with Egypt is still a live problem; and it is difficult for an Indian to agree always with views such as those expressed by the author of this book. The story of Gordon's struggle and death, however, has been well told.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE REVOLT AGAINST MECHANISM: *By L. P. Jacks, Geo. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 77.*

This little volume contains the lectures delivered under the Hibbert Trust in 1933. Like all preceeding volumes of Hibbert lectures it is inspiring and thought provoking. Imbued with a deep and abiding faith in humanity and its achievements Principal Jacks in these pages tries to find a synthesis between mechanism and religion. Religion has often been posited against mechanistic view of life and a religious faith has been defined as "nothing less than an effort of the mind, imagination, intelligence and will to break through the mechanical framework of the natural world in which fate seems to have bound it." Dr. Jacks would not accept this definition or rather would hold that it is but a partial statement which lacks something to complete it. To him religion is an expression of the creative aspect of mind. The world of machines too represent another phase of this creative mind. Principal Jacks believes that it is possible to bring about a new synthesis between religion and mechanism when man makes true use of his creative spirit and then the spiritual progress of humanity on creative lines will use mechanism as a friend rather than a foe.

ADULT EDUCATION IN PRACTICE: *Edited by Robert Peers. Macmillan, London.*

This is a comprehensive survey of the English Adult Education Movement written by different writers and ably edited by Prof. Peers of Nottingham. The English adult education movement has deservedly attracted wide attention in different countries. In fact the story of this movement is in a sense the story of the remodelling of a democracy and the spiritual rebirth of a nation. This book presents in an interesting way the history and many-sided development of this remarkable movement. Its interpreters have ably done this work in the pages of this book. They have shown what vital part this adult education movement has played and can play in the social, cultural and political life of England. We congratulate them for their excellent production. It will be welcomed by all students of education and all those who are interested in the relation between education and the social order in its wider implications.

A. N. BASU

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SANSKRIT

SUNDARAKANDA OF THE VALMIKI RAMAYANA (*Abridged*), *Topically divided into Parts and Sections with Headings, Sub-headings, Split-word Text, and Translation and Notes in English. By Ramkrishna Vitthal Matakari B.A., S.T.C., LL.B., Sanskrit Teacher, Robert Money School, Bombay. Published by the author from Chiman Building, Second Floor, Cow Lane, Kandewadi, Bombay No. 4.*

This gives the text of the Sundarakanda of the Ramayana in an expurgated and abridged form, accompanied by English translation and Notes in English on important words. The sixty-eight cantos of the text are here arranged into fifteen sections. Shorter abridgements of the Book in question are found incorporated in condensed editions of the whole work (*e.g., Laghuramayana* by Govindanath Guha of Calcutta and *Valmiki Ramayana condensed in the poet's own words* by Prof. P. P. S. Shastri of Madras). Of new features of the publication reference may be made to the following. The number of the chapters of the original has been indicated in the case of each section and sub-section of the present edition. This will help the reader to go through from the original the whole of the section or sections that may appear to be more interesting to him. The component parts of compound words have been split up by hypens and euphonic combinations have been disjoined as far as practicable in conformity with metrical requirements. This is expected to be helpful to the beginner in grasping the meaning of words more readily. Vowel-changes have occasionally been shown within brackets in their original disjoined forms. A similar practice in the case of the change of consonants would have been preferable to the mode of separation actually adopted in which peculiar forms are sometimes noticed (*e.g., dhanuman* for hanuman—p. 141).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MANTRASASTRA: *By S. E. Gopalacharlu, F.T.S. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This booklet in four sections gives a brief outline of the contents and teachings of the Tantras with special reference to the nature and practice of mantras. The first two chapters deal with different varieties of mantras, the various technical defects associated with them and the rites to be performed for their removal. The third chapter describes the rite called *purascarana* which is performed for rendering a mantra perfectly efficacious. Chapter IV gives a short account of the literature and the principal topics dealt with therein with respect to the different schools of Tantras *e.g.*, Pancaratragama, Saivagama and Saktagama.

The booklet will serve its purpose as a small introduction to the much-neglected religion and literature of the Tantras by creating and inspiring an interest in them. Notice, however, requires to be drawn to a number of statements in the work which do not appear to be strictly accurate. It is stated in one place (p. 15) that the maximum limit of a mantra is one thousand syllables though mantras containing ten times the number (*ayutaksara*) are not unknown. In enumerating the objects of mantras (p. 16) no reference is made to their deep spiritual aim and it would appear, from what is stated here, as if they were utilized for the attainment of ulterior objects alone.

It is to be regretted that references to original works on which the accounts of particular topics are based have seldom been given though the author has rightly explained in the introductory portions of his work the necessity of giving such references (p. 2). Without these references it is not possible to verify the statements of the author or to pursue them with a view to gather more information.

The chart which is referred to (p. 21) as having been 'given at the end, as an appendix, containing the significations of the Bija forces latent in the 50 letters of the Sanskrit Alphabet' is not unfortunately found in the copy under review.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE BRIHADARANYAKA UPANISHAD WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SHANKARACHARYA, *translated into English, by Swami Madhabananda, with an introduction by MM. Prof. Kuppuswami Shastri; published by Swami Vireshwarananda, Advaita Ashrama, Mayabati, Almora. Price Rs. 6 only.*

If the Brihadaranyaka is the greatest of the Upanishads, as the name itself suggests, the commentary on it is the most important of all the commentaries of Acharya Shankara, because nowhere has he expounded the doctrine of the Advaita so fully as in this commentary; nor is there any relevant theme that has not been discussed in it. Swami Madhabanandaji of the Ramkrishna order has therefore placed all lovers of the Hindu Philosophy under a deep debt of gratitude by bringing out, for the first time, a complete translation of the Upanishad and the Bhashya into English. One has only to compare the translation to the original, not only to understand the difficulties confronting the Swamiji, but also to appreciate the amount of success won by him, in translating into English the language of the Bhashya, which is characteristically elaborate here, brief there, here expressing the subtlest logical arguments in the pithiest sentences, there expounding the profoundest truth in the sublimest manner. In fact the reader cannot but be struck by the close correspondence of the translation with the original as regards beauty of language and perspicuity. The translation is generally literal, but free from the stiffness that accompanies literalness. If there are a few instances of omission, such as of Sanskrit particles; they are unavoidable in a work of this type; but they do not interfere in any way with the meaning. Passages, which contain the criticism by opponents of other schools, of the standpoint of the *Advaitin*, as well as the refutation of the views of them all by him, and which by the rules of Sanskrit composition, are allowed to run into one another, often making a long and complicated whole, have been broken into suitable paragraphs in English and put in the forms of questions and answers; and this is a distinct improvement for the benefit of the readers, particularly of those who are not well-grounded in Sanskrit.

The book under review which is at once a proof of the Swamiji's erudition and insight will also establish his position as a translator of the first rank.

The get up of the book is nice and leaves nothing to be desired.

ISWANCHANDRA RAY

HINDI

HINDI SHABDA SANGRAH: *Edited by Sj. Raj Ballabh Sahai, Published by Kashi Vidya Pith, to be had from Jnan-Mandal Pustak Bhandar, Benares. Second edition. Price bound volume, Rs. 4-8, unbound volume, Rs. 4.*

The second edition of this Hindi Dictionary is a welcome publication. In this volume more than 40,000

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Hindi words of daily use and thier meanings are given. The editor has made considerable improvement on the previous edition by adding more than 5,000 words. The editor and publishers deserve congratulation for this useful publication.

B. M. VARMA

URDU

BHAGWAT GEETA MANZUM : *By Sj. Bisheshwar Prasad Munawwar, Balbalikhana, Bazar Sitaram, Delhi. Price Rs. 2.*

It is a translation in Urdu verse of Shri Bhagwat Geeta. Each Sanskrit Sloka is translated into four or five Urdu couplets. The author has adopted the style of Pandit Daya Shankar Nasim's immortal Masnavi : the 'Gulzar-i-Nasim.' Mr. Munawwar has been able to explain the meaning of Slokas in chaste Urdu with considerable success and fluency for which he deserves congratulations. The book contains an introduction from Dr. Bhagwan Das and an appreciation from Allama Kaifi.

MAZAMIN-I-FALAK-PAIMAN : *By Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz, M.A. Published by the Manager Humayun, 23, Lawrence Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 2.*

It is a collection of articles, short-stories and prose-poems written by the author under the pen-name of "Falak-Paiman." These articles are on different subjects and were published from time to time in the Urdu monthly the *Humayun* of Lahore. The author commands a facile pen and a style of his own. Some of these articles make an interesting reading with flashes of humour and poetic thoughts.

B. M. VARMA

TELUGU

PASCHATYABHAVAPRAPANCHAMU : *By M. V. N. Subba Rao M.A. Lecturer, Andhra University. Published by the editor "East and West Series," Rajahmundry. Size Crown Octavo. Pages 104. Price Rs. 1-4.*

The book is the first of a series brought out under the name of "East and West Series." The aim of the work is to make available to the Telugu knowing public, some account of the philosophy of life as variously conceived by the representative literary idealists in the western world of the nineteenth century. The thinkers whose teachings are here summarized are Carlyle, Emerson, Goethe, Mazzini, Tolstoy, Ibsen and Amiel. The book is generally informing and instructive. But lack of a more or less uniform scale in the representation of life events and nonexplication of the historical back-ground to the subject-matter are responsible for obscurity of treatment in some cases. The elaborate narration of the accidental burning of the manuscript copy of the The French Revolution shows a striking disproportion besides the very meagre preference to the drift of the work itself grouped with *Heroes* and *Past and Present*. Nor is any notice taken at all of *Cromwell and Frederik the Great* with their central doctrine of benevolent despotism. A Telugu reader thus brought into contact with western thought for the first time could be better helped if only the scope of the work permitted an account, at appropriate places, of the age and the influences, that moulded the thought of each of the thinkers concerned. The essays on Mazzini, Tolstoy and Ibsen will be found useful in suggesting comparative estimates of Indian Nationalism and Sociology. In these days of literary revival and nationalistic advance the book makes a stimulating contribution to the enlargement of popular ideas.

The style is readily simple. The author, however, has had to encounter the common disabilities of a translator. Certain turns of English expression have been too literally rendered into Telugu; so that, it is to be feared, they may not readily convey the intended ideas to one who knows Telugu alone. For example :

Daridryamunaku Vistaramu duramuna nundaka (p. 2), Manava Charitrayandisvaruni hastamu (p. 11), Dustavigrahamulanu bhasmipatalamu kavinchutalo (p. 16), Adi manavuni premayokka Chivaramatakadu (p. 33), Korabadavalasina subhamulu (p. 46). One cannot but regret the limitations under which a writer has first to think in English and then to express himself in the vernacular.

A. RAJAGOPALA RAO

BENGALI

1. GAURAPADATARANGINI : *Compiled and first edited by Jagadbandhu Bhadra. Second Edition. Edited by Mrinal Kanti Ghose Bhaktibhusan. Price Rs. 4-8.*

2. KRISHNAKIRTANA OF CHANDIDAS : *Second Edition. Edited by Vasantaranjan Ray. Price Rs. 4.*

3. CHANDIDAS-PADAVALI, PART I. *Edited by Harekrishna Mukerjee and Prof. Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee, M.A., D.Litt. Price Rs. 3.*

All three published by Ramkamal Sinha, Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, 243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Among the various publications issued from the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat the editions of Vaisnava Padavalis or lyrico-devotional songs in Middle Bengali occupy a prominent place. Some of these editions have brought to light much valuable material of immense linguistic, literary and historical importance which has greatly facilitated the study of the religion, philosophy and literature of Bengal. They have therefore deservedly earned popularity among the world of scholars necessitating the publication of second editions of a number of them. Consequently in response to the persistent demand of the people the Parishat has issued fresh, improved and critical editions of several of these old texts two of which had been out of print for a fairly long time. Of these the edition of the *Gaurapadatarangini* or a collection of nearly 1,500 lyrics about Chaitanya has been enriched by a thorough overhauling of the account of the authors which has been made up-to-date by the introduction of information brought to light by various scholars on different occasions since the publication of the first edition. An attempt has also been made to draw attention to some of the more glaring defects of the first edition. It is gratifying to note that the *Krishnakirtana* of Chandidasa—the earliest available middle Bengali text—the discovery and critical edition of which is regarded almost as an epoch-making event in the history of the linguistic studies of Bengali, has had the good fortune of being re-edited by its original editor. The learned editor has once again taken the trouble of going through the old MSS. and found occasion to correct the readings of the first edition in several cases. He has also revised the notes which have occasionally been improved by the insertion of fresh materials. The word-index has also been made thoroughly complete. The edition of the *Chandidasa-Padavali* or the songs of Chandidasa which was originally edited by the late Nilratan Mukherjee has been presented in a new garb—a fully critical and scientific one. An attempt has been made to critically spot out the songs of Chandidasa proper who flourished before Chaitanya, from among the bewildering mass of poems passing under the name of the great poet. Though there may be room for controversy here and there in

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matters of detail it must be admitted that the line of research indicated by the learned editors may be followed up with profit. The hard labour undertaken by them in collating various MSS. deposited in different corners of the country and selecting variants—which are numerous, showing how these popular songs were tampered with in course of time—has few parallels in the history of the publication of old vernacular texts. The remaining parts of the work which are expected to go a great way in solving what is called the problem of Chandidasa must be eagerly waited by scholars interested in the subject.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GUJARATI

DESHA DIWAN: *By Gunavantrai Acharya. Printed at the Prajabandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Thick cardboard. Pages 362. Price Re. 1-12 (1936).*

This book is given as a present to its subscribers by *Praja Bandhu* a very well conducted weekly of Ahmedabad. It is a historical novel, and deals with the history and achievement of Meraman Khawas, a well-known minister of one of the Kathiawad States. History as till now written, paints him as an intriguing and selfish individual. The writer of this book says that it accords with the chronicles written under the patronage of the Royal families but popular tales and folklore, which represent the opinion and estimate formed by the people themselves, makes him out to be a great patriot who encouraged marine pursuits and arts and crafts in Kathiawad during an uninterrupted ministership of half a century. Mr. Acharya writes with a facile pen and the incidents he describes are so well narrated that the readers' attention is held fast. The period is one of excitement and anarchy, just after the cessation of the Mulkgiri and Chauth of the Marathas. Mr. Acharya has drawn a very attractive picture of those chaotic times. His preface shows an attempt to read history aright.

BADHEKASHAYEE BANAVAT: *By "Sahitya Priya." Printed as above. Paper cover. Pages 63. Price annas four (1936).*

Banavat (Inventions) of Badheka: this is what the title of this small pamphlet means. Mr. Badheka is a well-known student of Mathematics. Literature was never his *forte*. He has all the same for the last four or five years poured out a stream of verses belonging, according to him, to works of poets of old Gujarat of the fifteenth century. He claims to have handled the original MSS. containing the verses published by him or to have collected them from the mouths of itinerant singers who have kept them alive orally. Mitho, Depal, Mehraman, Gemal, are some of such poets. The writer of this pamphlet makes out with facts, figures, and authorities that the verses published by Mr. Badheka are not the genuine productions of those poets but his own inventions. For instance, the Gita Vartek of Mitha is known to be a translation of the Hindi version of the Gita of Chidghanananand Giri called the Gita-ghudhartha Dipika. Depal, for instance again, divides the Gujarati of that period into two branches "Sanskrita Gurjari" (like the one found in Narsinha Mehta's poems and Prakrita Gurjari that written by Jains). This view is not correct and is against the accepted opinion of scholars that no such division existed. Thus it would be seen that it is a very thought-provoking pamphlet and calls for an effective and convincing reply from Mr. Badheka.

NIHARIKA: *By Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, M.A. Published by Mulshankar Somnath Bhatt, Baroda. Thick card bound. Illustrated. Pages 190. Price Rs. 2 (1936).*

This is a collection of about ninety poems on various subjects, epic, lyric, patriotic devotional and so on. Very few persons knew that Mr. Ramanlal, in addition to being an able fiction-writer, also possessed the fancy of a poet. Of course, not all of the verses are of a high order; but whatever their shortcomings they show that the composer is seized of the imaginative faculty and a commendable power of delineation. Some poems like *Buddha no Grihatyag*, suffer by comparison with other compositions on the same subjects—like Narsinhrao Divatia's treatment of the same theme—but as against that the verses on the Jalianwala Bag tragedy or those headed "Nirasha" (Disappointment) are such as arrest attention. The original Urdu poem on which the latter is based is comparatively very pathetic and full of feeling. It was not possible to translate those admirable traits of the Urdu Gazal into Gujarati. That however is the fault of the language not of the writer.

1. PANKAJ: *By Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, M.A. Published by R. R. Shett & Co., Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Cloth Cover. Pages 320. Price Rs. 2-8 (1936).*

2. GRAMLAKSHMI: *By Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, M.A. Published by B. S. Bhatt, Raopura. Baroda. Cloth Cover. Pages 305. Price Rs. 2-8 (1936).*

3. BHARELO AGNI: *By Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, M.A. Published by B. S. Bhatt, Raopura, Baroda. Cloth Cover. Pages 400. Price Rs. 3 (1936). All illustrated.*

All these three books from the pen of Mr. Ramanlal Desai are written in his fascinating yet simple style. He is now turning into quite a prolific writer of novels and bids fare to rival well-konwn writers of fiction in England and other western countries. He has in the space of eight to ten years got 14 to 15 volumes to his credit. Pankaj is a collection of sixteen short stories and although his long novels run into three or four parts, and therefore he has a wide field and an ample scope to develop his theme at leisure and make it interesting and attractive, here in spite of the necessarily contracted field of a short story, he has managed to afford to its subject-matter, the same interest, attention and pathos. The very first story "Real Mother" as contrasted with the step mother, is a case in point. *Gram Lakshmi* is likely to run into four parts, and the present one is its third part. The story as developed till now gives a vivid picture of the aspiration and the ambition, national and patriotic, which are moving and moving strongly the minds of the youth—boy and girl—of India. Village uplift is not an easy subject. Mr. Desai knows about it firsthand and he has tried in this part to show the direction in which it could be successfully carried out. Bharelo Agni, means "Fire smouldering beneath Ashes." The Mutiny in India of A.D. 1857, has inspired various writers, and this novel is based in the stirring events that took place then. It was an event not consisting entirely of brutality at the hands of Indian troops. There were cases of chivalry and unswerving Indian loyalty towards British officers and their families. Mr. Ramanlal has very successfully portrayed these relieving and pleasant features of an unfortunate chapter in the connection of India with Britain. We are glad that this story which appeared in instalments in a monthly is now published in book form. It furnishes very charming as well as instructive reading. Instructive because the writer sees in the events of those days the germs of tolerance of different views and religions, if India is to secure perfect peace and independence.

K. M. J.

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THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Revised translation for "The Modern Review")

I

Krishna Sarkar, zemindar of Jhinkrakota, made over charge of his estate to his son, Bepin, and retired to spend the rest of his days in holy Benares.

Bepin, the son, was an up-to-date graduate. He kept a beard, wore spectacles, and—so far beyond reproach was his character—he neither smoked nor played cards. He looked the mildest of men, but there was a vein of obstinacy in him which his tenants soon came up against.

The besetting weakness of old Krishna had been, that he could never turn away a case of distress, so that many a reduced family of gentlefolk held their lands rent-free, and as for cases of rebate, they were countless. This will never do, reasoned Bepin. I cannot assist in making a gift of half our property. Besides, this kind of charity only promotes laziness. I must act on definite principles. And he set to work to put his principles into practice.

Petitions began to pour on Krishna in his retreat at Benares, some of the tenants even going over personally with their lamentations. Krishna wrote off to admonish Bepin that he did not appear to be doing the right thing.

Bepin, in reply, pointed out that if, in the old days, charities had been larger, so had been the receipts; for there used to be mutual give and take between landlord and tenant. Since recent legislation had stopped the landlord from demanding more than bare rent, the tenant should, at least, pay no less. As matters stood, lavish leniency would but ruin the estate, and leave them nothing of their old dignity.

Conditions have changed, Krishna sadly realized. The usages of our days no longer hold good. Our successors are but adjusting their methods to the times. So let the world take its course, and leave me to my prayers.

II

After a series of threats, ejectments, and law-suits, Bepin at length brought the affairs of the estate into a condition to his liking.

Most of the tenants were intimidated into submission. Only Asim, son of Mirza Bibi, the widow, was recalcitrant, and on him fell the burnt of the zemindar's displeasure.

On inquiry of the old officers of the estate, Bepin learnt that the special privileges enjoyed by this family were the outcome of his father's own orders and were, moreover, of long standing. No reason for such partiality was on record,—it had most probably been due to the widow's original destitution.

Whatever it might have been, to Bepin this family seemed to be the least worthy to hold rent-free lands. He had, doubtless, no personal knowledge of the widow's previous condition, but their present affluence spoke clearly of some fraud perpetrated on his trusting father, by playing on his weakness. Asim, for his part, was a spirited young fellow. "So long as I live," he swore, "I'll not yield up a fraction of our rights!" So the warfare commenced.

The widow remonstrated with her son. "Why quarrel with the bounty we've enjoyed so long? If the zemindar has set his heart on taking back part of his gift, let him have it with good grace. Cease this unseemly defiance."

"Mother," said Asim, "You don't understand these things."

One after another of the law-suits that ensued began to go against Asim. But the more ground he lost, the more obstinate he waxed. He staked his all to save his all.

On an afternoon the widow went off by herself to have a private interview with the zemindar, taking along a basket of fresh vegetables from her garden as an offering of respect. Her motherly eyes rested caressingly on Bepin as she pleaded: "You are as a son to me. May Allah bless you! For goodness' sake, my son, don't ruin poor Asim,—that will earn you no merit. I come to put him under your protection; care for him as for a helpless little brother. Grudge him not, I pray you, the little slice of your vast estates that has fallen to his lot."

Bepin felt excessively annoyed at the garrulous old woman thus thrusting on him her familiarities. "Woman," he said, "You don't understand these things. If you have any representation to make, send your son."

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Thus twice told,—by her own son, and by the son of another,—that she didn't understand these things, the widow could do no more than return home in silence, wiping her eyes, and calling repeatedly on Allah.

III

A year and a half went by, as the suits were taken on appeal from the local court to the district court, and from the district court to the High Court. And, by the time Asim was over head and ears in debt, the decisions began to turn in his favour. But the distance thus put between himself and the tiger on land, brought him only so much nearer the jaws of the crocodile in the water. His creditors, finding the position favourable, executed their decrees against Asim, and a day was fixed for the sale of his holdings.

It was market day, the market being held by the side of the little river, brimming over after the rains. The sky was heavily clouded and many of the stall-keepers had put up awnings of canvas stretched on a bamboo frame, as protection against a downpour. Jack fruit and *hilsa* fish, products of the season, were largely on display. Clamorous buying and selling was in progress, partly on the river bank, partly in the boats laden with merchandise, moored alongside.

Asim had come to the market to procure their week's provisions, but not having a pice left to call his own, he had brought along an axe and a brass salver to pawn.

Bepin was out for his usual stroll, followed at a little distance by a couple of retainers, staves in hand. Attracted by the noises of the market he turned his steps towards the river. Arrived at the market place, he stood awhile near an oilman's stall conversing with him on the prospects of his business.

Asim was suddenly observed advancing towards Bepin, the author of his impending ruin, axe in hand. In a trice he was surrounded and seized by the obsequious stall-keepers, disarmed, and made over to the police. Whereupon the marketing went on as before.

It cannot be denied that Bepin was secretly pleased at this denouement. The ladies of his house shivered with horror at the news. "Oh, the nasty, low-born wretch!" they exclaimed. They were, however, largely consoled at the prospect of condign punishment speedily overtaking the monster.

Upon the cottage of the widow, deprived of food, bereft of her only son, fell the shades of evening, darker than death. This, of course, no one else happened to notice.

IV

Three days have passed. On the morrow the assault case is to come up before the Deputy Magistrate. Bepin will have to give evidence. This is the first time any scion of their house has ever been put to the indignity of appearing in the witness box. But Bepin does not mind.

The next day Bepin timely donned his turban, fastened his gold watch-chain, and was borne off to the court house in state, his retainers following behind the palanquin. The magistrate received him with due courtesy, and offered him a chair next to himself on the platform. The court room was crowded, for it was not often that a sensation of this magnitude turned up.

Shortly before the case was due to be called on, one of Bepin's retainers stepped up to his master and whispered excitedly in his ear. The startled Bepin, asking to be excused for a moment, hastened outside.

Coming out of the court house, Bepin discerned, under the shade of a spreading banyan tree some little way off, his old father, wrapped in sacred vestments, standing barefoot, telling his beads.

Dressed up in his stiff court costume, Bepin found it a matter of considerable difficulty to bend in customary obeisance at his father's feet. His turban slipped down over his eyes on to his nose, his watch dropped out of its fob and dangled at the end of the chain. Nervously readjusting these, Bepin begged his father to come into an adjoining lawyer's office for their talk.

"No, my son," said Krishna. "I'd rather say what I have to say, standing here."

The retainers had no easy task to keep the curious spectators from crowding right up to them.

"You must see that Asim is let off," said Krishna to Bepin, "and also return him the lands I gave him."

"Have you come all the way from Benares for this, father?" stammered the dumbfounded Bepin. "What makes you so exceedingly partial to this particular family?"

"What good will it do you to go into all that?" inquired Krishna.

"It's a matter of equitable administration," Bepin averred. "I've resumed the free

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holdings of many an undeserving tenant, not sparing even Brahmins of the same sort, and yet you never interfered. But you come all this distance to intercede for a Muslim lad! After everything that's been done on both sides, if I let this case go by default and, further, voluntarily withdraw all claims against Asim, what will the others think of my conduct?"

Krishna remained in silent thought, rapidly passing his rosary through his shaking fingers. Then, with a slight quaver in his voice, he went on to say: "If you consider it necessary to explain your reasons to people, tell them that Asim is your brother, and my son."

"Born of unhallowed union with a Muslim woman?"

"Exactly so, my son."

Bepin, in turn, was struck speechless. At length he said: "Well, let's get along home, we'll discuss the matter further there."

"No," said Krishna. "I've left home for good, and will not enter the house again. Now that you know all, do as your conscience bids you." With which the old man, restraining his emotion with an effort, retraced his trembling steps.

Bepin stood stock-still awhile, at an utter loss what to say or do. One reflection, however, flashed across his mind: So such was the "piety" of the old folks! He felt himself ever so much more moral and reasonable than his father. All this was the natural result of not going by principle.

On his return to the court, Bepin saw, standing on one side, the manacled, worn-out, bloodless-lipped figure of Asim, clad in a soiled, tattered waist-cloth, his eyes glowing defiance, guarded by a constable on each side of him. And Asim was his brother!

Bepin was very friendly with the Deputy Magistrate. There was a hurried consultation, and the case was, a little later, dismissed on a technical point. After a few days, Asim found himself reinstated in his former possessions, freed from debt. But neither could he make out the reason behind it all, nor was the public astonishment allayed.

It was no secret that old Krishna had turned up on the day of the trial, all kinds of stories were bandied about, and the keen-witted lawyers were not long in arriving at the facts of the case.

Ramtaran, the rising young pleader, the expenses of whose education had been borne by the benevolent Krishna, had always suspected at heart, and now he was sure in mind, that if all pious people were not found out, it was simply for lack of proper investigation. For all their counting of prayers, he concluded, none of them is at bottom any better than poor me!

Anyhow, this disclosure of old Krishna seemed to solve a problem which had often worried young Ramtaran; and, by what process of reasoning I am unable to say, the burden of gratitude that had so long been weighing on him, was lifted. He felt greatly relieved.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Last Meal of the Buddha

It is related in a Life of the Buddha based on a Pali text that when he was staying in a mango grove at Pava, Chunda, the owner a blacksmith requested him to break his fast with his flock of Bhikshus at his house next day. The Buddha accepted the invitation by silence. Chunda prepared various kinds of dish and a large quantity of pork. The Buddha went to the house of Chunda next day and said: "Chunda, serve me pork, but not to the Bhikshus. There is no one in the three worlds but the Buddha who can digest it. After serving me, bury the remainder in a pit." Chunda did so.

Soon afterwards the Lord was attacked with blood dysentery. In the sick state he went towards Kusinagar but could not proceed. He felt weak and thirsty. Ananda, his favourite disciple, gave him water to drink and made a bed of a four-fold cloth under a tree. The Lord rested on it for a while. Next he went with the Bhikshus to the river Kakuttha, bathed and drank water. Then he came back to the mango grove. Chunda prepared a bed for him with a four-fold cloth. The Lord rested for some time. Next he called Ananda to his side and directed him to console Chunda who might have been grieved at the thought that the food offered by him had brought on the serious disease; and to tell him that he had earned merit by feeding the Buddha and the Bhikshus and that it was his good fortune that the Buddha had eaten the last meal at his house. He concluded by saying that the food which he ate before attaining Enlightenment and that which he ate before 'parinirvana' were both of equal consequence.

On reading the account one wonders that the master who enjoined abstention from animal food partook of it himself. The word signifying the food would be in Sanskrit sukara-mardavam, of which sukara means a boar, and mardavam softness, and the compound word, boar's flesh rendered soft by cooking. In the last issue of this Review Prof. Kar suggests that as the word sukara denotes also a tuber of that name, the food offered was that vegetable softened by cooking. There is a tuber called Sukara-kanda, commonly known

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as Varahi-kanda, 'the tuber of the boar.' From the descriptive names given in the Dhanvantariya and Raja Nighantus we learn that the tuber is roundish (sukandaka), covered with stiff hairs like the head of the boar (grishti), and much sought after by the boar (saukari, grishti-kanta). It is eaten also by wild tribes (savara-kanda). It is bitter and pungent (tikta, katu). It is wild (vanya), and found in forests (vana-vasini). The plant is a twining climber of forests (vana-malini). Its leaves are smooth (kanya), shining (kanti), with cordate base and pointed apex (brahmapatri), and three eyes (tri-netra, by nerves running from the base).

This description agrees with a yam shown to me by an Ayurvedic physician. It grows in the jungles of this District of Bankura (West Bengal) in the rainy season and dies down after winter. The tubers are rather small and covered with long slender fibrous roots. In loamy soil each may weigh half a pound. As they are formed within three or four inches of the surface, they are easily dug out by the boar. The Santals, Koras, Bauris and other landless labourers of this District depend largely on this wild yam for their food in the months of August and September when in the absence of work they are compelled to sit idle. They scrape away the skin with the roots, cut up the tubers in slices and boil them for a few minutes in water containing ash of plants. This they do in the evening. Then the slices are collected in a basket and the basket is placed for the whole night in running stream or pools of water. Sometimes the slices are repeatedly washed to remove the bitter taste. The yam contains a poisonous principle to which it owes its medicinal properties.

There are many species and varieties of yam indigenous to India. Some are cultivated and were esteemed before the introduction of the potato. Others are wild and indigestible. Charaka mentions only one edible yam, pindalu. Bhavaprakasa notices all the cultivated yams under the name, alu. It is surprising to note that Varahi-kanda is described in two places and in one place appears to have been confounded with Vidari-kanda, commonly called Bhumi-Kushmanda.

Prof. Kar does not tell us whether the wild yam called Sukara-kanda and described above is found in the District of Gorakhpur. Even if it is, there was very little likelihood of procuring it in the month of May when the Buddha is said to have his last meal. Supposing Chunda had been able to collect it in large quantity and cooked it properly, there is no reason why the Bhikshus were not allowed to eat it.

We must remember that people in those days were great meat-eaters. We know that those who are habituated to meat do not give it up when they grow old. The present day standard of purity must not be carried to the ancient times. Kautilya mentions droves of swine for consumption in the Royal household. Manu ordains slaughter of animals including the boar on special occasions. An honoured guest used to be treated with animal food. Chunda followed the custom, and the Buddha was too kind to refuse the food and disappoint the devoted host. He felt no concern for his body and accepted the invitation, though he had probably been suffering from diarrhœa which developed into dysentery. The words which he addressed to Ananda breathe solicitude for Chunda. This implies that Chunda had reason to feel remorse.

Sukara-kanda is Dioscorea bulbifera, Linn. of botanists, and has no affinity or resemblance with what is called Sakara-kanda in Hindi and was formerly named Batatus edulis. The latter is really Sarkara-kanda, a Kanda containing sugar. The red variety is sweeter than the white and may contain as much as 18% of sugar. This sugar is, however, not cane-sugar, and the tuber is not as sweet as even the tops of the sugar-cane. Sakara-kanda is an introduced plant, probably from America and not yet three hundred years old. As a consequence it has no common name in all Provinces and even in all the Districts of a Province. In Hindi in some parts it is a 'Kanda,' in Bengali is is an 'alu,' in Oriya it is a 'mula.' The name Sarkara-kanda is Sanskrit but coined. Had the plant been indigenous the ancients would have perhaps called it Sarkara-alu.

JOGES-CHANDRA RAY.

ERRATA

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	for	*read*
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p. 62, col. 2, l. 5	there is ou dipthong	there is *ou* ou dipthong.
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l. 29	fast, this	fast. This
l. 47	in which Pava	in which was Pava
l. 51	syah	syan
col. 2, l. 3 *from bottom*	'malpua' a	*omit* a

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GILBERT KEITH CHESTERTON

By FREDOON KABRAJI

A DEBATE between G. B. S. and G. K. C. was always a thrilling display of fireworks and someone recording a debate between the two opposing giants said, in a decade gone by : "one of them (G. B. S.) was a greater one than Socrates —yet I knew he had no Plato. The other (G. K. C.) was a greater wit than Johnson—yet I knew he had no Boswell." We may well leave Mr. Shaw alone : he would certainly have no doubt himself about his being greater than Socrates or Shakespeare or any other great name of history! But Chesterton was a modest man and has left no self-appreciation behind. He has (merely) left to this age and the Victorian Age which he served with his laughing philosophy a shelfful of works. Both in output and in quality the works of G. K. C. must place him among the giants of intellect. Applied to an appraisal of Chesterton's works, which range from poetry, plays, novels, detective fiction, pamphleteering to critical biographies of standard importance, the much abused word "genius" really comes to have a value and a meaning. His distinctions as an author were many, yet perhaps the greatest of them was his versatility. Nor is that versatility just a high general standard of unvarying excellence such as one may associate with the names of Somerset Maughan, J. B. Priestley or even H. G. Wells or Rebecca West : it was robustly G. K. C's own standard which was so quixotic and so full of surprises that it was hardly even a standard, unless one might speak of the standard of some outstanding conjurer!

Take any field of writing which Chesterton attempted : if it was poetry, some of his lyrics take their place beside the best that the Victorian, Edwardian and Georgian reigns have produced; his plays are as witty and full of mellow wisdom as any in modern times; his Father Brown Novels reveal a side of his bubbling genius for invention and penetrative humour that make them—if they had been his only contribution to his times—remarkable enough in themselves to build a great reputation for any man. In serious criticism his *Life of Charles Dickens* and his *Victorian Age in Literature* are outstanding studies, while his contribution to the journalism of four generations was little short of a phenomenon. It is difficult to assess this flood which has been in spate for at least forty years. Robert Lynd ventures the opinion that there is nothing to equal in brilliance Chesterton's weekly contributions to the *Daily News* over a period of nearly ten years. And it is well-known that every issue of the *Illustrated London News* has had an article by G. K. C. that could be excelled in its wit and wisdom by only another article from the same pen in a period of decades.

Death descended suddenly upon this great writer just as he had finished a new work—his Autobiography, and was still engaged upon the next issue of his own Weekly *G. K's Weekly*—almost entirely written by himself week after week amidst the numerous other demands upon his time.

Chesterton's greatness as a writer was a triumph of personality. He lived as he thought, he spoke as he lived, he wrote as he talked. His mind bubbled over with his vast enjoyment of life, his immense gusto for common humanity, his romantic enthusiasm for that poetic, colourful ever-young attitude to well-worn human institutions like a bottle of wine and a country fair! If he was a Roman Catholic by religious conviction, where was there another so Catholic in his daily outlooks? He could never grow stale and never age. Every day he awoke with a new energy and a new enthusiasm for new good causes. Yet the best cause for which he lived and wrote was the cause of discovering in the springs of simple human joys the secret of right in a world that was too often askew or had gone wrong, because good men and serious men put themselves above simple joys and mislaid their sense of humour!

Paragraphists have poked much fun at Chesterton's great bulk, which his wind-blown loose cape made seem gargantuan! But it was all of a piece with this prodigy of a man who could pour out inimitable squibs, draw and paint with skill and imagination as well as write standard biographies and essays that are studied in schools as examples of good prose. His *Napoleon of Notting Hill* published in 1904 marked the maturity of his peculiar gifts for a rollicking kind of fantasy that sets you thinking on old familiar things in a startling new

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way after the imagination has been tickled to riotous laughter.

One of the finest tributes that can be paid to any man is that he is able to laugh at himself and be on terms of good fellowship with his opponents in controversy of any kind. Making fun of his own great girth, G. K. C. once said: "I look upon myself as one of those monsters or abortions brought forward in our time to warn people how far consolidation might go!" G. K. C. did not know the meaning of malice and could be seen happily hobnobbing with all sorts of atheists, Socialists, aesthetetes, Puritans, eugenists and other narrow gospellers whom in public it was his delight to attack with his jovial thrusts and parry with his paradoxes.

ADIEU TO GORKY

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

Sorrow overpowers me as I learn of the death of my dearest friend, comrade in arms, companion of twenty years, and I feel that the agony would not permit me to write an article for the press. It would tend rather to get concentrated in the poignant memories. At this cruel hour of separation, it is not the great man and the illustrious writer who is before my eyes; it is neither his vast life nor his powerful writings; it is the summer month passed together,—that hour of departure from the Moscow station, towards the end of July, 1935,—his look fixed on mine, his affectionate eyes, his deep warm voice, his strong loyal hand, that insatiable life, resembling his native Volga, flowing through his narratives, a veritable river of thoughts and pictures; that youthful flame, that boistrous enthusiasm for the New World which he has contributed to build; that immense goodness, and that sadness in the heart of everything.

Yes, I would love to be silent and better be with him, in that Eternal calm wherein his great heart is interred.

But as I have not the right to hold in me alone my agony and my affection, may I address then, before all, a brief and impassioned salutation of glory and sorrow! I am but one of the millions for whom his death is the greatest mourning of humanity since the death of Lenin.

Gorkey was the first, the greatest of the artists of the world who, after having prepared the path to the proletarian revolution, brought to it their entire co-operation, the prestige of their glory and their rich experience.

The man who, ever since his infancy, was enveloped in misery and shame of the enslaved proletariat, who, like Dante, emerged from the Inferno but was not alone, bringing out with him his companions of pain whom he has saved.

Seldom has a great writer played a higher role. He was like the Director of Letters, Arts and Sciences in the U. S. S. R., their guide, their severe master, and their defender. By his vast intelligence and his goodness without limit, the Soviet Government have been benefited; it had duly honoured him and its chiefs were his personal friends.

He died exactly at the period in which was accomplished the work that sets the seal on Sovietic triumph—that magnificent constitution, the most humane and free which has ever been received by a people—and towards which his thoughts must have contributed. I heard him speak about that in course of our meeting last summer.

Last evening, I listened, with a tightening of heart, in the Radio from the Moscow station, the sombre "funeral march" of Beethoven and the heavy words announcing the death of Gorky. I felt as if I were in Moscow, with the millions of men and women in mourning. My thoughts made of that night the funeral vigil of my Sleeping Friend. In a few days I shall feel on my shoulder his bier, which I would have borne if I were in Moscow.

Friends! let us bring together our sorrow, our love, our veneration! Many honours would come to glorify the great man, his name is borne by one of the most virile towns of U. S. S. R.; but the most beautiful and sacred of all tombs is in our heart.

(Sd.) Romain Rolland

June 19, 1936.

(Translation)

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CENTENARY OF THE AUTHOR OF LA MARSEILLAISE

By S. R. RANA, BARISTAR-AT-LAW,
President, Hindusthan Association, Paris

The month of June is the best month of the year in Europe in general and in Paris in particular. Many visitors come to visit this most beautiful city in the world. Many festivals are organized during this season, such as "Le Salon" (Exhibition of pictures and sculptures) in the Grand Palais situated midway between the Place da la Concorde and the Arc de Triomphe. Other minor exhibitions of pictures in small halls in the garden of Tuileries, Horse races, Tennis Tournaments, Flowers show, etc., are also held. During all these attractions fell this year the centenary of the death of the immortal composer of the French national hymn "La Marseillaise," Rouget de L'isle, who died on the 26th June, 1836, in a small town, Choisy le Roi, in the vicinity of Paris. The commemoration of the centenary was celebrated in advance (19th June) in Paris in the open courtyard of the Invalides in the presence of the President of the Republic, Monsieur Lebrun. Nine hundred musicians accompanied by three hundred singers played "La Marseillaise."

A few lines giving a short story of the life of Rouget de L'isle will explain under what circumstances this glorious war song was composed in 1792.

Claude Joseph Rouget de L'isle was born on the 10th May, 1760, at Lons le Saunier in the province of Jura. His father was an advocate. After finishing his elementary instruction in this small village, he joined the military school of Paris and later on in Mezieres and he was appointed lieutenant in 1784 and captain in 1789, the year when the great Revolution broke out in France. He was posted in Strassbourg in 1791. His military career was not extraordinarily bright, but he devoted much time to learning music and this gift introduced him to the baron Dietrich and his wife in Strassbourg. He had composed a hymn to Liberty which became very popular in the army. Baron Dietrich's house was a sort of rendezvous where many distinguished guests met, played cards, enjoyed music given by the gifted wife of the baron and talked politics.

The news of the declaration of war against Prussia and Austria by the Legislative Assembly in Paris reached Strassbourg on the 24th April, 1792 and created great excitement. People flocked to read the proclamations and posters to recruit volunteers. Soldiers were moving towards the frontier and their popular songs were "Ca ira" and "Carmagnole." Rouget de Lisle was one of the guests of the Mayor Dietrich in the evening and great excitement prevailed during the dinner. Fine wines and champaigns were served. They discussed all sorts of subjects—politics and especially the popular march-songs sung by the troops—"Ca ira" and Carmagnole," which were not much liked by the hosts. Rouget de L'isle was requested to try and compose a better war song. First he hesitated but Baroness Dietrich insisted much and at last he agreed to do his best. Afterwards he retired to his residence and began to compose. He tried it with the violin and then set it to writing. He did not sleep the whole night, worked at the task and finally he composed the march in six strophes. Early in the morning he sang and played it before a comrade officer and then he took it to the Mayor Dietrich and his charming wife, both of whom were good musicians. Baroness sat at the piano and tried to play and her husband who had a fine tenor voice, accompanied her. They were charmed with the composition. So the immortal hymn of the French was composed in one night. A beautiful picture representing this scene painted by Pils was exhibited in the "Salon" in 1849. At present this picture is kept in the Museum of Louvre. The artist has slightly modified the scene. Rouget de L'isle is represented as the singer of the hymn, instead of the Mayor Dietrich. Next day the military band was requested to play it, and immediately it became extremely popular. One hundred copies were printed and distributed at once.

This march-song was originally published under the title "War song of the Army of the Rhine" and dedicated to Marshal Lukner commanding that army at the time. The melody of the song became popular and began

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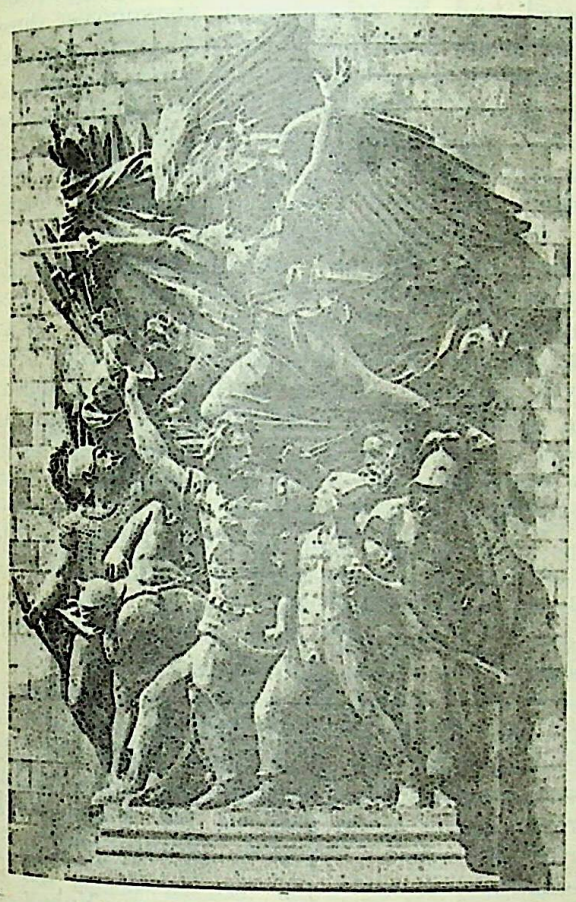
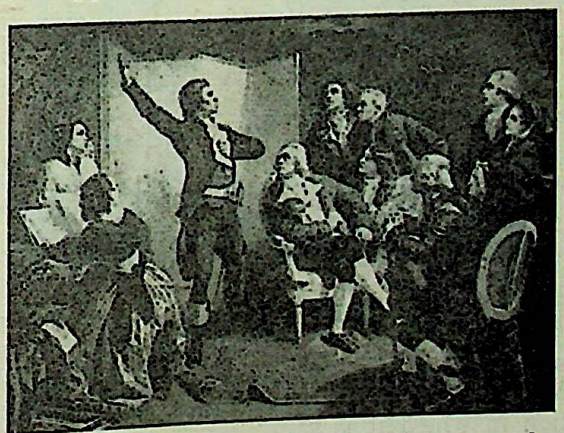
to be sung by soldiers and the public and spread like wild fire from place to place reaching the remotest corners of France in a couple of months. Meanwhile the Legislative



The heroic March of 92

Assembly was sending appeals to all provinces to send volunteers for its protection. The southern province fixed Marseille as a rendezvous for the volunteers, who were gathering together there. Amongst these volunteers came one young doctor called Mireur from Montpellier, who was very fond of "the War song of the Army of the Rhine." He appealed to his friends to learn the song quickly and to sing in the meeting in a small Cafe in Marseille, which was done and many copies of the music were copied and distributed. Thus the battalion of volunteers left Marseille, with the band playing this march, for Paris. On the way people crowded together to watch the battalion passing and playing and singing the same war song. They reached Paris on or about the 10th August and a great reception was given them on their entrance into Paris and people not knowing the title of the song called it "La Marseillaise." Thus "the War song of the Army of the Rhine" became the war song of the whole nation under the title of "La Marseillaise" and was finally adopted as the National hymn of the French, and as such was first played by the military band on the 23rd and 30th September in the Opera House.

The poor author was surprised to learn that his War Song had adopted another name. He was suspected of royalist tendencies and dismissed from the army and imprisoned. He narrowly escaped from being guillotined through the downfall of Robespierre. He was released and warmly received by the convention and his War Song was recognized as the national hymn, but the ascendance of Napoleon brought him ill-luck again, because he did not approve of the shooting of the Duke of Enghien. He led a miserable life up to the revolution in 1830, when his old comrade Louis Philippe became the king of the French and accorded him a small pension. He lived a retired life in Choisy le Roi till his death, which took place on the 28th June, 1836 almost unnoticed. Some workmen and a small group of soldiers headed by his old friend General Blein were present at the burial ceremony. A last touching farewell was offered with his immortal song of "La Marseillaise." In 1916, his remains were brought to Paris and burried in the Invalides, not very far from the tomb of Napoleon. There is a proposal to remove his remains to the Crypt of Pantheon.



Rouget de L'isle singing his newly composed La Marseillaise the French National Anthem

There exist several monuments of Rouget de L'isle in France—Francois Rude, famous sculptor, composed a haut-relief for the decoration of the "Arch de Triomphe" representing the departure of volunteers singing "La Marseillaise." This masterpiece is considered

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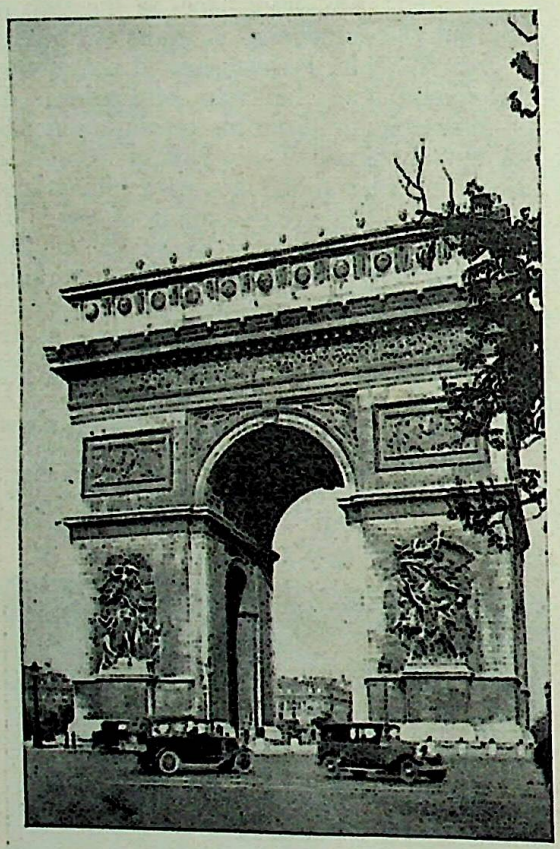
as one of the best modern sculptural works in Paris. The artist took two years (1833-1835) to complete it. There is one statue in Lons-le-Saunier and one in Strassbourg, and one in Choisy le Roi.

There is no other national hymn in the world which can stand comparison with "La Marseillaise." It was sung all over the world by the oppressed people—in Russia before the war, by the young Turks, in Balkan countries, by the Egyptians, in short wherever there was a movement of liberation in the world. It will interest the Indian readers to konw that the first strophe of this hymn was translated



The Triumphal Arch of Paris

into English, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Bengali, Marathi, and Gujarati with a short introduction in which it is said :

"Rouget de L'isle, who was the author and composer of this admirable song (consisting of seven stanzas), is supposed to have been inspired by a supernatural power, since it is said that 'La Marseillaise' is not the work of a man, but that it is the outpourings of the heart of a nation clamouring for political freedom. Rouget de L'isle wrote it, but it was the country that dictated it. Regarding this immortal national hymn of the French, Carlyle says that it is the 'luckiest musical composition ever promulgated, the sound of which will make the blood tingle in men's veins and whole Armies and Assemblages will sing it with eyes weeping and burning, with hearts defiant of Death, Despot and Devil."

There are several strophes in "La Marseillaise" but generally two strophes are played and in educational ceremonies three strophes are played. One strophe was destined for the youth and it did not form the part of the original "War song for the Army of the Rhine." It was not the work of Rouget de L'isle but was added by one Monsieur Dubois. The melody of the "Chant de Guerre" (song of war) became the people's tune and it crossed the French frontier soon after its composition. The war minister of France ordered it to be sung as "Te Deum" as an act of grace after the battle of Valmy. The royal prince of Prussia having heard it during the negotiation for the retreat of the German army, expressed a desire to possess the music of this war song, a copy of which was sent from Paris to Kellermann. "La Marseillaise" was sung for the first time on the battle-field of Yemmapes with such enthusiasm by the French soldiers that the enemies were routed. Kotzebue exclaimed to the author "Cruel Barbarian ! how many of my comrades hast thou not killed." Later when Klopstock met Rouget de L'isle in Hambourg in 1797 he expressed his admiration for his War Song which sustained the courage of the armies in these terms : "You are a terrible man, you cut into pieces 50,000 brave Germans" (*Goethe & Beethoven*, by Romain Rolland).

Goethe heard this hymn at Valmy in Argone and during the seige of Maintz and he never forgot the terrific impression during his whole life. It appeared to him as an explosion of revengeful fury. Goethe describes how he was impressed when he heard "La Marseillaise" at the sortie of the French troops from Maintz in the following terms :

"The most remarkable appearance, and [which] impressed all was that of the Chasseurs a cheval. They approached us nearly in complete silence and all of a sudden, they started playing 'La Marseillaise.' This revolutionary Te Deum seemed to possess sadness and frightfulness even when it is executed with enthusiasm, but on this occasion, the musicians played it very slowly, regulating the measure with their slow march. The effect was thrilling and terrible."

Some German musicians adopted this melody for popular songs, but not with the same success. It seems unbelievable that one German musician, of north Germany, called Herklots, adopted this melody of "La Marseillaise" to compose a song in honour of the King of Prussia. The brother-in-

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law of Goethe, August Vulpins, introduced the words of the song in his novel called Rinaldo Rinaldini in 1799 and some unknown man added the melody in 1804, which is sung even today in Germany. Schumann made use of "La Marseillaise" three times, first in his "Carnaval de Vienne" in 1839 and in the following year in the popular song of the Two Grenadiers by Heine (Richard Wagner had put it into music in the same year, making use of "La Marseillase") and in 1851 in his ouverture of Hermann and Dorothy. In 1830, one book of songs for the German soldiers and people was published by a school master called Carl Weitershausen, who insisted purposely that one must borrow the melody of "La Marseillaise in all songs of victory" (Romain Rolland, *Goethe and Beethoven*").

The centenary of Rouget de L'isle was noticed by several English daily papers with articles in praise of the national hymn of the French, especially by the *Observer* and the *Times*, which declares :

"Thus Rouget de L'isle had put a new song in the mouth of the French people, one destined to live through successive changes of Government, Republican and Imperial alike. It is a marching song of glory to which the nation must be true even though stricken to its knees."

THE RIVER OF KINGS

By ADRIS BANERJI

Mr. Ranajit Sitaram Pandit, needs no introduction to the intelligentsia of India. A cultured man, he has contributed his share to the cause of Indian freedom. That he is an intelligent student of Indian archaeology, was apparent from his two contributions on the archaeological remains in Afghanisthan, which appeared in the pages of this journal, a couple of years ago. He now appears to be a sound Sanskritist, with considerable knowledge of the ancient history of India. His translation of the *Rajatarangini** (*The River of Kings*), is a distinct contribution to oriental scholarship. A melancholy interest is attached to the work. We are informed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has contributed a foreward, that the translation was undertaken for the benefit of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, whose knowledge of Sanskrit was very meagre. Alas, before the work could be finished, that doughty champion of Indian nationalism, had breathed his last.

The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana Misra, is a saga of Kashmirian kings, who dwelt and lived, loved and fought, in that dreamy secluded valley, in the heart of the eternal Himalayas. It occupies an unique position in the history of Sanskrit literature. The ancient Hindus though they have bequethed to us a very rich heritage in other branches of literature, have not transmitted to us, any historical works which can be accepted as reliable for any period of Indian history. Our forefathers could produce short historical compositions, but they seem to have possessed very little historical sense. Even general histories are conspicuous by their absence. Exceptions to this broad generalization there certainly are, but, these exceptions go to prove the validity of our contention. Therefore, our chief interest in Kalhana's *magnum opus* lies in the fact, that it comes nearest to the chronicles of mediaeval Europe. Written in a clear and melodious style, it presents before our eyes, the whole panoroma of political, social and economic life of mediaeval Kashmir.

It is true that the author is more concerned here with doings of kings, knights and court ladies, still it is an interesting picture. We see bold knights in their glittering armours, living their chivalrous mode of life. We hear of nauseating tales of base treachery, marauding raids, civil war and debauchery. We read of building of temples by pious queens and other public works. Kalhana was closely associated with Kashmirian court of his times. His father Champaka, was a faithful adherent of Harsha, Kings of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.D.). When his sovereign was foully murdered, Champaka's loyalty prevented him from accepting service under the new king. Kalhana's uncle Kanaka also enjoyed the confidence of Harsha, and on latter's death retired to Benares. This prevented Kalhana from entering any of the public services of his country. It was for the best, because, this forced leisure gave the young brahmin ample time and opportunity to compose his great work, and saturated it with a spirit of independence and impartiality, as far as contemporary history was concerned. This is his greatest merit. He extolls those to whom credit is due and he condemns those, who were responsible for the degeneration of his country. His description of recent history, appears to achieve high standard of accuracy, and is filled with those small touches, which imply personal knowledge. His addiction to *kavya* style, in no way detracts the value of his work. On the other hand, we are grateful to him, for some extremely fascinating description of certain episodes of Kashmirian history; *e.g.*, Bhoja's terrible journey over snow-clad mountains in 1144 A.D., to the Dard country; Suryamati's *sati*; Jayapida's dialogue with the brahmins, whom he had persecuted and the tragic tale of Harsha's last days. A proper analytical account of the *Rajatarangini* would require a separate volume; enough has been written here to demonstrate the importance of the work.

One may reasonably enquire, about the utility of publishing a new volume, when we have the translation of Sir M. A. Stein. The explanation is offered by the distinguished translator himself. Sir Auriel Stein's work, inspite of its great merits, 'does not give an adequate idea of the work (Rajatarangini), as a literary composition, to readers unable to study the original.' Moreover Stein's interest in the work was rather archaeological and topographical, and arbitrary omission of verses are not rare. This translation on the other hand is an attempt to represent poetry in a literal prose. It preserves as far as possible the original constructions.

Apart from the text, the work contains eleven appendices, a short bibliography and a useful Index. At the end we find twenty-one well executed plates, and as a 'Frontispiece' there is a coloured reproduction of Nagarjuna. The price is rather prohibitive, but considering the execution, excellent printing, beautiful get up of the book and extreme merits of the contents, every Indian, who can afford it, should have a copy.

* *Rajatarangini* (*The River of Kings*), By Kalhana Misra. Translated from original Sanskrit by R. S. Pandit, Published by The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1934, Price Rs. 18/-.

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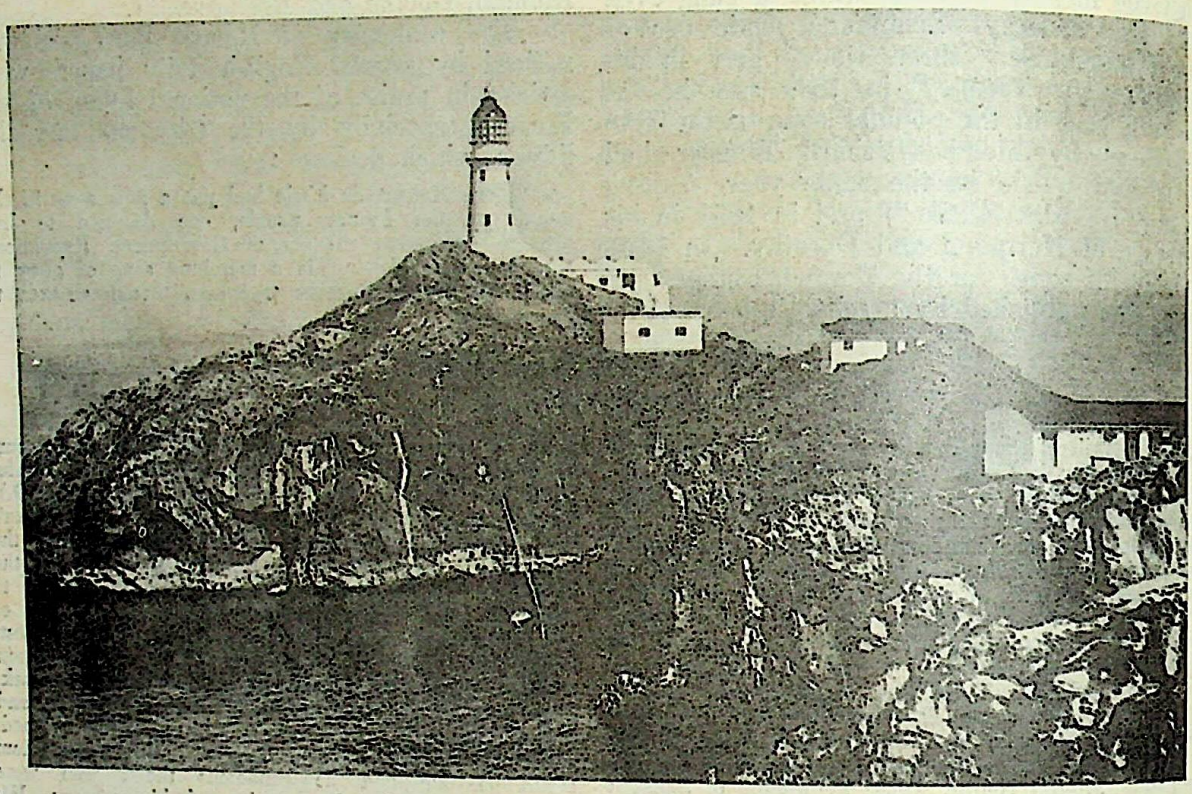
A STRANGE INHABITED LAND



Vengurla Lighthouse

VENGURLA Rocks, a few acres of rock rising sheer from the sea about two hundred miles south of Bombay, four miles from the mainland, claims the distinction of having a lighthouse with its 1,250,000 candlepower, the most powerful and important lighthouse administered by the Government of India.

In the winter, it is possible for a boat from the port of Vengurla to reach the rocks and land with supplies of food and fresh water (for there is no water on this barren island) and books and periodicals. The precipitous rocks and rough seas isolate it completely, however, in the summer months when the keepers lived completely marooned—there being no wireless.

Up till recently, they have had to subsist during these lonely four months on rice, potatoes and tinned food, collecting rain-water in small tanks for drinking purposes. They have one delicacy—oysters of good quality which adhere to the rocks, but there is no possibility of enjoing fresh vegetables at this time, the island being absolutely devoid of soil.

Lack of fresh vegetables over long period can be serious to health, resulting in scurvy and such diseases. Accordingly, the Government of India have had shipped to Vengurla Rocks five hundred bags of soil and in one of the few sheltered spots this precious soil has been carefully laid. For the first time in history there will be a touch of colour on the island and some fresh food for the lonely inhabitants.

To make landing easier and also for putting supplies ashore a 2½ ton crane has been erected at the top of the cliff. Stores, provisions water barrels and other supplies are hoisted 80 feet up the side of the rock to a landing platform.

In 1933, the Government of India sanctioned a recreation scheme for the lighthouses in the Bombay area, and this lighthouse in particular. Vengurla Rocks is now supplied with gramophones records, games of various descriptions, newspapers and magazines, and a private library has been collected in Bombay. The question of installing wireless receiving sets is under consideration.

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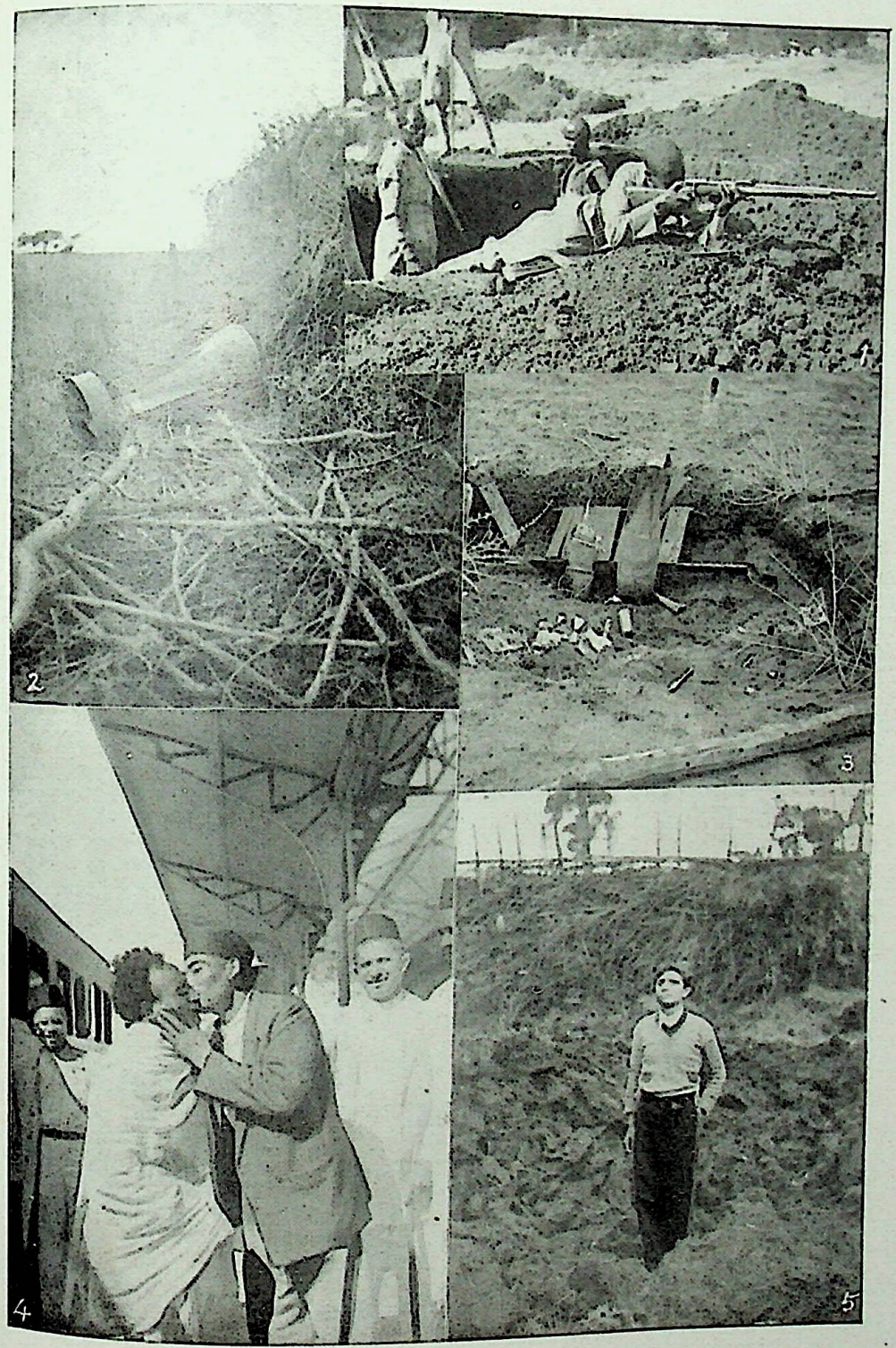

1. An Abyssinian Sniper. *2.* A half exploded Mustard Gas Bomb. *3.* Dud bombs.
4. Indian Merchants leaving Addis Ababa. *5.* The Writer in a Still "hot" ditch made by a heavy bomb.

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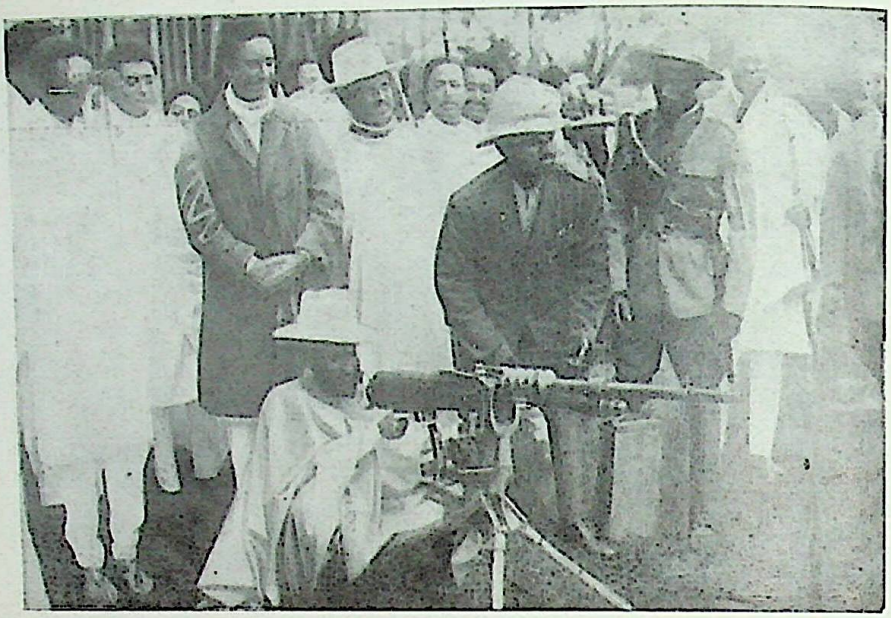
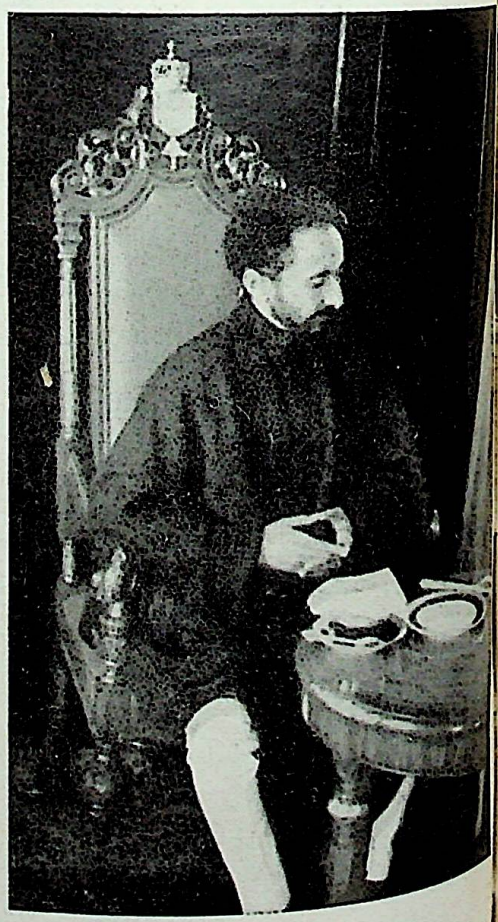


The Emperor testing a machine-gun

The Emperor and the Princes in war dress



The Emperor of Abyssinia

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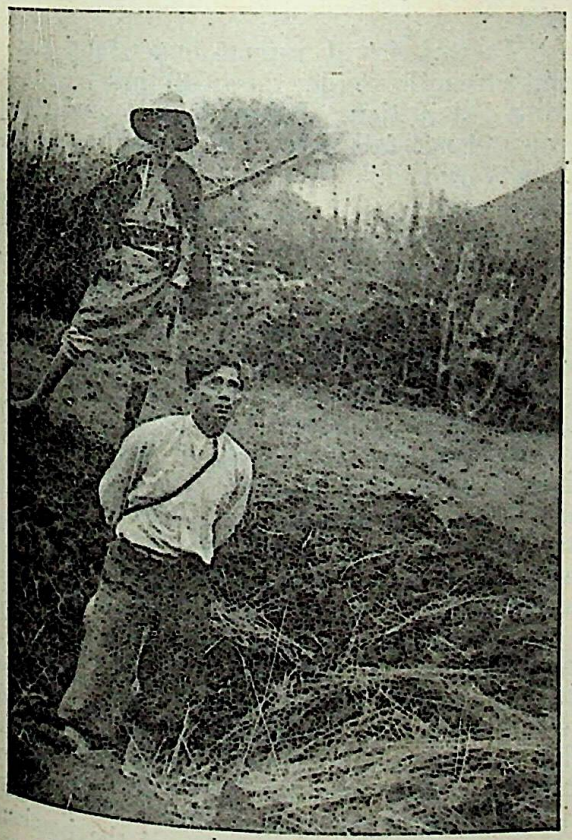
ITALY BOMBS AND GASES INNOCENT ABYSSINIANS

By Dr. SATYANARAIN SINHA

Since the writer of this article has returned from the Abyssinian fronts, he finds that, although the chief topic of conversation is still the Italo-Abyssinian war, the outside world does not realise its horrors thoroughly. The majority of people think that it was somewhere in far off Africa with which they are very little concerned. But those who have seen it with their own eyes cannot look at it with such indifference. It must be quite clear to them that very seldom have there been such torture and brutality as in this war. To make it more clear let us take concrete examples and relate what the writer himself and his friends have lived through on the Abyssinian fronts.



In Expectation of a bomb !
The Writer in a ditch made by a bomb

The first thing which struck us was that the Abyssinians had no doctors of their own who could look after their wounded countrymen. Those who came from foreign countries got disheartened when they saw on the fronts that it was beyond their capacity to save the lives of more than a handful of men, while thousands and thousands were dying whose lives could have been easily saved. I have heard several foreign journalists say in Addis Ababa that the reasons for human sufferings in this war were that the Abyssinians were the most ungrateful creatures in the world, because they killed those doctors who went with an intention to help them. Besides this, it was said that the Abyssinians preferred their own primitive way of treatment to those of the foreign doctors. Such statements of the journalists were utter lies.

I can say from my own experience that there will be seldom any people in other parts of the world who could have shown more gratitude to the foreign doctors than the Abyssinians. It was unfortunate that there were very few foreign doctors who were proving of much help to the Abyssinians. Here a brief account of some of the experiences of one of my Canadian missionary friends, Doctor Huper, will not be out of place. He worked for three months on the southern front as the doctor in charge of a Red Cross detachment. As he was working not very far from the fighting lines, he himself had to go through some of the horrors and havoc of the war, which show a part of the true picture of this war.

When Doctor Huper reached the fronts he began his work in the vicinity of Dolo. At that time, he was kept a few miles behind the fighting lines, which irritated him very much, because from that position he could not fulfil his duty so thoroughly as he wished. Even in the great war the members of the Red Cross were allowed to go upto the fighting line, and carry the wounded on stretchers to the Red Cross stations. But on the Abyssinian fronts Red Cross people were kept so far from the fighting line that it was practically impossible for them to give first-aid to the wounded. Many died on the way before they could be brought to the Red Cross stations.

Another difficulty was the lack of hands to carry the wounded. Generally eight persons

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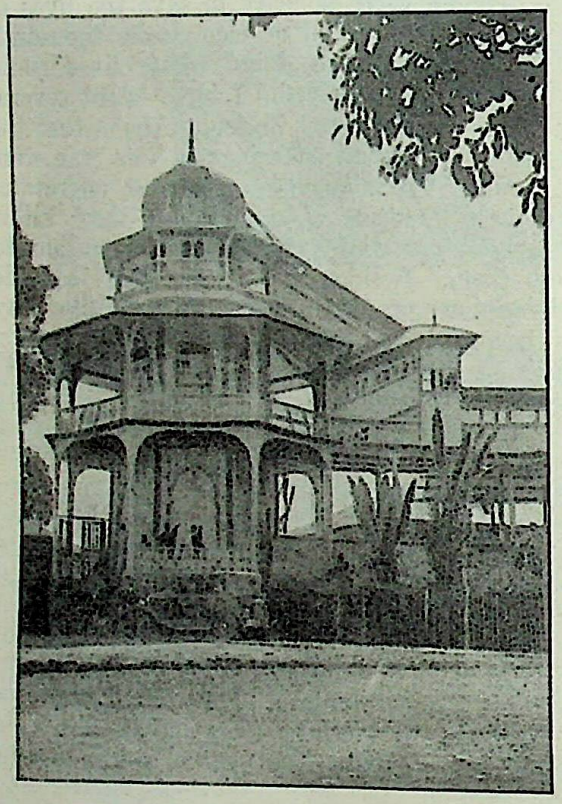
are required to carry a wounded man on the stretcher. The number of the wounded on the Abyssinian fronts was so great that the Red Cross detachments were unable to cope with the situation.

In the month of January last, when the forces of Ras Desta retreated from the south towards the western part of the front, my friend Doctor Huper was asked to fix his head-



The Imperial Palace at Addis Ababa built by Indian architects and carpenters

quarters at Nagalle, which lies in the province of Sidamo. Scarcely had Doctor Huper managed to keep the medicines and his wounded patients in the tents, than the Italian planes reached there to bombard the locality. The Doctor was forced to leave his tent and to take shelter in a nearby ditch, as it was quite apparent that the Italians were going to bombard the Red Cross tent. When the Italian planes had finished their work of destruction and gone back, the Doctor returned to his tents. He found them in a worse condition than a devastating earthquake could have reduced them to. Neither the medicines nor the patients were in their places. One tent had 287 bullet holes in it. It was quite clear that the Italian aviators had machine-gunned the tent. Some of the patients who attempted to crawl out met their death a few steps farther in front of their tent, while others were shot down while they were lying on their stretchers.

Doctor Huper had not much time to regret his loss. He saw many people running breathlessly with cries that 200 camions (military trucks) and 50 tanks were following them. Doctor Huper had no provisions left, no blanket, no extra clothing or food with him. He left Nagalle in this condition, and ran towards the north in the direction of some hills. He stopped at a place where he thought that tanks or camions could not reach him. But there were no provisions. He had to spend the night under the sky without food. There was no alternative left for him but to march northwards in search of some food and water. In such a miserable condition Doctor Huper had to walk a distance of nearly 40 miles before he met some responsible Abyssinian authorities who took charge of him. The Doctor told me when I saw him in Addis Ababa :

"To this day I cannot understand how I found strength to do those 40 miles in such terrible exhaustion. I cannot also understand how I did not fall sick. Only God knows how I have survived."

When I myself got an opportunity to go to the fronts, I found that my friend had not told me the full truth about the horrors of the war on the Abyssinian fronts. Things were certainly a thousand times worse. I myself saw that the Italians had no compunction in brutally murdering the civil population consisting largely of women, children and sick and wounded people. The extent of suffering of the Abyssinian civil population was perhaps more than that of the military, because in the former case those who suffered were mostly women and children who could not be expected to bear hardships and sufferings like military men.

The brutal pictures of the scenes of bombardment in the war zone used to be always of the same type. There were no warnings given to the public about an air-raid. The civil population knew about an air-raid only when they saw the planes of the enemy with their own eyes, and above their heads. Greatly terrified by the noise of the bombing planes they used to run here and there not knowing where to go and what to do. There were seldom any experienced people among them who could warn them that there was no use of running here and there when the aviators

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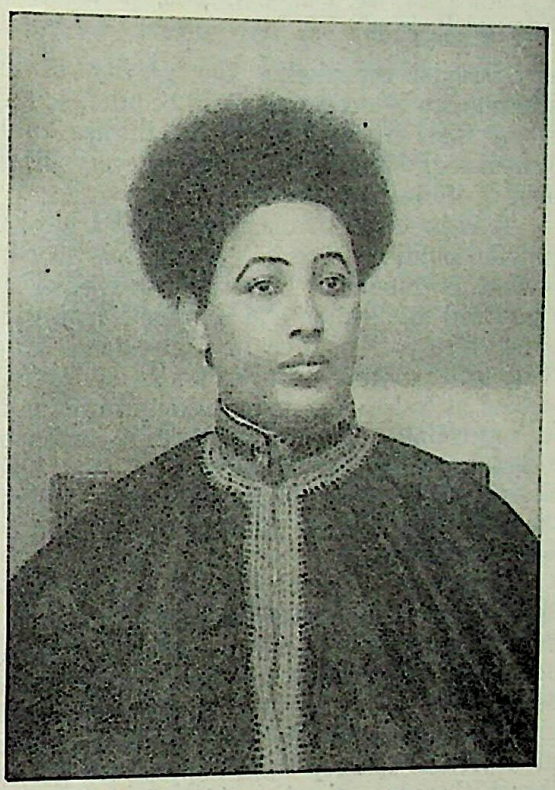
of the enemy had once seen them. Not only this, a large number of the civil population got killed in the war zone simply on account of their inexperience. The Italian aviators always used their machine-guns whenever they saw any living creature moving on the ground. I can relate from my own experience an interesting incident which is worth mentioning. Once we had carelessly left a piece of white cloth lying on the back of a mule. The Italian aviators were unable to see us because we were all wearing khaki uniforms. However, the white cloth lying on the back of a mule made them suspicious, and they dropped actually seven bombs to kill that miserable creature. This case made it quite clear how difficult it was for the Italian aviators to find a suitable target for their bombs.

Abyssinia was not like Europe where the powers of the governments are centralized in the big industrial cities. In Europe the bombardment of the big cities will certainly prove to be of great use to the enemies, but in Abyssinia even the bombardment of the capital city could have proved of little use to the Italians. The power of the Abyssinian government lay in the villages, which were very scattered and offered very few targets which were worth destroying by the costly bombs of the Italians. For these reasons, the Italians had always to make long searches for suitable targets. When they did not find such, they used to drop bombs on any hut, any man, any animal, or, say, even on a hen. Some of the bombs which were dropped to kill a single man or a donkey used to weigh sometimes 20 to 50 seers. Many of those bombs used to be demolition bombs which were apparently dropped to start a fire if anything combustible was found near the point of bursting. The body used to be of one piece, cylindrical and of forged steel.

Very often the Italian bombing planes used to drop bombs filled with mustard gas (H. S.) on undefended Abyssinian villages to kill innocent villagers. The mustard gas used by the Italians was very persistent, and continued to be effective, under certain conditions, for as long as a week in the area in which it was used. It was extremely difficult for the Abyssinians to save themselves from the poison gases. Many things were necessary to save oneself from being burnt by the gases. Firstly, special gas-masks were required, which were expensive, and if the body was to be protected, one needed to be provided with a gas-proof suit. If the gas in the ground was to be neutralized, great quantities of chemicals were required, and these chemicals were unobtainable in Abyssinia.



Miss Abyssinia
(Asade, an Abyssinian beauty)

It is clear, therefore, that the difficulties of the civil population of Abyssinia to save their lives were practically insurmountable. Thousands and thousands of them have lost their lives, and many thousands are still suffering from poison-gas and the wounds inflicted on them by the chemicals of the Italians.

The Italians had not any regard for the ordinary rules of humanity. Several thousand innocent Abyssinians have become victimes of that "civilizing" crusade to which the Italians declare they wish to subject the Abyssinian population in the name of progress.

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THE COMMUNAL DECISION

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[Presidential Address delivered at a conference held in Calcutta on the 15th July, 1936, to discuss the Communal Decision.]

My friends, considering the gravity of our situation, my address today will be brief, because in my age expenditure of breath has to be economised, specially as there is every likelihood of its being wasted.

It is needless for me to say that I have no gift for politics. The subject of this meeting —which is communal "awards"—carries chiefly a political implication and this for a long while is my first participation in a discussion which deals with politics. Inspite of some hesitation I yielded at last to a growing anxiety in my mind for my country; I found it painfully impossible to ignore the sinister threat of a bisecting blade hissing while being sharpened, ready to divide the one vital sensitive cord that is to bind our people into a nation.

Today the shadow of a dark age has fallen upon Europe. She seems boisterously eager to put out the light of ideals which she herself had specially brought to a new age, and her newspapers today are full of the malevolent measures taken by dictatorial powers against their victims to keep them crippled for good or thrust them completely aside. I shrink from comparing with some of those facts the introduction in our country of a scheme in which there will remain no scruple to wrench off one of the most sensitive roots of our growing national being. The incident will appear too small and be passed over in silent apathy by the larger world, for those who are helplessly affected by it suffer from the cruellest of insult, the insult of insignificance. However, for us the enormity is such that I felt ashamed to claim the privilege of old age and failing health and was drawn out of my accustomed seculsion to cry my warning, even if it be a cry in the wilderness.

The Communal "Award," carrying the malediction of a seperated political life, has been pronounced even upon groups and communities of our country that did not want it. The Indian body-politic is to be divided into eighteen different sections. Mahatma Gandhi described this process as a vivisection of the body-politic, which will emerge as a carcas out of this operation.

And this evil of seperate electorates is made worse by the scheme of weightages whereby communities are differently valued to suit the present mood of the Government. For reasons which need not be explained, the Hindus are handicapped most in the coming constitution, and Bengali Hindus, instead of receiving any protection, being in the minority, have specially been singled out for a reduction of their representation even below their natural population strength by weightage being cast against them. Though a tacit compliment, it is an open assult employing a novel political arithmetic invidious enough to turn the methods of responsible government into most irresponsible means by which one community is made permanently independent of the co-operation of the other while wielding the right to oppress it, if it so chooses. It is not that we wish to deny our Muslim countrymen the benefit of their numbers, nor that we suspect them of dangerous designs. It is only that we refuse to accept the fate of all future prospect of mutual co-operation being blighted by a scheme which puts a premium upon communal allegiance at the expense of national interest—a scheme which engenders suspicion where there should be trust and corrupts both the communities by encouraging fanatics to make political profit out of communal passion. I beg to remind our rulers that even worse than the commercial exploitation of our economic life is this political poisoning of our national blood, worse than punishing subjects on suspicion, without trial for an indefinite period; for it is punishing the future, an eternal damnation for acts of disobedience, real or imaginary, proved or unproved.

Ever since the very suggestion of this proposal, the atmosphere in our province has become turbid with passion menacing amenities of civilized life, based upon mutual tolerance and co-operation. Already a spirit of wanton destructiveness seems to be creeping even in the commonwealth of our literature, threatening violence to our language, rapidly creating a situation which could have its analogy if the Scotch people had suddenly revolted with a

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calvinistic frenzy of bitterness against the English tongue because of its difference from their own traditional speech and thus if they had deliberately attempted to wreck the intellectual communication between them and the rest of the country. This is the first red signal of danger presaging a fatal collision between neighbouring communities whose duty it is to create a comprehensive life of a common welfare. If it is disturbed in an unthinking obduracy of a communal spite, then, not only our political efficiency but economic prosperity also will be involved in ruin. We have been watching on the part of our Government the uneven discrimination in the apportioning of appointments in spite of the risk it runs in lowering the standard of administration. Owing to reasons for which the Hindus are not answerable, our Muslim brethren have suffered for long from inequality of advantages in various lines. With all my heart I should welcome its being gradually brought to a balance. But it is too plain that there is a spirit working behind the arrangement savouring of a purpose not pertinent to the problem, and this has made its process so aggressively unhealthy for our collective good. Offering any encouragement to the clamouring for crumbs of favour at the table of a supreme power not only causes meanness but feebleness of character. It cannot be gainsaid that the Mahomedans own in them virile qualities that are remarkable. There is no doubt that their democratic tendency of mind has given them special fitness for winning in the race of life. Those of them with whom I have had opportunity to come in close relationship I have frankly admired and loved, and their number is not small. I have always intently hoped that all the differences separating us that mostly arise from utter stupidity and primitive spirit of unreason could be removed through nearer personal touch and comradeship. But any biased treatment from any alien source that is not expected to have a natural sympathy and unselfish concern for the country can only emphasize these differences into a mortal mischief. Let us have the far-sighted wisdom to know that concessions acquired through a prudent patronage are always demoralizing, both for those who are fortunate and others who are deprived. They will create complications that will perpetually irritate each other and in the long run will never serve those who have been helped to an easy path of profit. We, who belong to the same soil, must, for the sake of a civilized existence and ultimately for bare self-protection, cultivate mutual friendliness, and both the parties should rise above all immediate provocations and allurements, and should distrust the elements, foreign and indigenous, that sow living thorns in their path of fellowship. We, Hindus, must not grudge the favoured partners of our destiny the sudden shower of gifts so long as it lasts; the only cause for anxiety lies in the sureness of a reaction that will follow when the saturation point is reached and yet satiety remains distant, when the one-sided game of indulgence crosses the bounds of even autocratic decency. The most ill-omened aspect of the problem which frightens us is when we realise the absurdity of bringing arguments to the present question, being perfectly certain that our rulers, long trained in parliamentary ethics, know better than ourselves that communal division in a political organization is fatal to its effectiveness.

And what is the most unfortunate fact about it is, that the vehemence of our wrath is poured upon the Mahomedans, who are as much the victims of a disastrous policy as we are ourselves. For it never can be to their best interest, this offer of an intoxicant. It will no doubt rudely and constantly disturb our own peace, but in the natural course of things one day the other party will have time to sober down and discover in dismay that some very valuable things have been destroyed and possibilities ruined that are not easy to be recovered. However, in the meanwhile, I earnestly ask my Hindu brethren never to lose their temper and aggravate the injury into suicide. As for those who have instituted this policy under various plausible excuses, it will be presumptuous for me to warn them for their wrong-headed statesmanship. If they have no compunction to mix some baser alloy in their gift which could have its full value only by its uncorrupted generosity, they will not only miss their dues in thanks which I am sure they cannot afford to despise but—well, they know better.

Those who have studied modern conditions in Europe have surely learnt that for a moment it may become possible to force people reduced to helplessness to swallow injustice but not so to force them to assimilate it. Sooner or later it is ejected in a poisoned mass of contamination. Let us forget for the moment the dominant power that is here to make and mar our future and turn to those of our countrymen

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who seem to be losing their mental equilibrium through a pathetic illusion of an everlasting good luck and remind them that in this critical period of our history any wrong turn taken in the path of our self-government is sure to lead to a permanent disgrace and calamity. It is not the difference in opportunities which in itself is dangerous but the mental attitude created through it, the attitude of exultation on one side that recklessly pushes its triumph with immediate impunity to ungenerous extremes, and on the other side, the resentment rankling deep seeking to find outlets often in a wrong manner and unreasonable excuses. It encourages both the parties light-heartedly to perpetrate acts that embitter racial memory for all time to come, creating deep-rooted prejudices that attack the foundation of neighbourly good fellowship. It is very much like infusing the air with poison gas to make victory easy, using a terribly wasteful method of attaining an iniquitous success that spreads its torments far into the heart of an innocent multitude and non-combatant future.

I was born too early for this post-war age of disillusionment. I have had my moral sustenance from the much-maligned Victorian age through its literature and its struggling faith in humanity as it reached us across the sea. Today when we find all through the West the ruthless repression of freedom and that callously arrogant cynicism which is indifferent to wide-spread human misery and injustice, I still must almost against all contrary evidence place my confidence in the sensitiveness to the ideals of humanity which I considered as the characteristic trait of the Western mind. And therefore, when I grow aware in our own neighbourhood of some far-reaching and deeply laid diplomatic move which means permanently holding paralysed in its meshes our future for the sake of a tighter grip upon our vitals, I still feel inclined to appeal to the chivalrous humanity of the Englishman representing the best ideals of Western culture. I believe that if those ideals that show signs of dilapidation were restored once again and somehow brought to bear even upon Indian politics, if the people that determine the fate of this country could win in our hearts the prestige of unswerving fairplay, it will add not only to the credit of their civilization but to their worldly benefit in the long run. If those that have called this meeting had no such faith, conscious or unconscious, in this race, then this meeting is foolish and devoid of meaning. I am sure, even though they may not clearly define it to themselves, they are certain that the higher stratum of English life does not solely consist of persons like the late Premier who betrayed his often-pronounced ideals when they concerned India or some Viceroy who cleverly navigated the white paper boat into a stagnant water of inanity, and who must have inwardly chuckled at all our discomfitures and blunders of inexperience. If this pathetic faith which dies hard is an illusion, then let us leave this child's play of meetings and conferences and exclusively concentrate our attention to build our own history in an unaided and dignified aloofness and in patient wisdom. Or even fall back upon the stoic indifference of the oriental mind, the indifference that unconsciously prepares the soil for an unwelcome and unexpected cataclysm.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA ON RAMMOHUN ROY

It was here, too, that we heard a long talk on Ram Mohun Roy, in which he pointed out three things as the dominant notes of this teacher's message, his acceptance of the Vedanta, his preaching of patriotism, and the love that embraced the Mussulman equally with the Hindu. In all these things, he claimed himself to have taken up the task that the breadth and foresight of Ram Mohun Roy had mapped out.

Notes of Some Wanderings with the Swami Vivekananda: by Sister Nivedita of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda. Authorized Edition, 1919, page 19.

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IN A TRAIN

By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Friends often ask me: When do you read? My life seems pretty full of various activities, some useful perhaps, others of a doubtful utility. It is not easy to make friends with books and live in their charmed world when the horrid business of politics consumes our youth and eats up our days and nights, which, under a better dispensation, would be given to happier pursuits. Yet even in this dreary round I try to find a little time at night to read some book that is far removed from politics. I do not succeed always. But most of my reading takes place in railway trains as I journey to and fro across this vast land.

A third class or an intermediate class compartment is not an ideal place to read in or do any work. But the invariable friendliness of my fellow-travellers and the courtesy of railway officials make a difference, and I am afraid I cannot pretend to experiencing all the discomforts of such travelling. Others insist on my having more than my fair share of space, and many acts of courtesy give a pleasant human touch to the journey. Not that I love discomfort or seek it. Nor do I indulge in travelling third class because there is any virtue in it or principle involved. The main consideration is one of rupees, annas and pies. The difference in third class and second class fares is so great that only dire necessity induces me to indulge in the luxury of second class travel.

In the old days, a dozen years ago, I used to write a great deal while travelling, chiefly letters dealing with Congress work. Repeated experience of various railway lines made me judge them from the point of view of facility of writing on them. I think I gave first place to the East Indian Railway; the North-Western was fair; but the G. I P. Railway was definitely bad and shook one thoroughly. Why this was so I do not know, nor do I know why fares should differ so greatly between the different railway companies, all under State control. Here again the G. I. P. Railway stands out as one of the most expensive, and it will not even issue ordinary return tickets.

I have given up the habit of writing much in a train. Perhaps my body is less flexible now and cannot adjust itself so well as it used to to the shaking and jolting of a moving train. But I carry a boxful of books with me on my journeys, taking always far more than I can possibly read. It is a comforting feeling to have books around one even though one may not read.

This journey was going to be a long one, to far Karachi, almost it seemed to me, after my air journeys, half way to Europe. So my box was well filled with a variety of books. I started off, as was my wont, in an intermediate class compartment. But at Lahore, the next day, fearful and terrifying accounts of the heat and the dust on the way weakened my resolve and I promoted myself to the luxuries of second class travel. Thus travelling in style and moderate comfort, I went across the Sind desert. It was as well that I did so, for even in our closely shuttered compartment clouds of fine dust streamed in through all manner of crevices and covered us layer upon layer, and made the air heavy to breathe. I thought of the third class and shuddered. I can stand heat and much else but dust I find much more difficult to tolerate.

Among the books I read on the long journey was about a remarkable and unusual man, Edward Wilson, lover of birds and animals and comrade unto death of Scott in the Antarctic regions. The book had a double appeal to me, for it had come to me from yet another remarkable man. It was a gift from A. G. Fraser, for long principal of the Achimota College in West Africa, that noble and unique monument of African education which he had built up with labour and sympathy and affection.

The sandy, inhospitable desert of Sind passed by as the train sped along, and I read of the Antarctic regions and of man's gallant fight against the elements, of human courage that conquered mighty nature itself, of endurance almost beyond belief. And of high endeavour and loyalty to comrades and forgetfulness of self and good humour in the face of every conceivable misfortune. And why? Not for any advantage to the persons concerned, not even obviously for the public good or the

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marked benefit of science. Why then? Simply because of the daring that is in man, the spirit that will not submit but always seeks to mount higher and higher, the call that comes from the stars. Most of us are deaf to that call, but it is well that a few hear it and ennoble our present generation. To them life is a continual challenge, a long adventure, a testing of their worth.

"I count life just a stuff
To try the soul's strength on . . . . "

Such a one was Edward Wilson, and it is well that after having reached the Southern Pole, he and his companions lay down for their final rest in those vast Antarctic regions where the long day follows the long night and silence reigns. There they lie surrounded by immeasurable expenses of snow and ice, and over them the hand of man has put up a fitting inscription:

"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield."

The Poles have been conquered, the deserts surveyed, the high mountains have yielded to man, though Everest still remains proud and unvanquished. But man is persistent and Everest will have to bow to him, for his puny body has a Mind that recognizes no bounds and a spirit that knows no defeat. And then, what remains? The earth because smaller and smaller and romance and knightly adventure seem to go out of it. We are even told that a flight to the Pole may be a common occurrence before long. And the mountains have funiculars running up their sides and luxury hotels at the top where jazz bands break the stillness of the night and mock the eternal silence of the snows, and dull middle-aged people play bridge and talk scandal, and bored and blase young people and old seek pleasure feverishly, and seek it in vain.

And yet, adventure is always there for the adventurous, and the wide world still beckons to those who have courage and spirit, and the stars hurl their challenge across the skies. Need one go to the Poles or the deserts of the mountains for adventure when the adventure of life is there for all who care? What a mess we have made of this life of ours and of human society, and with plenty and joy and a free development of the human spirit open to us, we yet starve in misery and have our spirits crushed in a slavery worse than that of old. Let us do our bit to change this, so that human beings may become worthy of their great inheritance and make their lives full of beauty and joy and the things of the spirit. The adventure of life beckons and it is the greatest adventure of all.

The desert is covered with darkness, but the train rushes on to its appointed goal. So also perhaps humanity is stumbling along though the night is dark and the goal hidden from us. Soon the day will come and instead of the desert there will be the blue-green sea to greet us.

In moving train
Karachi Mail.
July 17, 1936.

INDO-JAPANESE TRADE AGREEMENT: RENEWAL ON WHAT TERMS?

By M. P. GANDHI

The Convention and Protocol regarding the commercial relations between India and Japan which was signed in 1934 will, subject to due notice of denunciation, cease to be effective after March, 1937. The desirability of renewing the Convention and Protocol either in the form in which they stand or in a modified form, or of negotiating an entirely new agreement is now engaging the attention of the Government of India. Recently they convened at Simla a Conference of non-officials representing varied interests and consulted them. While the Government of India have done well in taking the representatives of the commercial community and other interests affected into confidence, it would have been much more desirable if its representatives were associated in the day-to-day deliberations with the representatives of Japan. That would have been a good safeguard against any commitments being made by the Government due to lack of detailed technical knowledge. It is hoped, however, that before the conclusion of the final Agreement the Government of India will again consult the various interests.

The present quota system, *viz.*, of Japan

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being allowed to send a fixed number of yards of piecegoods in return for the purchase of a fixed number of cotton bales, is in principle sound and if it is established on a proper basis it can operate in a manner which would ensure markets against steady disintegration as a result of currency depreciation and other factors. It also safeguards the interests of the consumers and cultivators of cotton, since the production of a primary produce can be to a substantial extent assured of an export market. Among the problems which the Government should bear in mind in connection with the renewal of the Agreement in a modified form may be mentioned the following which have been brought into light as a result of the experience gained during the last two years :

1. The imports of piecegoods from Japan are measured in terms of linear yardage and not square yardage. This system throws open the door for evasion; for it would be possible for Japanese manufacturers, who are at present shipping the standard widths of 25/6" to 28", to double their quota allowance by manufacturing their goods measuring 52" in width with two selvedges in the centre separated by a small space which would enable the cloth to be divided readily into two pieces. This could be remedied by laying down that the term "yard" in the quota means "a square yard" so as to prevent the evasion of the quota by the device of shipping "splits" of double-width.

2. There has been a huge increase in the import of fents, which has encouraged the evasion of the quota to an alarming extent. This can be prevented either by increasing the duty on fents or by laying down a maximum limit of their importation, say 2% of the total yardage of piecegoods imported from Japan in the quota.

3. The present quota does not include artificial silk piecegoods and silk manufactures. This may be remedied by the inclusion in the quota of imports from Japan of artificial silk piecegoods and manufactures. The term "artificial silk" should also embrace synthetic imports such as "Fibro" or artificial staple fibre. These artificial silk goods constitute by their cheapness and attractive appearance a serious source of competition to cotton piece-goods as also to silk goods, and some measure of protection should be devised for the unrestricted importation of such goods.

4. Considerable evasion of the quota is possible through Indian States and through Afghanistan and Nepal, which adjoin the frontiers of British India, due to the smuggling of piecegoods into British India. This may be remedied by strict vigilance by the Customs Department.

5. The Government have recently conferred a considerable advantage on British piecegoods, to the decided detriment of the Indian Textile Industry, by lowering the import duty, and this would necessarily mean an increase of import from Lancashire. This being so, it is the bounded duty of the Government to protect the indigenous cotton textile industry and handloom weavers from any further invasion in their present territory by increased imports from Japan. If anything, in order to prevent the disintegration of the indigenous cotton indusary the extent of the imports from Japan should be reduced.

6. Provision should also be made for the protection of the interest of the small industries like soap, potteries, silk hosiery, glassware, etc., in which the indigenous industries meet with severe competition from Japan.

7. Government should also provide against the possible invasion of Japanese tonnage upon the coastal trade of India, as was apprehended two years ago.

The Government of India would also do well to consider a scheme by which the allotment of cotton piecegoods which may be exported from Japan into India in any year under the quota would be based on the total Indian exports to Japan of *all goods*, subject to a minimum specified export of Indian raw cotton. The balance of trade during the last three years has been in favour of Japan, which has exported goods to India of the value of Rs. 20 and Rs. 16 crores in 1932-33 and 1933-34 and which has imported goods from India of the value of Rs. 14 and Rs. 12 crores respectively. India thus is in a definitely favourable position for negotiating a Convention, advantageously. Let us hope that the Government of India will fully utilize this position and conclude an Agreement which, while securing for the Indian agriculturist an outlet for his surplus raw cotton, will fully safeguard the indigenous cotton textile industry, and many small industries, in which considerable capital has been invested and which afford employment to a large number of the people of the country.

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A MARCH BY STEALTH

By BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

The Ministry of Education, Government of Bengal, since its creation under the Government of India Act, 1919, has never failed to justify its existence and has been responsible for several 'reforms.' The introduction of the revised and unified syllabuses of studies for Secondary Schools of East and West Bengal is one of the most important, for it not only removes the invidious and unnecessary distinctions in the system of education in the several districts of the same Province, it accepts the principle of education through the medium of the learners' mother-language. The notification introducing the revised and unified syllabuses states :

> In Classes VII—X, the instruction and examination, in all subjects other than English may be conducted either in English or in the Vernacular. In classes below Class VII, the instruction and examination in all subjects shall be conducted in the Vernacular only.

Undoubtedly Bengali is the vernacular in Bengal and the Government have accepted it for, in the notification, we find, besides English, which is never claimed as the vernacular of Bengal, the 'syllabus in Bengali' only for classes III-X. But in the table showing subjects and number of periods to be alloted to them in each class in boys' as well as in girls' schools, Urdu has been mentioned as alternative to Bengali. Notes at the foot of the tables conclusively declare that the Government recognize Urdu as the vernacular of at least some pupils. Again, whenever in the list of Compulsory and Optional subjects the word Bengali is mentioned the words 'or Urdu' are closeted with it. But nowhere in the notification do we find the syllabus "in" (?) this language as vernacular from class III-X.

Of late a cry has been raised that Urdu is, or rather should be, the vernacular of the Bengali Muhammadans. Perhaps this provision allowing Urdu to be alternative to Bengali is a move to meet this cry. And the absence of the syllabuses for classes III-VI does not deter the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction from approving Urdu Readers for these classes. From the list of books approved for class III it appears that Urdu is introduced for the first time in that class. Now what was then the vernacular for the three prior classes, —Infant class, class I and class II, which fall within the category of a Primary School? Again we find the books approved for class VII to be of the same standard as those for class III. Apparently these books are not meant for those whose vernacular is Urdu.

We know there are in Bengal pupils whose vernacular is Urdu and we know further that there are many others whose vernaculars are languages other than Bengali and Urdu. We quote below the numbers of persons in Bengal speaking languages other than Bengali, as they appeared in the census of 1931 but arranged in the diminishing order of numbers :

Number of Speakers of	In Bengal	Number of Speakers of	In Bengal
Hindustani ..	1,891,337	Pashto ..	4,084
Oriya ..	159,854	Marathi ..	3,161
Nepali ..	134,147	Arabic ..	1,542
English ..	49,932	Persian ..	1,116
Telugu ..	33.125	Armenian ..	700
Rajasthani (mostly Marwari) ..	19,574	Sindhi ..	504
		Malayalam ..	305
		Italian ..	286
Panjabi ..	4,545	French ..	229
Gujarati ..	6,594	Portuguese ..	138
Tamil ..	5,885	Kanarese ..	109
Chinese ..	4,643	Kashmiri ..	63

On previous occasions the number of persons speaking Hindi and Urdu were shown separately. The figures in 1911 were :

Hindi	1,762,952
Urdu	154,438

But for reasons best known to the Government, this system has been discontinued. In 1921, the word Hindhusthani was first introduced in the Census Report and the number of persons speaking it was shown as 1,806,820. Hindusthani, we know, when written in Devanagari script is Hindi and when in Persian script is Urdu. The grammar—the construction of sentences, verbs, prepositions etc.—is the same for both these languages.

Now, the use in the Census Report of the nomenclature Hindusthani in place of Hindi or Urdu is a cleaver move by the Government for a far larger section of the persons speaking it, Hindusthani, is illiterate and hence does not know the use of any script—Indian or

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Iranian. Now the Government of Bengal with a Muhammadan Minister in charge of Education, have given the final touch by prescribing Urdu, for this will compel the Hindusthani—Hindi as well as Urdu-speaking persons using the Persian script and thus help the Islamization of the Hindi-speaking people.

Now, a pertinent question arises. If the Government desire that a pupil shall be trained in his own vernacular, why Urdu alone has been selected as alternative to Bengali, leaving other languages Hindi, Oriya etc., in the cold shade of neglect? By the way, it may be mentioned that the Calcutta University for the purpose of the Matriculation Examination, has the following long list of Indian vernaculars, besides Bengali and Urdu:

Assamese, Oriya, Hindi, Burmese, Modern Armenian, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam, Garo, Modern Tibetan, Khasi, Marathi, Maithili, Nepali, Manipuri, Portuguese, Lushia.

The number of students who sat for the last Matriculation Examination with one or other of these languages was, we understand, more than 1,200 (this figure is for Bengal alone and excludes Assam which is within the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University). They were not all non-school candidates. Now, the question is, have not the Ministry of Education any duty by them? Do not these poor boys expect that the Ministry should take a little trouble to prescribe syllabus "in" these languages too? If the Ministry have prescribed any, is it not desirable that it should be broadcasted in every school?

Besides English, the State Language and Bengali or Urdu the vernacular, a pupil is required to take up from class VII another language—one of the following:

Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Pali, and Urdu.

Generally speaking a Hindu student takes up Sanskrit and a Buddhist Pali. Only a few years ago, the Muhammadans preferred Persian but now they are eager to learn Arabic. 'With English as the State Language and Bengali as vernacular, it is waste of time and energy,' so pleaded a Moulvi when the writer was the headmaster of a Secondary School, 'to indulge in the luxury of learning Persian. It does not now help one to earn ones living or to read the Holy Scriptures. A Muslim should read Arabic as a Hindu Sanskrit.' There is much logic in the words of the Moulvi.

The inclusion of Urdu in the list by the side of the classical lauguages is a subtle move. This minimizes the labour of a Muhammadan student who may not care to learn a classical language, which is undoubtedly more difficult. One would only wish that some other vernaculars are added. There is already an impression among the Hindu students created, growing rapidly to the extent of discontent, because of some provisions regulating free-studentship etc., that they are deliberately neglected nay handicapped, by the Muhammadan Education Ministers of the Government, and this inclusion of Urdu alone, thus enabling a Muhammadan pupil to make choice out of three languages and leaving the Hindu students practically no other alternatives but to read Sanskrit, will be considered one more instance to justify their grievances. Now that 'Indian Vernaculars' is a subject for the M.A. Examinations of the Calcutta University and an examinee is required to take up his own vernacular, one subsidiary language and two classical languages, is it not desirable that a pupil should be allowed facilities to learn at the school stage another Indian vernacular besides his own mother-language? If he so desire and if a school can arrange,—and it will not at all be difficult to arrange for, say Oriya in Midnapore district, to name only one—what objection may the Ministry of Education have?

In closing the syllabus in Sanskrit a note has been added:

Schools may use the Devanagri or the Bengali script.

But no such concession is allowed in cases of Persian, Arabic or Urdu. Do the Government think that the Islanic character of these languages will be lost if the same permission is allowed in their cases?

Now that there is a movement afoot to have Roman script for Bengali and other Indian languages, why not a student should be permitted to use Roman characters, for all? The Government cannot object, for they allow Army officers to use that script for these languages. The Calcutta University cannot have any valid objections, for they select, for Pali and several other Indian languages, books printed in Roman characters.

But the concession allowed in the case of Sanskrit is only partial. Students in the secondary schools are only trained to sit for the Matriculation Examinations of the Calcutta University and the Dacca Board of Secondary Education. Both these bodies prescribe Sanskrit book printed in Devanagri script, they print question papers (sometimes in the Balbodh variety in Nagri) in the same script.

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We have not as yet come across a single Sanskrit Reader printed in Bengali script approved by the Text-Book Committee. Hence a pupil is required to learn to read that script, only he is saved the trouble of learning to write it—a relief no doubt, though small, for which the notification under discussion cannot claim any credit, for this concession is being enjoyed from the very date, one believes, when Sanskrit was first introduced as a subject in schools. The Hindu students must however thank the Ministry of Education, Bengal, that the concession is not withdrawn or that Sanskrit and Bengali have not the same fate as Gurmukhi and Hindi in the North-Western Frontier Province.

REPLY OF ROMAIN ROLLAND

To the questionnaire of *Forward*, the organ of the Reef (Native Trade) Assistants' Union, Johannesburg, South Africa. (June, 1936.)

1. What is your opinion of a United front against Fascism and Nazism?

I believe that, before the dangers of Fascism and Nazism, it is indispensable that all the parties, democratic as well as proletarian, should unite themselves with a view to crushing their common enemy. The example of France and of Spain, chasing away their reaction, is the conclusive proof of that. While the opposite proof is furnished by the case of Germany, where the parties of the Left were too divided and that division certainly helped the establishment of Nazism.

2. What is your opinion on the spread of Nazism in different parts of the world?

Nazism is born of despair in the people crushed and humiliated by the treaties of war imposed by the conquerors; it is born also of the ignorance of the people, which allowed itself to be dragged by national and racial demagogism. The only method of fighting against Nazism is an intensive propaganda for the ideas of international solidarity, of the defense of Peace; for, as I have written before, "Peace is fatal to Nazism," which supports itself on the ideology of national pride and on the will to force,—which cannot but subsist on domination, conquering, crushing other peoples.

3. What are your suggestions for a successful issue of a Peoples' Front?

The Peoples' Front should develop a highly strict discipline, avoiding all that may divide the various wings of the proletarian and democratic parties, facing common danger, avoiding above all to be provoked by reactionaries or by their unconscious allies, anarchists, extremists, etc., too frequently grouped as "revolutionaries." This last grouping should be warned against by the example of disasters provoked in too many revolutionary movements, especially in Spain during the rising of the Asturians.

(Sd.) Romain Rolland

June, 1936

[Translations of three out of the four questions and answers are printed above.—Ed., *M. R.*]

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DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI

Poet, Patriot and Author

By SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI

1910. The year was yet young in Tokio, the metropolis of Japan. One wintry morning a stranger arrived at the "India House"—the residence of Indian students. A mere stripling, he was smarting under the intense cold. For his clothes were insufficient—only an illfitting suit of bluish stuff covered his body. He wore neither overcoat nor gloves. The callow youth, as he stood shivering before me, looked the picture of misery. The stranger's name was Dhan Gopal Mukerji.

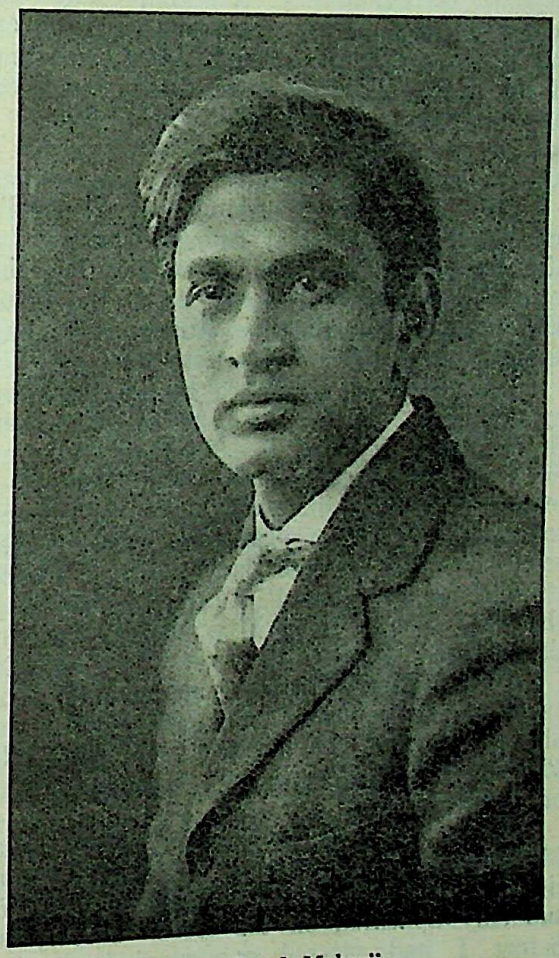
We became friends fast enough. For our tastes were identical, chief among which was our love for books. Before long I learnt he had fled from home, and what was worse, he carried no money. He had no notion how he was going to live. Only his heart was full of high ambition. Like many other youths from home he wanted to learn something, but he was not sure what.

As days passed I discovered that my friend was wise for his age. Four years my junior, he could teach me a lot. He talked of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, of Sanskrit dramas and poetry. He had a fair knowledge of the Puranas. He told me the story of the French Revolution bit by bit—Robespiere, Danton and Marat, the Fall of the Bastille and all the rest of it. He could tell a story well.

I remember, during this period, Satyendranath Datta's "Tirtha Salil" arrived from home. We read the book together. Mr. Mukerji went into ecstasies over the poems. Before the book was finished he had got many of them by heart. He had a sharp memory.

One day he whispered to me a secret—he was going to America! What cheek, mused I. Going to America indeed—he had not the means to buy a pair of shoes! But, he said, it was all fixed up. He would beg his passage from the wealthy Indian merchants! And would you believe it, he actually left for America before the month was out. Then I admired his grit and felt very small.

I returned home not long after. I lost all touch with him. He had gone forth into the wide world. Occasionally I thought of him and wondered if he still remembered me. Thus the days and months and years passed, and the memory of my youthful friend grew very dim.



Dhan Gopal Mukerji

One day in the year 1918 a book packet arrived bearing the American post mark and addressed to me in a boyish hand. The packet contained three books—two volumes of poetry, *Rajani* and *Sandhya*, and a musical play in 3 Acts entitled *Layla-Majnu*—all written in English by Dhan Gopal Mukerji. It was well that he had chosen the career dear to his heart —the career of poet and author. He had gradu-

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ated from the Leland Stanford University in California, U. S. A.

As I opened *Layla-Majnu*, I found the following lines in his own handwriting on the front blank page of the book :

Dear Old Suresh,

It is such fun to send you my first-born. But then this is not exactly that; many abortive attempts preceded Layla.

You may be sure that underneath Layla are many of the moments when you and I dreamt of great things. Let us dream again, dear Suresh.

DHAN GOPAL

Thereafter our friendship was revived. Regular correspondence with interchange of books followed. This correspondence went on through the years till a month before the time of his death. His last letter to me is dated June 6, 1936.

2

1921. I rejoiced to hear of Mr. Mukerji's impending visit to Calcutta. He wrote me after landing in Bombay. A few days later he let me hear that he had arrived at the Belur Math of the Ramakrishna Mission. He had brought his American wife with him.

One afternoon I arrived at the Math by appointment. I was taken to the European Guest House. I found Mrs. Mukerji seated on the verandah overlooking the river. She had a refined pleasing countenance. She was doing some kind of knitting at the time. By her was seated another foreign lady—very tall and straight and gray-haired. I came to know later she was no other than Miss McLeod, one of the earliest disciples of the Swami Vivekananda.

Mrs.. Mukerji received me cordially and asked me to be seated. She had heard a lot about me from her husband, she said. Mr. Mukerji was gone to the city but was expected back any moment.

Soon we were conversing freely—Mrs. Mukerji, Miss McLeod and I. The conversation had not progressed far when Mr. Mukerji suddenly appeared on the scene. I rose, but before I had uttered one word he rushed forward and clasped me in his arms. He looked the picture of health and fitness. I noticed he had grown handsomer and had put on flesh. The years that had brought him wisdom and fame had wrought no other change in him.

Mr. Mukerji was dressed in *dhoti*, a sleeveless short *banian* and a *chaddar*. All dusty and perspiring he started to talk at once. He recounted his day's experiences at the City with his usual enthusiasm and piquancy. He bubbled all over with pleasure as it were. During a pause, his wife, very mildly, with an indulgent smile on her lips, drew his attention to the soiled condition of his clothes. Mr. Mukerji said, "Yes, I believe I need a change. But I could not keep my friend waiting."

When he reappeared after a bath and a change the evening shadows were already deepening on the Ganges. He took me out to the river bank, on the masonry embankment. There we sat, the two of us, talking over old days and comparing notes. Now and then, at a pleasantry, he burst out his usual boyish laughter. He talked of life and letters in the West, drawing vivid pictures of the personalities he had met during his wide travels. He laid before me his literary projects, which were many and varied. The river spread before us like a sheet and the moving waters made soft and sweet music. Thus the hours sped by, the evening grew into night, till the sound of a bell roused us from our reverie. It was time for dinner.

That night I did not return to the City. I slept on a cot under a curtain in the open verandah of the Math dispensary. The peace and silence of the night with the river singing me to sleep are still fresh in my memory.

One night he dined with us. Besides the members of our family Mrs. Frieda Das (who is now the author of several books on India) was present. She knew Mr. Mukerji during his College days in California. We sat down to dinner on the floor, Bengali fashion. There was lively conversation. Mr. Mukerji set after Mrs. Das from the start teasing her to distraction. Much to the amusement of the company he took his *dahi* (curd) with a hissing noise in truly orthodox fashion. He said, *dahi* if not taken thus loses half its relish!

During this visit Mr. Mukerji met several prominent Bengali poets and authors, chief among whom were Poet Satyendranath, Mani Lal Ganguli and Mr. Charu Chandra Banerji. Poet Satyendranath gave an "At Home" in his honour at his residence. A number of our literary friends were present on that occasion. I remember Mr. Hemendra Coomar Roy, the novelist took me and Mr. Mukerji from there to a matinee performance at the Minerva Theatre. There we spent about an hour. Mr. Mukerji laughed heartily over the absurdities in the play.

One morning Mr. Mukerji paid a visit to the residence of Mr. O. C. Gangoly at Barabazar with his wife and Miss McLeod to see his collection of old Indian paintings. Incidentally

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he talked there of the collection of Indian Art objects in the Boston Museum. He had high praise for Dr. A. C. Coomaraswamy for his interpretation of Indian Art in America.

Before he left Calcutta I saw him again at the Belur Math. At my desire he gave a reading of English poetry. It was beautiful. One of the poems that he read was "The Rain" by the Belgian poet Emile Verhaeren.

3

1930. Mr. Mukerji arrived at the Belur Math with an American artist friend. One afternoon, by appointment, I waited expectantly for him at home. He arrived punctually. There was a loud knock on the door. The moment it was opened he rushed in with a shout. "Hello, old man! Here I am again," said he.

Dressed in European fashion, he held a felt hat in his hand. I was startled to look at his face. Pale, thin and emaciated, he looked the ghost of his former self. He had been ill for the past three years, so he told me. For the last many months he had been in extreme pain due to an attack of lumbago. The pain had grown worse during the voyage to India. It was lucky, he said, he had a companion and friend with him in the person of the American artist to take care of him on board the ship.

No wonder that he was ill. After his return to America in 1921 he had worked away incessantly producing book after book. To be exact, during the period 1923—1930 as many as nine books were published. On top of it, he travelled and lectured extensively in America and the Continent.

As soon as Mr. Mukerji arrived he asked to be shown my wife and boy. After greeting them he asked for a *dhoti* and chaddar—he wanted to get rid of his European clothes. He said, "I had to visit the Bank and several other places, on business. I find, in European clothes you receive prompter attention, so you can finish your business faster. I hate to go about my country dressed as a foreigner, but it can't be helped sometimes."

After a wash and change I left him seated in the parlour. As my wife and I had to look to the arrangement for the party to be held that evening I sent my boy to keep him company. On returning later into the room, what sight did greet my eyes? Mr. Mukerji had thrown off the *chaddar*, tucked up his *dhoti* in *malkoccha* fashion and was performing ground exercises, much to the amusement of the youngster. I remonstrated. He ought not to do this in the present state of his health. He smiled and said, "Oh it's nothing. I am teaching your boy how to keep fit!"

That evening there was a small party at my place. A number of poets, authors and journalists, mostly young writers, attended. A few relations and ladies were also present. After the usual introductions there were songs and music. Owing to the pain on the spine Mr. Mukherji could not sit up, so he reclined on a bolster and conversed. It must have been very painful for him, but he sat through for full two hours or more.

He tried to engage the ladies (they were my relations) in conversation. Not being used to mixed parties they fell shy. They said, however, they would love to talk to him at home. So he promised to visit them next day in the afternoon. He kept his promise.

That night he ate nothing. He only took a glass of *sherbet* and a sweet. It was so different from the other occasion when he dined with us!

Next day he had an invitation to lunch with a friend. Before leaving he asked for pen and paper from my wife. Then he wrote out a poem, handed it over to her and said, "If you sell this poem to an American paper when I am dead, you will get 25 dollars!"

This is the poem—

"If beauty is brief as an eagle's fall
And truth the shadow of a leaping faun
Guard them both in your eyes and hands
Hold them captive in your imprisoning walk!

"No girl walks as you at dawn
No hands bestow grace as yours,
With truth slay the devouring pains of your soul,
With Beauty nourish the agony, of heart!

"Beauty and Truth are bread and wine.
The one for the world
And the other for God—

"Then be God-like and glad
Walk with beauty as the measure of your feet
Shedding that shadow of your face,
Truth, on all!"

April 9, 1930.

It was arranged Mr. Mukerji would spend the next day with us. But he phoned the following morning to say that he could not come. He was busy packing. His plans were all changed. He was leaving Calcutta in two days for Bombay, where he would take ship. His friend, the American artist, was returning and he

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proposed to go back with him. In his present state of health he dared not take the risk of travelling alone. He must rejoin his family at once.

We were grieved to receive this message. For we expected him to make a longer stay. He himself had promised to do so. Next evening I went up to Belur Math with my wife to say goodbye to him.

We sat facing the river on the marble verandah of the Vivakananda Temple. The moon was up and a cool breeze was blowing. That evening he talked of French poetry illustrating his talk with occasional recitations.

We took the last ferry steamer to Calcutta. He came up to the jetty to see us off. Seeing me dejected, he comforted me. He would return again, he said, this time with the whole family!

By temperament and upbringing Dhan Gopal Mukerji was a poet and dreamer *par excellence*. A man of broad culture and catholic outlook, he brought to bear on his scholarship a richly imaginative mind. Possessed of a keen sense of humour, he had an uncommon gift for words. He wrote charming letters, in fact, he had reduced letter-writing to an art.

As a man he was noble-hearted and compassionate. He was deeply attached to his family. More than once he expressed his annoyance in his letters when I failed to write in detail about my family. He was above all pettiness and vulgarity.

Proud of his Hindu heritage, he was a great lover of the Upanishads. He lived and worked and thought for India. Once he wrote to me—"A word about Frieda Das' book. It followed the path of Mayo's 'Mother India.' It was a treacherous attack on our own country. I hate the very thought of Frieda's book. I had one hell of a time the past winter refuting the allegations in her work against my race. It was one of the things that made me a worker harder than I should be and harmed my health. No wonder I am ill.

"It was a hard winter. It was particularly so because I had to lecture and debate with Britishers on political subjects. It went against my grain. I almost died of it."

India was his first and last love.

After the death of Manilal Ganguly, writer of short stories and plays, he wrote to me, "I am so sorry to hear of Manilal Gangopadhaya's death. And yet a poet should die young like Byron, Keats and Shelley. Gangopadhyaya is lucky to get off in the prime.....They have lost too much by his death. That is the awful part of our dying. Though the dead go to God, the living almost go to hell owing to their sorrow.

"All the same don't forget that any death is real release to the individual man. As for a poet, Death is his best friend."

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Her Royal Highness Princess Durre-Shehvar, the daughter of the ex-Sultan of Turkey and Consort of Prince Azam Jah Bahadur, the Heir-Apparent to H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad has been playing a prominent part in all the progressive reforms in the woman's world of the State.

Princess Niloufer, the niece of the ex-Sultan and wife of Prince Moazzam Jah Bahadur works side by side with her cousin and the activities of these two princesses are bringing in happy advancement of the woman's cause in Hyderabad.

Mrs. Imtaiz Ali Taz has secured her "A" licence for an air pilot for the Lahore Flying Club. She is an able Urdu writer, her mother was a novelist of considerable reputation while her husband is the editor of a weekly magazine for women, *Tahzibun-Nisman*.

Begum Sooghara Humayon Mirza has started five girls' schools and is running them at her own cost. She has written several books in Urdu and is now editing a monthly magazine 'Zebun-Nisa.'

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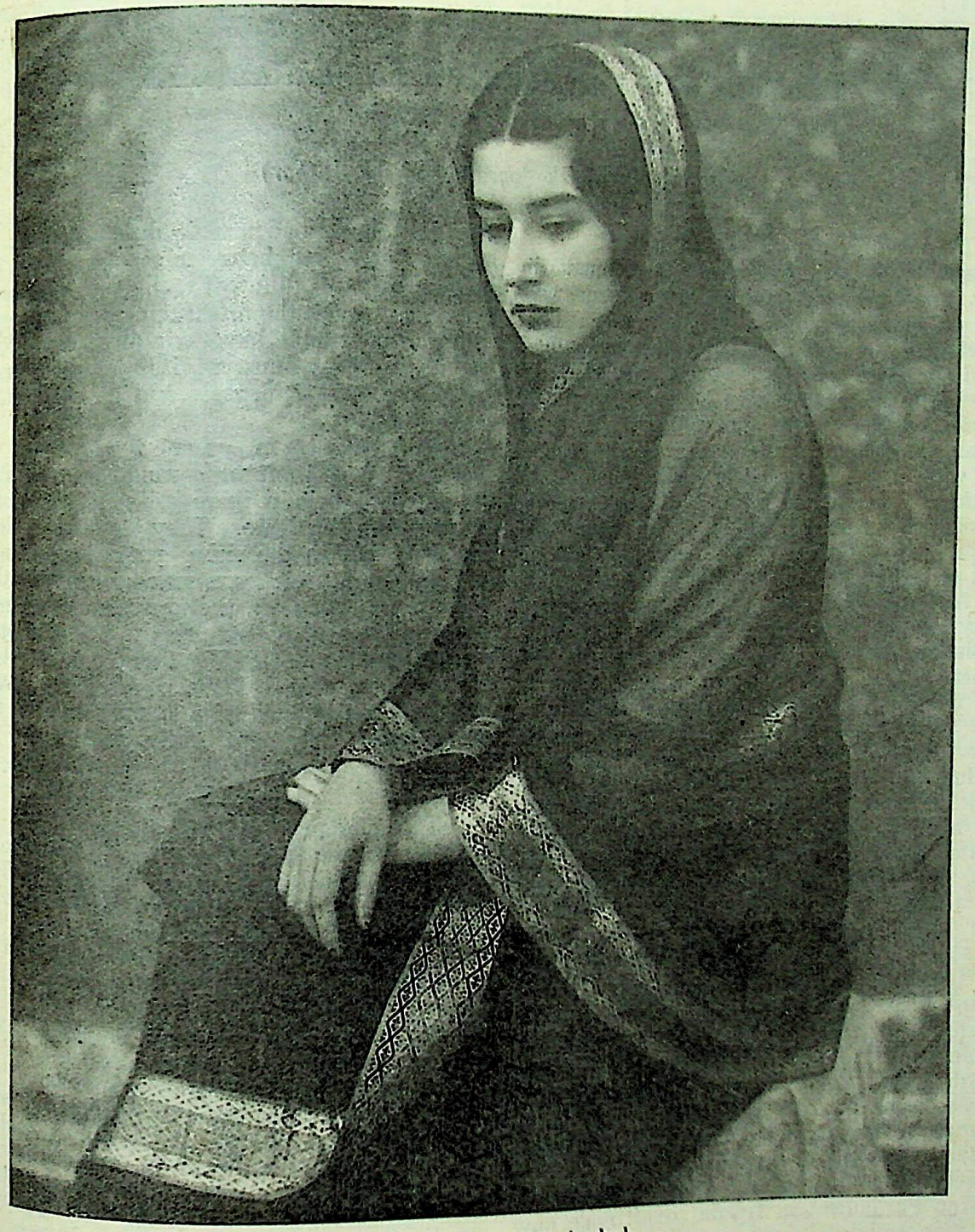

Princess Niloufer of Hyderabad

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THE CREATION AND ABOLITION OF AN SEANAD EIREANN

By St. NIHAL SINGH

(Illustrated with Photographs by the Author)

I

In negotiating the Anglo-Irish settlement in 1921, one of the most perplexing problems was that of the protection of the minority. The "Partition Act" of the previous year had failed to solve it. By setting up the six counties in the north-east, miscalled "Northern Ireland," it had, to be sure, placed the Protestant inhabitants, largely of Scottish origin, and with strong Imperialist inclinations, in a position of domination. The Catholics, mostly of Irish stock and nationalist, if not *Sinn Fein*, leanings, had, however, been virtually left to shift for themselves as best they may.

A similar treatment given to the remaining thirty-two counties, styled "Southern Ireland," despite the fact that the extreme north-western corner of the Island was an integral part of that division, would not have suited the British —or at least the conservative element among them. They would have felt that they were leaving the Protestants, many of them from stock "planted" during the reigns of Elizabeth and her successors, residing in those counties, at the mercy of the Catholic Sinn Feinners, who constituted (or had behind them) the majority.

II

Certain provisions safeguarding rights regarded as fundamental and inalienable to which the "Irish plenipotentiaries," as the Prime Minister of the day (the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, O.M., M.P.) called them, readily agreed, went a great way towards providing security to this particular minority. Clause 16 of the "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland," stipulated that no Parliament in Ireland could make any law that would "directly or indirectly" endow "any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof, or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status." It further insisted that every child was to have the right to attend a school aided from public funds "without receiving religious instruction at the school." No law could be passed discriminating, as respects state aid, between schools under the management of different religious denominations, nor could the management of different religious denominations or any educational institution divert any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

This meant, in other words, that the members of the minority would be permitted to practice their religion without any interference from the State. They would be able to continue to train the rising generation in institutions under their own management, if they preferred to keep up the practice of separate schools that had existed prior to the setting up of the Free State. Public funds would not be lavished by the Catholic majority upon religious institutions of its own to the disadvantage or detriment of the minority.

III

This guarantee did not, however give the minority in the Irish Free State a voice or a hand in the management of national affairs. The members of His Majesty's Government, headed by Mr. George, in negotiation with the Irish delegation presided over by Mr. Art O. Griobhtha (Arthur Griffith) had two courses open to them, namely,

(1) to leave the protection of the minority interests in the Irish Free State to the goodwill of the majority, as in "Northern Ireland;" or,

(2) to use their ingenuity to devise constitutional safeguards for the minority and to induce the Irish negotiators to adopt them.

The arranging of such a matter was nothing new to British politicians. In other parts of the Empire where they held the destiny of the people in the hollow of their hand, they had, for instance, parcelled the body politic into "communities" and set up a separate electoral register for each. All protest made by the nationally-minded "natives" against hacking at unitive tendencies had been ignored.

Mr. Griobhtha, Mr. Michael O. Coilean (Michael Collins) and others of the Irish Delega-

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tion, however, took the standard that the management of Irish affairs was the business exclusively of the Irish and they refused to permit any outside interference with them. Insistence upon constitutional safeguards for the minority in the Free State would, therefore, have resulted in the rupture of the negotiations.

If, however, Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues had left the matter standing there, they would have been accused of delivering the loyalist lambs to the *Sinn Fein* wolves. Compelled to cudgel their brains to devise a way, they finally let the representatives of the Free State minority interview the delegates and arrive at an understanding with them.

IV

Not a word appeared about this understanding in the "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland," as signed by both parties on December 6, 1921. In the course of a lengthy statement made in the House of Commons by Mr. Lloyd George eight days later, he revealed, however, that certain "written assurances" had been received from "the plenipotentiaries." Instead of reading out the document or placing it upon the table of the House, he contented himself with indicating that before the Irish drafted their Constitution they would "take into full consultation the representatives of the southern minority."

Shrewd politician that he was, he must have realized that such a vague assurance would not satisfy many of his followers in and outside the House. He, therefore, added, in phraseology picturesque but indefinite:

> ". . . I believe there have already been interchanges of views between them (the two sections of Irishmen) of the most friendly character. They (the Catholic majority) are most anxious, I am convinced they are most anxious, to do everything in their power to retain the minority within their area. They want their (the minority's) experience, they want their trade, they want the help which they can give to reconstruct the Ireland to which they are all attached, and I am convinced that the leaders of the majority in Ireland mean to do all in their power to make it not merely possible for the minority to live there, but to make it as attractive as possible for them to continue their citizenship among them."[1]

V

High though these hopes were, they failed to allay the fears of some of the Conservative M. P.'s elected on the Coalition "coupon." The representative of the city of London, the centre of Britain's money-power, (the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G. Banbury), for instance, charged His Majesty's Government with the intention of "deserting" the "loyalists" in Ireland. "These were the men," he said,

> ". . . who came forward of their own free will and assisted us (the British) in our (British) hour of need. We are going to surrender them to their enemies, and to the men who were our enemies a short time ago."[2]

Sir Frederick Banbury characterized the "safeguards" obtained by the Government as "a sham." Instead of saying that they (Mr. George's Government) did not

> ". . . want to be bothered with Ireland any longer, let her go, '. . . they pretend they have secured safeguards and that Ireland is going still to remain a part of the British Empire. Do not forget this. This is a surrender . . ."[3]

There were other speeches as (or even more) vehement in the Commons and in the Lords. But the Coalition Government had decided to implement the Agreement made by some of its members and the majority, that operated mechanically at Mr. George's bidding, carried out the Coalition's behest.

VI

Across the Irish Channel the denunciation of the Agreement arrived at by Mr. Griobhtha and his associates was, if anything, more bitter. These negotiators were accused by the very man who had sent them. Mr. Eamon de Valera, President of the Council of Ministers set up by *Dail Eireann* (yet to be regularized) —of betraying Ireland's causes—of having surrendered it to a threat of force. They, however, were able to carry the *Dail* with them, though only by the narrow majority of six; and the dissentients, with Mr. de Valera at their head, walked out of the legislature.

The Provisional Government set up under Coilean after the ratification of the Agreement, as contemplated in the penultimate (17th) Article, undertook, soon afterwards, the work of drafting the Constitution. The head of that Government appointed himself as Chairman of the Constitution Committee. Not long before he had been drawing £2 or £3 a week as a petty clerk in the post office, first in Ireland and sebsequently in London. Needless to add, he had no opportunity to master the constitution of any country. Being a man of acute perception, however, he knew the fundamental needs of the country. With the help of

1. *Parliamentary Debates* (*House of Commons*), Wednesday, 14th December, 1921, Vol. 149, No. 1, Col. 42.

2. *Parliamentary Debates* (*House of Commons*), Friday, 16th December, 1921. Vol. 149. No. 3, Col. 350.

3. *Ibid.*

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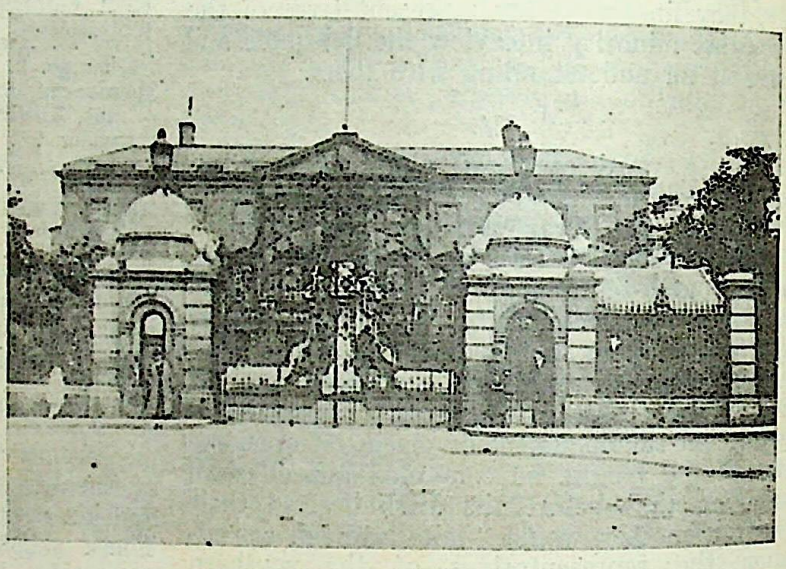
friendly patriots learned in constitutional theory, he soon formed a rough idea as to how the Constitution should meet them.

The chaos that prevailed in the country, worsened by fighting between the two factions into which *Sinn Fein* had split over the Agreement, made it impossible for Coilean to preside at any but the inaugural meeting of the drafting Committee. He had, however, taken care to get together as strong a Committee as was possible in the circumstances.

The one lawyer appointed—Mr. Hugh Kennedy, the Attorney-General of the Provisional Government, now the Chief Justice of the Free State—was a host in himself. From boyhood upwards he had laboured in the cause of the revival of Irish culture, all but smothered by intellectual serfdom, the inevitable concomitant of the domination of one people by another—and in the case of the Irish, consciously stimulated, at least during the Elizabethan period. This interest had not, however, prevented him from accumulating knowledge of the law and acquiring the knack of advocacy that attract clients capable of paying large fees.



The Dail Eireann, Dublin

With him was associated Professor Smiddy from Cork. His knowledge of the constitutions of the world, though of a purely academic character, was well assimilated. If the Provisional Government had insisted upon having a man with *practical* constitutional experience, they would have had to go outside their own ranks, which they decided—and wisely decided—not to do.

Coilean had also appointed to the Committee Darrell Figgis, a journalist who possessed in superabundance the gift of expeditiously obtaining materials from heterogeneous sources and reducing them to workable size and shape. In the enforced absence of the chief, he acted as Chairman, receiving pay for his work, whereas the others served in an honorary capacity.

VII

The fourth member of the Committee—James Douglas—was neither of their faith (Roman Catholicism) nor had he sprung from the same (Hibernian) stock. He was, as, indeed, his name indicates, of Scotch-Irish ancestry. His forefathers had emigrated many generations back from the extreme north of Britain to North-east Ireland—Ulster, the most northerly of the four old divisions into which Ireland was divided when self-governing.

Protestants by faith, dogmatism did not appeal to them. Rebelling against "authoritarianism," they joined the Society of Friends (also called "Quakers," but not by members of the Society themselves) founded during the seventeenth century by the religious reformer George Fox (1624-1691 A. D.), which condemns war and the taking of oath and does not employ whole-time, paid ministers, as other sects do, but leaves preaching to persons of either sex who are "moved by the spirit to speak." Many of its members have made notable contributions towards penal reform, the abolition of slavery, the organization of nursing sisters, the propagation of peace ideals and other humanitarian endeavours.

These leanings towards the higher things of this life and of the realm of the spirit did not, however, have the effect of making the members of the Douglas family unpractical. On the contrary, while their heads soared among the clouds, their feet were firmly planted upon the earth.

James Douglas was no exception to this rule. From high school he went straight into his father's drapery business, conducted from the heart of Dublin; and by giving honest, efficient, courteous service, greatly extended the volume of sales. Money-making did not fill

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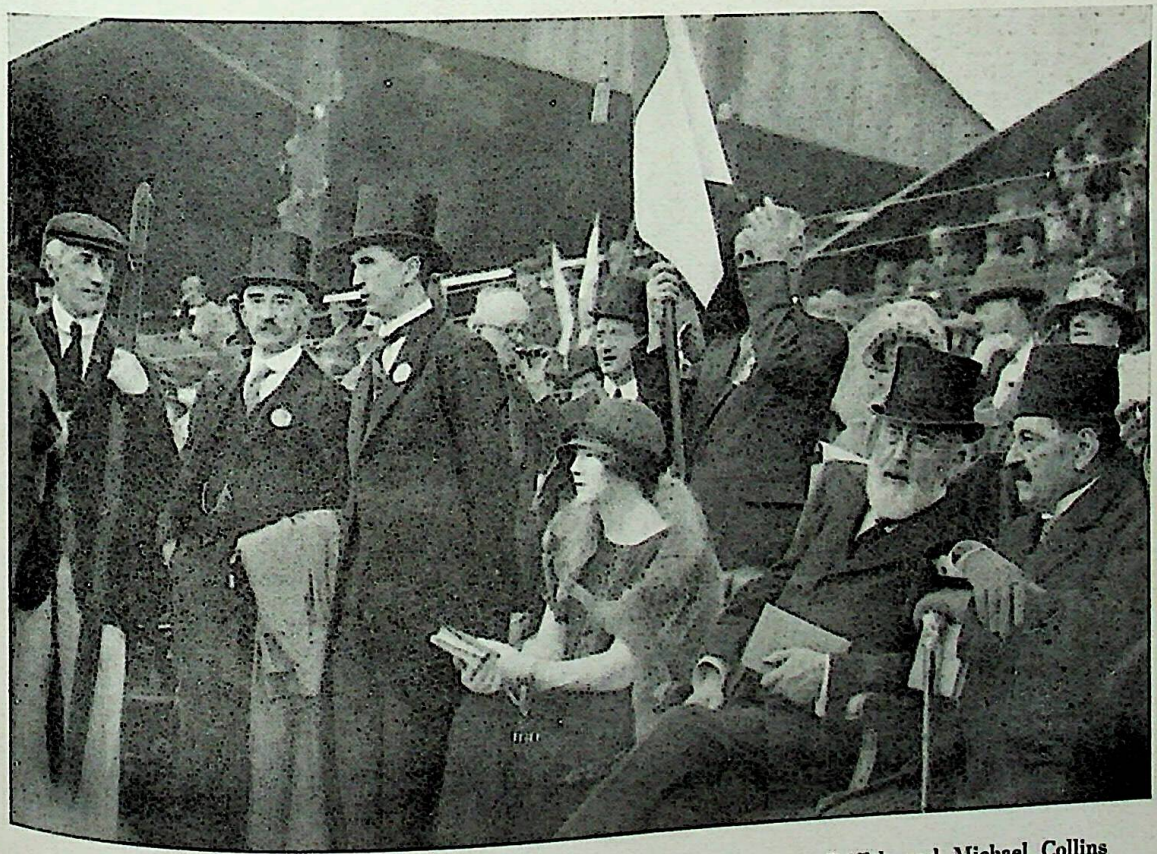

Top : Graves of two of the Creators of the Irish Free State, Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins
Bottom : Mr. 'Tim' Healy, the first Governor-General of the Irish Free State, talking with the Persian Minister

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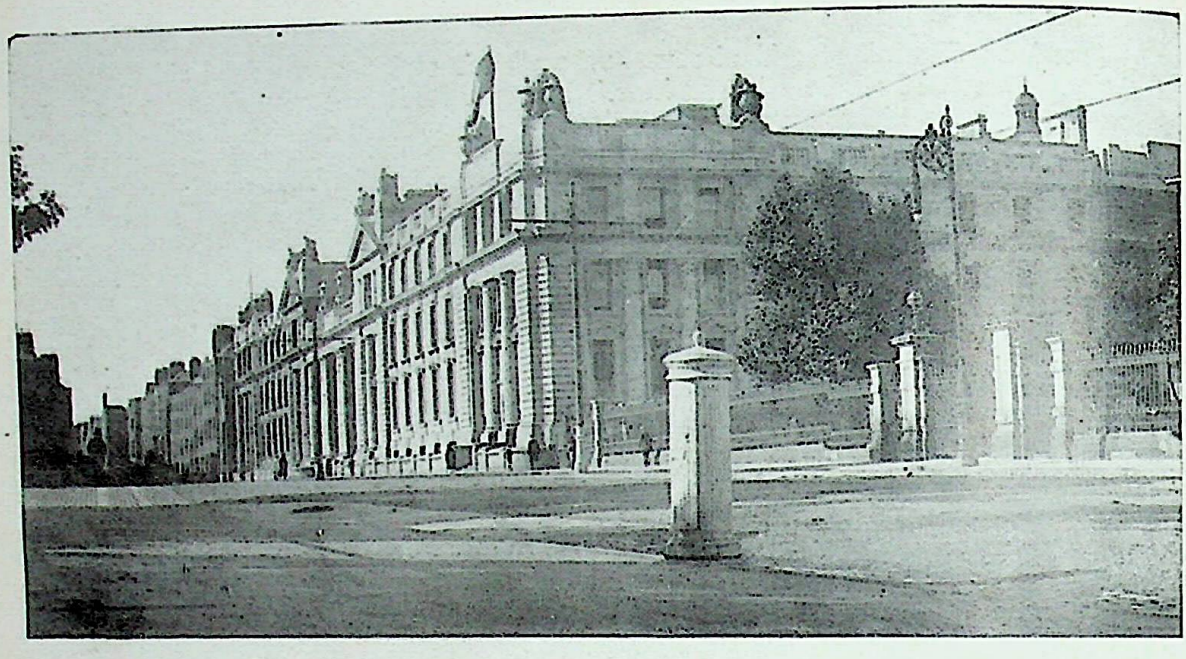

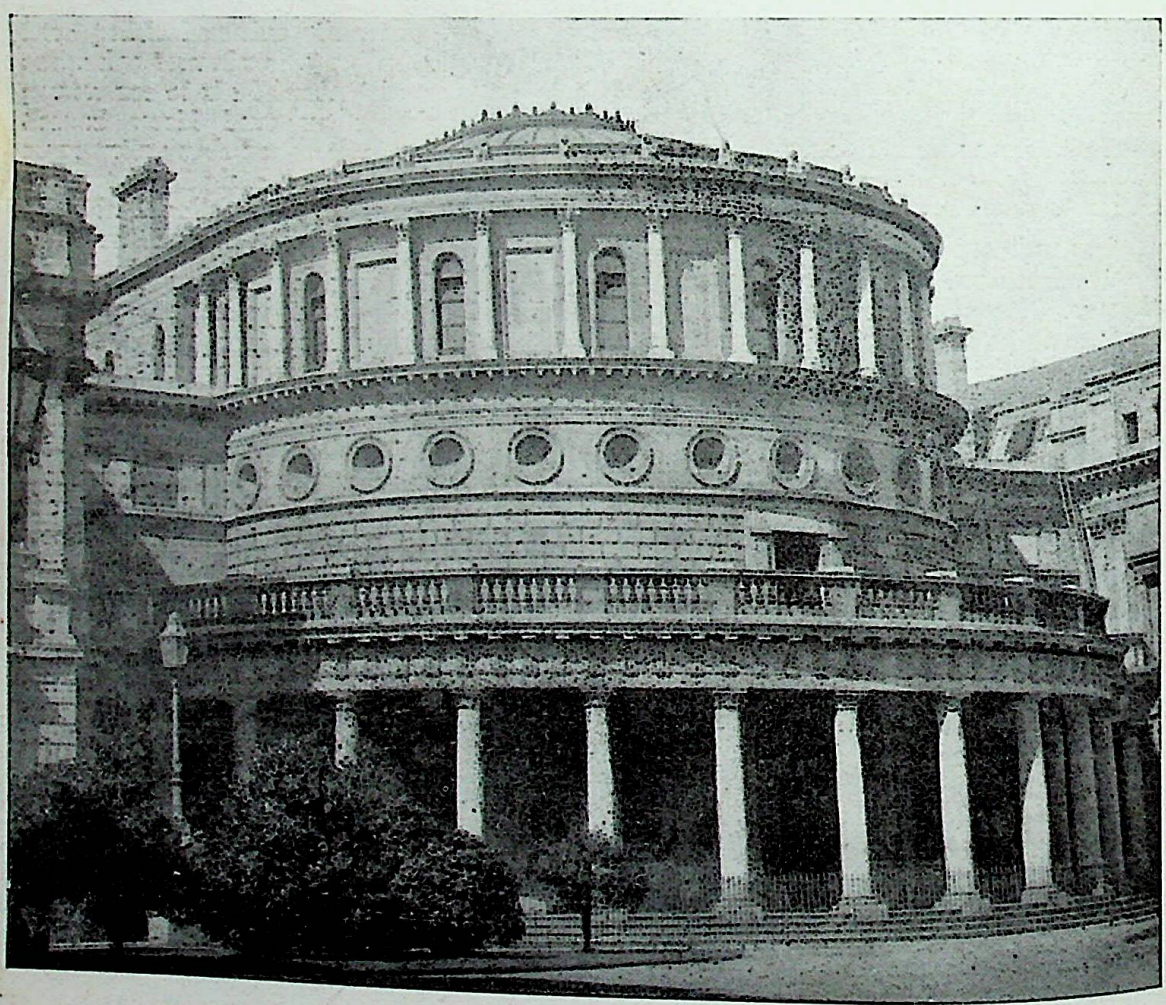

Top : The Government Buildings, Dublin
Bottom : The Seanad Eireann, Dublin, recently abolished by the Vote of the *Dail*

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his life, however, and he gave to social uplift-ment all the time and energy he could divert from his shop.

As the Anglo-Irish conflict became more and more sanguinary, James Douglas set to work to organize a mission of mercy. It recognized neither barriers of race nor diversity of creed or of political persuasion. It had just one criterion to apply—the criterion of need—need for stanching blood exuding from human veins, of bandaging shattered limbs, of applying salve to gunshot wounds and moistening lips parched with the heat generated in the furnace of toxemia. It had but one standard—the standard of alleviating human misery, of saving human life. Rightly was the effort named "White Cross"—purity bearing upon its crystalline breast the crosses of the combatants.

When at long last the feeling of nausea at the blood-letting in Ireland began to manifest itself in Britain, men of goodwill desirous of ending the process got in touch with this minister of mercy. James Douglas was only too eager to assist in the endeavours, at first pitifully inadequately and seemingly hopeless, but which, by degree, resulted in the truce and ultimately in the creation of the Irish Free State.

Douglas' inclusion in the Constitution Committee ensured that the constitutional needs of the minority would not be overlooked. Nor were they. As the result largely of his and Mr. Kennedy's labours, a second chamber—*An Seanad Eireann*—was designed, partly to ensure representation to the conservative and largely non-nationalist elements in the Free State and partly to moderate the pace of legislation by a House in which, owing to the series of crises through which Ireland had recently passed, might, at times, have free rein.

VIII

Among persons (not merely men) of 35 years of age or above, who could sit in the *Seanad*, were to be those who, "because of special qualifications or attainments," could "represent important aspects of the nation's life."[4] The clause was well worded. While it made provision for the representation of any minority, it did not split the body politic into two or more water-tight compartments. The community remained one and undivided, instead of being hacked to pieces by the creation of communities, as had been the case elsewhere.

Along with these representatives were to sit "citizens"[5] who had been deemed to have done honour to the nation by reason of useful public services.[6] Since among such citizens were persons who did not profess Roman Catholicism and some of whom were born north or east of the frontier drawn by Mr. George's "Partition Act" of 1920, this provision would inevitably help to swell the number of senators who could give authoritative expression to the feelings and aspirations of the minority.

Elaborate provision was made in the Constitution (Articles 32 and 33) for the election of the Senators. This will be referred to a little later.

"All citizens of the Irish Free State . . . without distinction of sex," of thirty years of age or above, not disqualified by electoral laws in force at the time, were to have "the right of" electing the Senators. The whole of the Free State was to be treated as a single constituency for the purpose, to place the national stamp upon the senatorial election, as Mr. James Douglas once put it to me.

In view of the need to set the machinery to working as speedily as possible, power was given under the "transitory provisions" (Article 82), partly to the *Dail* and partly to the President of the Executive Council, elected by the *Dail* from among its members and individually answerable to it, to set up the first *Seanad*. Half of the Senators (thirty) were to be of the *Dail's* choice, but the choosing was done by election on the principle of proportional representation in the hope that all the groups in that House would obtain their fair share of representation in the second Chamber. The other half were to be nominated by the President of the Executive Council, who was specifically charged to "have special regard to the providing of representation for groups or parties then not adequately represented in the *Dail*."[7] The fathers of the Constitution, as two of them told me, fully expected that through this device no "important aspect" of the nation's life would go unrepresented.

IX

A bullet fired from ambush by (it is believed) a former comrade, put an end to Coilean's life while he was visiting Cork—the

4. Article 30, *Bun-reacht Shaorstart Eireann*, or Constitution of the Irish Free State (*Saorstat Eireann*), Act No. 1 of 1922.

5. The fathers of the Irish Free State Constitution eschewed the use of "subject." In all cases where an English draftsman would have employed that word, they wrote "citizen."

6. Article 30 of the Constitution.

7. Article 82 of the Constitution.

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county of his birth—even before the Constitution had successfully passed the barrage of the opposition in the (then unregularized) *Dail*, recognized by Britain as "the constituent assembly" for that purpose. He, therefore, did not have the privilege of making the nominations to the first *Seanad*.

Mr. Lian T. MacCosgair (William T. Cosgrave) who, after Coilean's assassination, assumed the supreme executive responsibility, used the privilege with circumspection. Among the citizens to whom he offered seats in the *Seanad* were men and women who differed from him in racial heritage, or creed, or political loyalty—several of them in all three.

Among the nominees were, for instance, men connected, in one way or another, with capitalistic concerns, such as transportation systems and import trade, controlled from Britain. Then, too, there were others engaged in banking and manufacturing and those drawn from political sections that had shown strong antipathy towards any radical change in the governance of the Island. The creation of the *Seanad* would have no meaning if persons representing such "aspects of the nation's life" had not found place there.

Mr. MacCosgair went much farther afield, however. I recall, for instance, the invitation he sent to Mr. George Russell—better known as "AE." Born in Ulster, of originally Scot ancestry, Mr. Russell was among the most versatile persons it has been my good fortune to meet. He could wield the brush with as great facility and power as he could the pen. At the time our paths first crossed (in December, 1923), he was engaged in editing the "Irish Statesman"—a weekly as noteworthy for candid criticism of public affairs and publicists as for its high literary quality. One month in the year he generally reserved for painting, mostly in north-western Ireland—County Donegal, with its many and diversified charms. Earlier in life he had, mostly in association with Sir Horace Plunkett ("Ploonkat," as he pronounced the name), done much work in vitalizing Irish agriculture and kindred industries, through co-operation. If any man in the Emerald Isle could be considered to "have done honour to the nation by reason of useful public service," it was "AE."

But "AE." would not hear of being translated to the *Seanad*. As he himself told me, a few months after saying "no, thank you," to Mr. MacCosgair, he could not take a Senator's pay and not do the Senator's job as well as it was in him to do. He preferred to remain in the service of the Muses, though they were not always generous in requiting him.

Mr. William Butler Yeats, the poet and playwright, however, accepted Mr. MacCosgair's invitation to serve in the *Seanad*. So did Mrs. Green, the widow of the Reverend John Richards Green, the historian, and with him the joint author of '*A Short History of the English People*.'

It is not possible to enter into further details regarding the composition of the first *Seanad*. Sufficient be it to say that the sixty original Senators were to have terms varying from three to twelve years. Exercising the right reserved in the Constitution, they elected a Law-Lord of the former regime—Lord Glenavy—President and Mr. James Douglas as Vice-President.

X

And what were to be the functions of this body of legislators, partly elected by the *Dail* and partly nominated by the chief servant of that House?

Darrell Figgis, in his first talk with me, spoke of the *Seanad* as "the upper Chamber." Seeing, perhaps, a quizzical look in my eyes, he, a nimble-witted member of my craft, quickly added: "Of course, I mean literally," and pointed towards the ceiling, as if we had been sitting in the *Dail* and the other Chamber was situated upon the floor above.

So far as competence was concerned, the *Seanad* was certainly not an exalted body. Quite the reverse. It was the junior partner in the *Oireachtas* (legislature). In respect of money-bills, it was, in reality, little more than a debating society. Its powers, even in respect of the other bills, were, in the last analysis, exercisable only if the predominant partner—the *Dail*—did not choose to use its overriding authority.

Each money-bill was to be sent to that chamber for "its recommendations."[8] These recommendations had to be made so that the bill could be returned to the *Dail* at a period no longer than twenty-one days.[9] In case of delay beyond that period, the bill was "deemed to have been passed by both Houses."

The *Dail* was to please itself in respect of any recommendations made by the *Seanad*, if not time-barred. It might accept or reject "all

8. Article 38 of the Constitution.
9. *Ibid.*

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or any of the recommendations of the *Seanad*" and the bill, as passed by the *Dail*, was to be deemed to have been passed by both Houses.

In regard to the non-money-bills, the *Seanad* had both the power of initiating and amending measures originating in the *Dail*. In respect of the latter, it could not successfully employ dilatory tactics, for at the end of 270 days after a bill had reached the *Seanad*, the privilege of revising it lapsed automatically, unless the *Dail* agreed to extend the period.

In case of disagreement, a joint session of the two Houses could be held. Such sitting was, however, to be "for the purpose of *debating*, but not of voting upon, the proposals of the bill or any amendment of the same."[10] I have italicized the word "debating" to emphasize the fact. The fathers of the Constitution had no desire to give the conservative element in both Houses the opportunity to join hands and obstruct progress.

In respect of all non-money-bills, wherever they originated, the *Dail* was to have overriding authority. At the end of 270 days, or, by agreement between the two Houses, a longer period, any bill passed by the *Dail* was to be deemed to have been passed by both Houses.

XI

Mr. de Valera did not like the *Seanad*. It looked to him like an arm flung by Britain across the Irish Channel to protect the interests that had been allied with her—were still allied with her as, in fact, he told me. It might not be strong, but such strength as it had it would use to obstruct the movement to shape conditions in Ireland in accordance with the Irish will. He foresaw deadlocks. Machinery did exist, he acknowledged, for overcoming an *impasse*. But an *impasse*, until it was overcome, was an *impasse*. Each *impasse* was born of bitterness and left bitterness behind as its heritage.

Some of Mr. de Valera's followers spoke to me of the *Seanad* even in stronger terms. They believed it to be Britain's creature—brought into existence through her pressure and meant to buttress her authority in an Island from which, in their view, it had been withdrawn only in name.

The clauses of the constitutional bill relating to the *Seanad* had, while passing through the Constituent Assembly, encountered fierce opposition. They might have been negatived if Mr. de Valera, at the head of his "Republican Party," been present there. He, however, objected even more strenuously to some of the other provisions, such as the incorporation of the Crown in the Irish legislature, the participation of the Crown, through the Governor-General, in executive administration, the "oath to be taken by members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State," and the like. Efforts made to convince him that many of these provisions were only legal fictions—that they did not, in actual practice, abridge Irish competence to legislate and to administer the affairs of their country as they saw fit. A man of principle and tenacity of purpose, he, however, refused to listen to such "sophistry," to use the expression he employed in talking with me.

XII

The *Cumna Godhael* (or the Government Party, as it was called) did not find the *Seanad* as helpful as they might have wished it to be. It was but natural that that Chamber should strive to follow a line of its own. The fact that its powers were strictly limited served to make it assertive.

Difference of outlook and conflict of interest existed and were bound to manifest themselves sooner or later. The Senators were, as a rule, middle-aged and even old persons, whereas the Deputies were mostly young, some of them in the twenties and many in the thirties. Men who had suffered in the cause of *Sinn Fein* filled most of the benches in the *Dail*, whereas those who looked upon that movement as foolish or even mad and criminal predominated in the *Seanad*. It was difficult for the two bodies of legislators to work as a team.

The difference of outlook showed itself particularly whenever any phase of the programme for re-Irishing the people came up for discussion in the second Chamber. Mr. MacCosgair's Government placed special emphasis upon such a programme. Some of its members felt that seven centuries of subjection had tended to develop intellectual servility in the Irish. Hivernian culture had certainly been overlaid. The Irish language had been superseded and killed except in a few out-of-the-way places, as in the Western Isles. Even if the men at the helm of the Free State had been lukewarm in their desire to revive the language and culture—which at least some of them were not, as I can attest—the jeers and sneers of their political opponents who chose to remain out of the *Dail* would not have permitted them to remain inactive.

10. *Ibid.*

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The *Seanad*, as a body, refused, however, to interest itself in this programme. Even Mr. Yeats raised his voice against the introduction of any element of compulsion in the revival of the Irish speech. In so doing he was, of course, moved by the purest motives—the preservation to the individual of his (or her) right to choose to learn a language or not.

As one of the Ministers put it to me, however, Mr. Yeats forgot that the teachers in the schools were fed on public bounty and the public had every right to tell them that if they wished to keep their jobs they must equip themselves sufficiently to be able to teach Irish to the boys and girls—the citizens of tomorrow. And the methods employed, in the centuries of subjection, to replace Irish with British institutions, had not always been gentle. Nor was the educational world free, in other respects, from the element of compulsion.

XIII

In 1925 the term of office of the fifteen Senators elected by the *Dail* for three years expired. There were, at the time, four vacancies, through death or resignation. In compliance with Articles 33 of the Constitution, a panel was formed for the election of 19 Senators.

The *Dail* placed upon the panel "qualified persons"—two for each vacancy—the vote being cast according to the principle of Proportional Representation. The *Seanad* likewise nominated to it one person for each vacancy, its vote also being regulated according to the same system. Some of the *Seanathori* (Senators) whose terms of office were about to expire being entitled to be included in the panel, signified their desire in writing to the President of the Executive Council, and were so included.[11]

The names on the panel thus constituted were submitted to the country for election, the entire area of the jurisdiction of the *Saorstat Eireann* constituting "one electoral area" for this purpose and the elections were "held on principles of Proportional Representation,"[12] all citizens of the *Saorstat*, without distinction of sex, who had reached the age of thirty years being entitled to vote.

XIV

Only twenty-five per cent of the electors took the trouble to cast their votes and they favoured, generally, the conservative type of candidate. Even so cultivated a lady as Mrs. Risteard Molcaotha—the wife of the Minister for Defence who had been largely responsible for putting down the "trouble" that threatened to throttle the infant State, was not returned.

General Sir W. B. Hicky headed the poll. Sir E. Bollingham was elected for twelve and Sir E. Biggar for nine years. Big business scored a success in the return of Mr. F. McGuiness, of the Guiness Brewery, the "liquor candidate" having the advantage of his employees' votes and those of their relations, who cast their ballots almost solidly for him.

Disappointment with the results of the election led the MacCosgair Government to move the *Dail* to amend the method of election to the *Seanad*, and to reduce the longest term of office from twelve to nine years. These proposals encountered strong opposition from Mr. de Valera, who had but recently entered the *Dail*, "stomaching the Oath," as he said, so as to take the earliest opportunity to eliminate it from the Constitution.

He took the view that so long as there was to be a *Seanad*, the people must be afforded the opportunity of *directly* choosing the *Seanathori*. He and his followers however, in a minority in the *Dail* at that time. Even with the aid of the Labour Party he was not able to outvote the representatives of the *Cumna Godhail* in that Chamber and their allies in this matter.

XV

A little later, when the votes of the people placed Mr. de Valera in a position where he could have his way in the *Dail*, he found the *Seanad* obstructive. Every measure upon which he had set his heart encountered opposition in that House. Such was particularly the case with the Bill abolishing the Oath and others designed to make the Free State self-sufficing.

Defeat of these measures led inevitably to the device expressly provided in the Constitution, to overcome the *Seanad*'s obstruction. Instead of eating humble pie, the opposition Senators attempted to read lectures to President de Valera and his colleagues advising them to observe engagements into which their predecessors had entered with Great Britain; and continued to employ, to that end, all the power they possessed.

The dominant party was thus left with only two alternatives :

(1) either to abandon its political programme, or,

11. Article 32 of the Constitution.
12. Article 11 of the Constitution.

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(2) to get rid of the obstructive organ.

To follow the first course would have meant that Mr. de Valera and his party must perform political *hara-kiri*—must abandon the ideals for which they had fought and suffered. They, therefore, adopted the only other alternative open to them and abolished the *Seanad*.

It remains to be seen whether a second Chamber in which Mr. de Valera has no faith, unless he has changed his mind since I was in Ireland, is again set up on a new foundation. There does not appear to be demand, that may be regarded as universal or even strong, for the re-creation of another Upper House. During the fourteen years in which the Free State has been functioning, the minority (with the exception of the unreconcilable element) appears to me to have learnt that so long as it is loyal to the majority, it has nothing to fear. *Sinn Fein* in the saddle has neither been inefficient nor recklessly rapacious.

75th BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION OF TAGORE IN PRAGUE

The Oriental Institute in Prague held on the 6th of May an interesting and impressive meeting in celebration of the 75th birthday of the poet Rabindranath Tagore. The meeting was held in the main hall of Lubkovicky Palace, the headquarters of the Institute. Reflective of the good interest, the large hall was fully filled, every available seat being occupied. It was not only a big gathering, but also a very representative one. Present were many well-known persons in the educational, industrial, commercial and literary world. The President of the Oriental Institute, Dr. Hottowetz, a former Czechoslovak Minister, occupied the Chair.

In a short introductory speech, Dr. Hottowetz underlined the significant position and influence of Tagore in India and referred to the interest outside in his work, an interest which he stated, was well shared by Czechoslovakia. He then announced that the distinguished Indologist and President of the Indo-Czechoslovak Society in Prague, Professor Dr. Lesny, would give an address on Tagore, for which he was eminently qualified, by his careful study of Tagore's works, their background, and close association with the famous Indian poet.

Professor Lesny* furnished an extremely interesting address. He described the conditions that influenced Tagore's thinking and circumstances that exercised strong impress on his development. He dwelt on the varied interests of Tagore and the manifold ways in which Tagore expressed himself, giving much prominence to his literary and educational work. Professor Lesny emphasized the lead for progressive and rational outlook that Tagore gave for India and paid a great tribute to his meritorious role towards promotion of international understanding and contact between East and West. He spoke of Tagore's great service to his country, the greatness of which depended also in that it represented a service of universal value, and referred to his travels in various countries, specially recalling the pleasant memory of the visit to Czechoslovakia. Professor Lesny also recited a few lyrical verses of Tagore beautifully translated by himself into Czech. The address of Professor Lesny, which at times carried visible signs of deep appreciation of Tagore and his work, lasting over an hour, was listened to by the audience with rapt attention.

The following telegram over the signature of Professor Lesny was sent to Tagore :—"*To The Great Poet And Thinker, Architect Of Closer Bonds Between East And West, Warm Greetings From The Indo-Czechoslovak Society Of The Oriental Institute.*"

Dr. Hottowetz thanked Professor Lesny for his interesting and informative address and drew the attention of the audience to a new book on Tagore under preparation by Professor Lesny.

Appreciative notes about Tagore in connection with his 75th birthday have appeared in a number of local papers headed by *Narodni Politika*, the important and widely read Czech daily in Prague.

N.

Prague.

* Professor Lesny has translated a number of Tagore's works, several into Czech directly from Bengalee. He has also lived and lectured at Santiniketan a while.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

A Poem by Rabindranath

When he was in Munich in 1926, Rabindranath Tagore translated the following poem, from the original Bengali. We reproduce it from the *Visva-Bharati News* :

Fear not, for thou shalt conquer,
thy doors will open, thy bonds break.
Often thou losest thyself in sleep,
and yet must find back thy world
again and again.
The call comes to thee from the earth and sky,
the call from among men,
the call to sing of gladness and pain,
of shame and fear.

The leaves and the flowers,
the waters that fall and flow,
ask for thy notes to mingle with their own,
the darkness and light
to tremble in the rhythm of thy song.

Evolution of the Bengali Language

In the course of an article on the evolution of the Bengali language, Nagendranath Gupta writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

The Augustan Age of Bengali literature is not named either after Iswarchandra Vidyasagar or Madhusudhan Dutt, but after Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the novelist, humorist, essayist, critic and thinker. The monthly periodical, *Bangadarsana*, which he edited for four years, was one of the brightest, wittiest, most scholarly journal ever known in any country. Bankim did not make his living by literature. In India it is difficult to do so even now. Bankim was a Magistrate serving the Government. During office hours he had to do his work in English. Only the mornings and evenings were free and in these hours he did his literary work in Bengali. This is a difficulty that other writers have also to face in India. To have to write constantly in two different languages is a great strain and also a distraction.

In Bankim's hands Bengali prose became a thing of beauty, vitality and power. His own writings display a definite process of emancipation and development. In books like *Chandrasekhar* and *Krishnakanta's Will* he has established his fame as a supreme artist. In no other literature can be found a book which corresponds exactly to *Kamalakanta's Daptar*. The humour is as wonderful as the depth of feeling is impressive. It is difficult to find anywhere such an outpouring of glowing and impassioned patriotism as in the essay entitled *Amar Durgotsab*. Indeed, Bankim is the high priest of Indian patriotism. He was not a great poet. Fine patriotic songs have been composed by other Bengali poets, but to Bankim came the inspirational gift for composing the Bande Mataram song, loftier than the Marseillaise pitched as it was on a higher note. It is the rallying chant of Indian nationalism everywhere. It is right that such a song should have been composed by the most virile genius in Bengali literature. He was an intellectual athelete if ever there was one. The muscular masculinity of his intellect asserts itself in controversy. He rarely engaged in it but when he did so his adversary was pulverised. In some trenchant articles he exposed the unreliability of British-Indian history. His *Krishnacharitra* is a masterpiece of critical analysis. His prose adapts itself to all phases ; there are passages of sublime beauty, moving pathos, bright humour and close and concentrated reasoning. Up to the present, he is the undisputed master and greatest writer of Bengali prose.

India's Message in Stone

Prof. K. S. Srikantan in his article in *The Vedanta Kesari* gives a simple exposition of the ideals that have actuated the sculptors of India and shows how the handiwork of the master craftsmen of India truly reflect the spiritual genius of her culture :

The soul of India is still in her temples. Who can forget the sun-kissing towers and Sikharas of her magnificent temples which greet the pilgrims from a distance. Verily, India is a land of Gopuras and Vimanas. To realize the insignificance of man and the omnipotence of God, one has only to stand before one of these mighty towers and look up at their massive structure with a profusion of images and carvings. Every image in the tower has a message to give ; unfortunately our interest in these are so little that few of us care to understand what these silent speakers have to say.

In Bharhut and Sanchi we have the figures of Pasenadi and Ajata Satru, in Madura we have the figures of the rulers of the Nayak dynasty. But they occupy a very subordinate place. Sculpture in India has been throughout religious. Its aim has been superhuman perfection of character and equanimity. With such aims, the artists could have had nothing to do with facial expression in the ordinary sense of the term; nay, on the other hand, the more human in expression, the less does Hindu sculpture approach its own perfection. Only qualities like graciousness, nobility and peace, which involve in their perfection a superhuman balance of intellect and emotion can be expressed in our images. Action without attachment is the core of Indian philosophy. The Indian icons clearly exhibit this motive. To them, we can apply the statement of Leonardo da Vinci : "That drawing is best which by its action best expresses the passion that animates the figure." The images are wonderfully expressive. One cannot but be struck with the breathless eagerness and rapturous surprise of the boy-god Sundaramoorthy in the Madura temple. Who can resist admiring the serenity and unshaken peace exhibited in the face of Dakshinamoorthi ? The aim of Indian art is suggestion and not imitation.

The capacity of the sculptor was judged by the spirit of meditation the image infused in the heart of the on-

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looker. The chief characteristic of an image is its power of helping forward contemplation and Yoga. The human maker of images should therefore be himself meditative. To Indian sculptor proportion was not so important as Dhyana and Yoga. While Greek images are graceful, and Egyptian ones natural, it is only Indian images which can claim to be contemplative. The importance of this aspect of Indian sculpture would be clear if one realized the qualifications necessary for this profession. Foucher, in his *Iconographia Buddhique* writes, "The sculptor must meditate on the emptiness of (Shunyatva) or non-existence of all things, for by the fire of the idea of the abyss, it is said there are destroyed beyond recovery, the five factors of ego-consciousness. Then only should he invoke the desired Divinity by the utterance of the appropriate seed-word (Bija) and should identify himself completely with the divinity to be represented. Then, finally, on pronouncing the *Dhyana Mantra,* in which the attributes are defined, the Divinity appears visibly like a reflection or 'as in a dream,' and this brilliant image is the artist's model. The artist in brief was enjoined to become one with Divinity (Devo bhootva devam yajet).

Kathakali

'Kathakali is that particular form of Malabar Folk Dance which represents both dramatic and dance arts, more particularly the former.' Writes H. Shrinivas in *The Young Builder* of Karachi :

Kathakali has preserved some of the purest traditions of Hindu *nritya,* although in modern times it is sadly neglected and is unknown to the rest of the world.

Kathakali adopts a distinct system of histrionics. It is pantomime based on the symbolic and suggestive gestural code of *Bharata Natya,* and the dance-movements are blended to the traditional *thala*-timing in a manner at once harmonious and graceful. Its very gesture is a meaningful art of deep symbolic purpose. There is nothing vaguely mystic or casual in its gesture apparatus, but the dance can be visualized clearly and vividly as the art of movement highly rhythmic and logical. *Kathakali* weds *natya* to *nritya,* although it requires more mime than actual dancing. Its action is not only the expression of man's subjective emotions but also an objective realization of the person, scenes, creatures and things around. The wonderful and unique make-up of *Kathakali* is its forte.

A *Kathakali* performance usually consists of the narration, through the language of gesture-words and mimetic movements, of stories mostly from the Hindu epics and the Krishna legends. The dancers are only of the male sex, who also act as females. The dancers' distinctive dresses consist of close fitting jackets, skirts, and panniers. Some characters wear magnificent crowns, with a heavy make-up of their faces, each character having its peculiar design. The general effect is that of masks, fantastic but magnificent and alive. A simple orchestra plays from behind, the ensemble consisting of an assortment of drums, *mridanga* and stringed instruments, the gong, indicating the principal periods and the symbals, to "spirit up" the rapid movements. There are two vocalists who sing the song of the story of the dance. The language of gestures is eloquent and wonderful. There are six hundred *mudras* (gestures) now in common use in *Kathakali.*

The movements of *Kathakali* dancers are eloquent of dignity, vigour and dramatic movements. *Kathakali* is a monument of Malabar's past glory.

Statistics in Secondary Schools

In an article in the *Teaching,* a quarterly technical journal for teachers, Jatindra Mohan Datta emphasizes the need for the introduction of elementary statistics in secondary schools :

Conceding the importance of the study of statistics, the question is— is it practicable or desirable to introduce it into the curriculum of secondary schools? At present in the secondary schools all over India the standard of mathematical teaching, especially for those who take up 'additional mathematics,' is fairly high. But in the present curriculum of mathematical teaching no stress is laid upon the methods of even elementary statistics. Students are asked to draw the graphs of abstract algebraical equations, but not the simplest histograms or diagrams. The boys learn what is the arithmetical mean or the geometrical mean, but not what is the median or the mode.

We are clamouring so much for the introduction of vocational training and for the introduction of science subjects in our school courses with a view to giving our boys a less theoretical and more practical turn of mind. Why not introduce a little elementary statistics? This can be done with very few additions to the curriculum. How much elementary statistics should be introduced and how the boys are to be trained in it can best be determined by practical educationists. Our plea is that schoolboys should be made familiar with elementary statistics at an early period of their lives with a view to giving them a practical turn of mind and also helping them in their intellectual development.

The Decay of the Hindus

'The threatened decline of the Hindu population should be of the utmost concern to every individual and should receive his serious consideration.' Writes Sharad Trimbak Karnik in *The Indian Review* :

Sex-ratio has accquired a certain amount of importance in the modern economic theories, and any enquiry into the problem of population is hardly complete without the study of this ratio. Recent writers on Sex take the view that "increase in masculinity is an indication of declining population." This, of course, is not true in the case of India as a whole but it has some correlation to the Hindu population which is increasing at a remarkably slow rate as compared with other religious bodies. The reason is the comparative paucity of females among the Hindus due to the ban on widow-remarriage and the rigid observance of the caste system which ultimately results in the preponderance of masculinity. Westermarck is of the opinion that a "mixture of race produces an excess of female births." He cites a number of observations from all over the world and quotes Dr. Nagel's experiments in the self-fertilization of plants as producing an excess of male flowers; several cases of in-breeding herds of cattle in which bull calves exceed heifers; and Dr. Goehlert's statistical investigations in the case of horses, the more the parent animals differ in colour the more the foals outnumber the males. Among the Jews, many of whom marry cousins there is a remarkable excess of male births. A good deal of evidence can be given to support this theory and it can be taken as definitely proved that femininity increases with hybridization. One of the reasons for the preponderance of masculinity among the

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Hindus is stated to be the ban on widow-remarriage and yet another reason, as the Sex writers would suggest, is the unfortunate legacy of endogamy. This deficiency of females is an important factor in determining the growth of the Hindu population. The total Hindu population is 239,195,000 and it might appear incongruous to say that such a huge population can ever be threatened with a decline. But the following comparative statistics should prove an eye-opener, as it presents the problem in its serious aspect.

	Increase per cent 1921—1931	Females 15—45 per 1000 Males 20—50.
Christians	.. 32	1,080
Muslims	.. 13	1,026
Hindus	.. 10	897 (after excluding widows)

	Population in 1931 (000's omitted)	Variation per cent. 1921—31	1881—1931
Hindus	.. 239,195	+10.4	+26.8
Muslims	.. 77,678	+13.0	+55.0
Christians	.. 6,297	+32.5	+238.1

There are in the Hindu population 54,473,448 females of reproductive age to 51,450,266 males, that is, an excess of 3 millions or 1,059 females to 1,000 males. If what the Sex writers say is true, these figures should be favourable for the rapid growth of the Hindu population. But this enviable excess, which is so desirable and beneficial for the rapid growth of the race, is reduced to a deficiency by the horrifying number of widows. The following table tells a sad tale.

Widows Aged	1921	1931	Variation per cent.
0—1	597	1,081	81
1—2	494	1,342	172
2—3	1,257	2,695	114
3—4	2,837	7,078	150
4—5	6,707	11,471	71

Widows Aged 15—40 (Age of Reproduction)

1921	..	.. 5,817,781
1931	..	.. 5,981,096

The number of old widows does not affect the population, for they are past the age of reproduction. But the numerous youthful widows who, under the strictures of society, cannot marry, accentuate the problem. Dr. Hutton, the Census Commissioner, estimates the number of widows at the reproductive age at 8,313,773, that is, the excellent surplus is reduced to a deficiency of no less a staggering figure than 5 millions.

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Population Capacity and Control in India

In the course of his address delivered, as its Convener, to the first All-India Population Conference, 1936, held in Lucknow, and published in *Contemporary India*, Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee says :

It is sometimes suggested, and that on the basis of historical experience, that there is only one way in which we can seriously reduce the Indian birth-rate, by raising the standard of living. If under the term "the standard of living," man's family and marriage habits and social tradition connected with the increase of his family are included, the suggestion is not wide of the mark. But with a mere economic conception of the standard of living, to depend upon an uplift of the standard of living for an automatic decrease of the birth-rate is putting the cart before the horse. The introduction of improved seeds, fertilizers and implements, change in marketing methods or even a reform of land tenure, these are all thwarted in India by the fractionalization of holdings and cheap and inefficient labour in the countryside which are the indirect results of population increase. The offensive against illiteracy is similarly baffled because population outruns the capacity of education. The dead weight of illiteracy among the backward castes and the Muslims of India makes the problem of its removal a formidable one both from financial and administrative points of view. As population outruns faster the educational facilities that may be provided it is clear that the pressure of population cannot be viewed merely in relation to the food supply. As a matter of fact in India the present attitude of most provincial Governments in deferring schemes of village education and sanitation, amelioration and uplift and in lowering for the time being the accepted standard is entirely due to an expanding population which makes readjustments more and more difficult. A rational family planning and education of the masses in birth control must be accepted as one of the important means, though not the only means of combating population increase. The small family system, deliberately planned and integreted with other habits and traditions which regulate different sides of domestic life, must now be adopted in India as the social and ethical norm and such a custom as polygamy, which be encouraging a large family, has become an obvious economic misfit must be declared illegal. At the same time without better farming, an increase of the agriculturists' income, industrialization and absorption of farm hands and casual labourers in small industries and workshops, an improvement of the standard of living of the masses cannot be effected which alone can create the mental attitude that is the sole bulwark of the small family habit.

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Bengal's Ills and their Remedies

In an article in the *Financial Times* under the above caption, S. K. Banerjee deals with the industrial and agricultural problems of Bengal. He says :

Next take the case of rice plantations : areas of this commodity were gradually reduced, interests of peasants were diverted from rice and sugarcane to jute with the results that the growth of rice per acre diminished and thereby the cost of production increased. With the reduction in the growth of crop Bengal is short of rice from her own lands by about 25 per cent according to Governmental estimate. This shortage is now met from two different sources, one from import of rice from Burma and the other from wheat and flour from U. P. and Australia. For this shortage of production of rice we have to pay in cash to other provinces of India for our very subsistence, while the export of her surplus production is gone, thus impoverishing further. A country which has to pay for her staple food can not be called an economically sound country. Unless she could exchange or pay for this by her own industrial or forest products. Now if Bihar be taken as a separate province Bengal of old is now poorer by the loss of mineral products. But 50 years ago the coal or iron of Bihar were not worth mentioning or of sufficient importance to be called a contributory wealth. The soils of Bihar had never

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been so fertile as those of Bengal, in agricultural wealth Bihar was not of much help except that she helped Bengal in supplying cereal crops for her daily use. The wheat crop was also negligible, so neither it is nor was Orissa or Assam of much help to Bengal in those days. With the development of coal and iron in Bihar and tea in Assam these provinces are said to have their own resources, but it is forgotten that practically very little of local capital is engaged in those industries, so whatever profits accrue to those industries, pass on to the pockets of non-provincials, nay non-Indians. Bihar would not have been so poor and helpless as now could she supply the necessary capitals from local Rajahs, Maharajas and the richer class. That she did not and could not do. Even her indigo of old days and sugar of present days are financed and developed by non-Indians and men from Indian Native States. Where is Bihar then? Nowwnere, same case with her mineral resources—her case would not have been so bad had she remained as a part of Bengal. What about Orissa? Worse still, her agriculture is not worth her while, she has some forest products, wild animals and Sea-fishery in the Chilka, neither has she any salt though a seaside province. Detached from Bengal and then from Bihar she is not worth having a place in the economic prosperity of Bengal even if she had remained attached to Bengal. What little chance of prosperity she had is gone and she will be henceforward subjected to exploitations by outsiders. None the worse is Assam—the only good prospect is that much local capital have been playing its part in Tea industry and plantations.

If now a stock be taken of the various resources of Bengal proper and if local brain and capital are engaged in their developments without Bihar, Orissa, or Assam still she has the brightest of prospects than any other province of India. What Bengal needs today is a stock-taking and play of local-Bengal-capital—in developing her existing and the nascent industry (home and factory), and the agriculture (forest and plantations). By so doing Bengal shall be able to feed her own people with all staple foods without being obliged to import food-stuff, rice, wheat and cereals from other provinces, she will be able to produce surpluses for export after using a good deal of natural agricultural products in industries, but in all these enterprises Bengal's own savings and investments must be used and not left to the enterprising men from other provinces and countries—Indians or Europeans. No other economic scheming or planning will be at all necessary to make Bengal prosperous again. Bengal has now about fourteen crores of rupees to her credit in the postal savings banks while several more crores were deposited and withdrawn during the year. No country can enrich herself until her own finance takes its proper place amongst her own people.

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The Development of Indian Ports

Writing in *The Mysore Economic Journal* about Indian Ports Sir Charles Stuart-Williams speaks of the development of Calcutta in the following way :

We come now to the Province of Bengal, with the major ports of Calcutta and Chittagong. The whole trade of the province in the year 1933—34 was : Imports, Rs. 32.8 crores; Exports, Rs. 63.69 crores—a total trade of Rs. 96.5 crores—a figure less than half that of 1929—30 in value. Out of the total, Calcutta accounts for no less than Rs. 90 Crores, or about 93 per cent, and Chittagong for the balance of some Rs. 6 crores—or about 6 per cent, there being no minor port in the province—engaged in overseas trade.

Calcutta is a typical river port, finding natural protection by the ability of ships to proceed on the height of the tide to positions secure from sea weather. It has all the natural disadvantages of being situated on an alluvial river without either high ground or adjacent rock or stone formation. The site of the city being 80 miles from the coast-line involves an unusually long entrance channel and—since the presence of sandbanks near the mouth of the Hooghly involves dredging work far outside the coast-line—the total length of the channel is some 120 miles. The natural softness of the banks of the Hoogly and of the Ganges river system—of which it is one outlet—combined with the heavy rains during three months of the year, and strong southerly winds from the seaward side—all bring about immense movement of alluvium along the river bed, and the result is a long tortuous and at times sometimes dangerous channel, which necessitates constant survey work—heavy and arduous dredging and maintenance work—and last but not least the employment of exceptionally well-trained and well-paid pilots and harbour master.

The port has developed *pari passu* with the city of Calcutta. Development has taken place along four main lines; the first was the obvious method of providing moorings at which vessels lay and discharged into or loaded from lighters in stream. Some fifty-six years ago, when sailing vessels still formed a large percentage of the total vessels, the port then had 228 such moorings for ocean-going vessels, of which 178 were fixed or double moorings and fifty were swinging moorings. The next stage was the provision of the Calcutta jetties, of which there are now nine, built alongside the bank in the old or business quarters of the city, provided with transit sheds and storage warehouse, cranes and railway facilities, with good road approaches. Gradually these jetties have become more and more confined to the unloading of certain classes of import goods, as the construction of the Kidderpore Docks at the end of last century gave better provisions for the export trade and later for imports also. This dock system now comprises seventeen general berths, all fully equipped with sheds, cranes and railway lines, and, at the southern end, ten berths for the loading of export coal, of which two are fitted with specially designed crane equipment. The fourth period covers the post-War development, when four additional general modern berths were constructed further down stream in Garden Reach and the first part of a new dock system called King George's Dock, which comprises modern entrances for the largest possible vessel—a double dry dock and some five well-equipped berths, one of which is used for inland steam vessels. In addition, there is at Budge-Budge, some 12 miles down stream, an oil depot with seven berths and transit shed and storage equipment.

There are now sixty-two river moorings altogether, of which fifty-four are in Calcutta and eight at Budge-Budge. The port can thus provide for a grand total of 116 ships, of which fifty-one can be accommodated alongside a jetty or wharf, equipped with appropriate facilities and accommodation. There is excellent rail connection with the three important systems which serve the central and north-east portions of the country.

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Lincoln and India

Professor George P. Conger of the University of Minnesota, U. S. A., sets down his impressions and attempts in the pages of the *India*

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and the World to interpret to the people of India the ideal and personality of the great American President, Abraham Lincoln. He says :

In Springfield, the capital city of the young State of Illinois, Lincoln lived for more than a quarter of a century. One day in the legislature he made his famous speech about the house divided against itself—"This government cannot permanently endure, half slave and half free!" Uncouth and untutored though he might be, he sent his son Robert east to a fine school; it was in the course of a trip out to visit the boy in 1860, that Lincoln made his great Cooper Union speech in New York—"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it!"

The speech was a factor in his Presidential nomination and election. He took office in 1861, with succession in the air and the dark clouds of the Civil War closing in upon the American experiment.

From one chasm of despair to another the awful ordeal continued; but the South never recovered from the battle lost at Gettysburg in 1863, and, after the Lincoln who was gentle but could be firm found the Grant who was firm but could be gentle, the Confederacy finally went to pieces in 1865. And just at the moment of triumph, by an act of insane terrorism, Lincoln the liberator died his martyr's death.

In the story of Abraham Lincoln you have our most distinctive contribution to biography, perhaps to history. It is not our only contribution, but it is probably our best. In a way, he is our Gandhi—a man of sorrows, of simplicity, of sympathy. The Lincoln story is the American saga; it is the heart of our epic.

To every boy and girl, and every man and woman in America, Lincoln stands for imperishable accomplishment in the face of what might so easily have been insuperable odds. He did sums with charcoal on shavings; we endow our universities with millions, but how he puts us all to shame! I do not wonder at the discouragement and near-despair of many Indian students, and of many American students, in this generation; but when I am tempted to share their discouragement and near-despair, I think of that boy a hundred years ago in the log cabins of Indiana and Illinois.

There is of course no precise parallelism between the details of situations in America and in India. On the whole, Lincoln's work for the Negroes resembles a removal of some caste disabilities rather than any movement on behalf of the harijans. The American "untouchable," after all, has not been the Negro, but the American Indian, and this was not particularly Lincoln's problem.

Lincoln's most fundamental characteristic was probably his humanity, his love for fellow-men, particularly the oppressed and unfortunate. But it may be worth noticing that at the climax of his career, another set of motives was allowed to take precedence. Everything was subordinated to his patriotism, his utter love for his country, his utter consecration to the cause of preserving the union of the States. Even the freeing of the slaves was secondary to this. He hated slavery, and thought that it must end sometime. When the opportunity came to move effectively in this directon, he acted. But it was not his main objective, and if necessary, it could have waited. In other words, he was no advocate of indiscriminate liberty; the liberty he lived for could be achieved only within a firm federal frame. It is probably more futile to quote him or seek to apply his principles or procedures to problems in India, at this distance, than it is keep up the continual line of suggested applications of Lincoln's words and ways to the present problems of America. But if any one is looking to the work of Lincoln for suggestions, the principle seems to be there, and may be taken for what it is worth. Liberty is to be sought within the framework of a firmly united government and not without reference to it.

London University's Centenary

Robert Oake writes in *Educational India* a brief account of the University of London which celebrates this year the Centenary of its foundation.

During the week June 29 to July 3 the hundredth anniversary of the grant of its Charter by William IV will be commemorated in functions, including an assembly for the ward of honorary degrees, to which Universities all over the world will send delegates. The occasion will bring together a brave display of academic gowns, crimson and black, purple, gold, blue and green.

London was one of the last of the great capitals of Europe to provide itself with a University. It was stimulated to do so by Bentham and the Whigs who were responsible for the great reforms of the eighteen-thirties —the reform of Parliament, of the Poor Law, of the Municipal Corporations.

Religious rivalry aided the cause of learning. The action of the Whigs in opening University College to all, whether or not they were members of the Church of England, was regarded as a challenge to the established Church, and the Tories in their turn, under the leadership of the Duke of Wellington, secured funds for the establishment of King's College as a "College in which instruction in the doctrine and duties of Christianity as taught by the Church of England should be for ever combined with other branches of useful education."

The two rival institution started work, but their pupils could not qualify for degrees for four or five years until, in November 1836, the University of London was founded by Royal Charter with power to examine and award degrees to the pupils of University College, King's College, and such other institutions as might be named by the Crown. Twenty years later the University was given power to examine students whether or not they had pursued their studies at a particular institution. In consequence large numbers of "external" students have been able to take London degrees after a course of private study.

The colleges are housed in all parts of London. The University itself has had quarters successively in Somerset House, Marlborough House, Burlington House and the Imperial Institute at South Kensington, but it has long needed a home of its own.

Magnificent new buildings are now being erected for it on a site in Bloomsbury immediately behind the British Museum, and by a happy coincidence the first wing will be ready for occupation this autumn, soon after the celebration of the University's Centenary. The site has an area of 10½ acres. It was purchased in 1927 with the assistance of a gift of £400,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation of America.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Art and Literature under Dictatorship

Those who follow the progress of Art throughout the world know that it does not flourish under dictatorships. Once in the forefront of Modern Art, Germany now has her creative activities almost entirely extinguished. *The Living Age* publishes the impressions of Paul Westhum, a German exile, about the contemporary architecture of his native land.

A visitor from Germany tells of a painting he saw in a Berlin exhibition: "A fair woman—Mother Germania. In one hand she holds the model of a village, in the other a bottle containing some fluid. The village is the Soil; the fluid in the bottle is the Blood."

"And who buys such stuff?"

"Nobody. The painters produce it in the hope that it will be regarded as the mythology of the twentieth century, bringing them at least a mention in the papers. The better artists, the luminaries of the Republic, no longer exhibit at all if they can help it."

"How about commissions? If I recall, there was talk in Nuremberg of undertaking the biggest program in centuries?"

"Commissions? Yes, indeed—decorating armories. One could almost say that the Reichswehr is the painters' employment agency. Whoever has the proper connections with the Reichswehr is well off—Wolf Rohricht, for example. He used to exhibit still-lives of calla lilies in pre-Hitler times. Now he is doing splendidly. He has actually specialized as a barracks painter."

It is significant that when an enumeration of the various "Great Deeds" was made last January painting was not even mentioned. "The New Architecture since the Resurgence" was played up all the more—with the appropriate illustrations.

The building activities are enormous. Adolf Hitler believes that he owes this much to his "legend." Last fall, at Nuremberg, he explained that a people is remembered by the visible monuments it leaves. Hence the mania for building: in Munich the Party Buildings, the Temple of Honor on the Konigsplatz, the House of German Art; in Nuremberg the Congress Building; in Berlin the Olympia Forum, the Reich Air Ministry, the New Reichsbank, to say nothing of the smaller German Halls, Thing Forums, etc.

The Konigsplatz, praised by Wolfflin as the most beautiful of its kind produced by the classic period, has been completely robbed of its enchantment. The changes made by the building of the Party structures have completely destroyed the romantic character of the Square. Countless German architects are disturbed as ancient beauty is here destroyed by dilettantes. This classic Troost-Hitler style shows no trace of the 'self-willed, self-confident features of a new style.' Or even of 'autochthonous architecture.' Any self-confidence it may possess is shown merely in the manner in which the new German style is dictated; and the manner in which the classic creations in city building are completed—or, more correctly, destroyed—is indeed self-willed, if not arbitrary. For the rest we have a dry and unimaginative uniform paste-board architecture, anxiously and slavishly following its models.

A closer examination of the multitude of photographs published recently shows the same barren pattern everywhere—in Nuremberg, Munich or Berlin. Formerly the various German regions took great pride in the native peculiarities of their architecture. Munich, with its comfortable *Gemutlichkeit*, rejected the rationalism of the North. Hamburg wished to have nothing in common with the curlicue sausage ornamentation of the so-called New Dresden Baroque. This regionalism is at a complete end under Hitler. In North and South there is the same uniform paste-board architecture. This is the authoritatian Fuhrer principle in architecture: a "Court of Honor" with wings to the right and left, the main feature being a surrounding colonnade up to 300 feet in length. Always the same court with the same square pillars, as though turned out on the assembly line.

The new paste-board architecture has been unable to bring to the fore even a single half-way representative achitect. All the same it is "autochthonous" and "Periclean."

Coming to Literature, it is fairly well known that the German libraries and publishing houses have been constanty raided since Hitler came to power. A 'cold boycott' has been exercised by the issuing of semi-official black lists. Writing in *The Living Age*, Ruth Norden gives some information about the latest developments in the field.

These lists, of course, barred the works of 'Marxists Jews, and traitors' from the very beginning. Lately, however, innumerable authors of world fame have begun to be included, authors to whom the afore-mentioned epithets cannot possibly be applied.

Frank Wedekind, Guy de Maupassant, Balzac and Zola are on this index. The case of Zola is of considerable interest. The Nazis at one time actually enlisted him as one of their own and hooted at over-zealous librarians who had consigned the great Frenchman to the locked bookcase. But to-day Zola is once more anathema.

Hermann Hesse, one of German's finest and most cultivated writers, has been banned, as have been Romain Rolland, Andre Gide, Jean Giono, James Joyce, Theodore Dreiser, and Richard Hughes. Others included are D. H. Lawrence, H. G. Wells, J. B. Priestley, Alfred Neumann, Leonhard Frank, Thomas Mann, and Franz Werfel. Foreign names are conspicuous on the lists, confirming the impression that the Nazis are deliberately isolating Germany from the main streams of European culture. No sense or system is evident in the selection

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of names, and even the flimsiest pretexts are dispensed with.

In the case of a considerable number of authors the critic is entirly at a loss to explain their exclusion. These include: Rabindranath Tagore, Jules Romains, Baudelaire, Anatole France, Marcel Proust, Pirandello, Hemingway, Huxley, Claude Anet, Colette, and such harmless native writers as Bonsels and Rosegger.

A Social Scourge of Africa

Adolphe Tardy, the apostolic curate of the African colony of Gabun in the French Congo, writes in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*:

That our colonies in the Equatorial Africa are being depopulated is unfortunately too true. The causes of this are manifold. There are, in the first place, the epidemics including the sleeping sickness. Another cause is the infant mortality. Further, there is the absence of all hygienic conditions—then starvation and unregulated employment of labourers. It must be recognized that measures have been undertaken to remedy all these evils, but there is one cause of depopulation which continues to be as potent as ever, *viz.*, the breaking up of the family system among the natives, especially, the practice of polygamy among them which is a real social scourge. None seems to have heeded the very fundamental sociological principle, that a healthy policy of preservation of the race and the population must in the first place be a policy of protecting the family system. One may seek in vain in the colonies for any measures to improve the lot of the native woman.

Among the Bantus of Gabun, whether ruled by the patriarchal or the matriarchal system, the woman is a commercial commodity, a thing, which one can offer for sale or buy or inherit like ordinary cattle. She can be lent or pledged, and she is as little consulted in all this as a goat or a dog, when they are treated as a commodity of exchange or trade. What resistance can she offer? She is after all the weaker sex. Here is that enforced labour, against which the Unions of humanitarian workers will never have enough strength to fight.

The native woman, when she is yet a child of about 5 or 6 years or often still younger, is married to a so-called bridegroom—that is to say, sold to him,—who is about 15 or 16 years old, often a weakling or a filthy diseased person, who already possesses a more or less numerous harem of Negresses of every age. The little child is thus torn away from her mother and sacrificed to the tender mercies of her master. Out of these wives of the polygamists 60 per cent. are doomed to remain childless. And now can we imagine, that the girls, who are thus bought either from the father or uncle or elder brother or even from a husband are sold and resold five—eight—ten—times? These unfortunate creatures do not often remember in which villages they have lived and to which husbands they had been given over during the course of their miserable existence.

The writer combats the theory that this state of affairs is traditional and suggests that this degeneration is a result of European colonization.

When we missionaries speak about these things to men, who have no real desire to know them, the usual remark made is that this state of affairs is traditional, that it existed before the European conquest and is inherent to the polygamic social structure of the natives. We reply that this state is not only not traditional, but that it originated only during the time of the European colonization. This was how it was brought about. The traditional morals gradually disappeared owing to the occupation and development of the land, race-mixture and the native justice having lost its real character. Formerly, the marriage could not be a continuous commercial exchange, as it is today, because the dowry was not of much worth. The parents of the bride and the bridegroom satisfied themselves by making small presents to each other and exchanging mutually some venison, a few cattle, spears, arrows and hunting knives. Adultery was severely punished. The native judges, who were entrusted with the traditional ways of penalization did not spare anybody while upholding the old ethical principles, upon which the very life of the race depended. Such cases were not disposed of, as in these days, with a fine of 20 to 25 francs to be paid to the deceived party. This light attitude has been ruinous; the morals in this respect have become extremely loose and the door is left open for the most atrocious misdeeds. The greed of the parents has increased, owing to the European trade-relations, and women of all ages have become the object of endless overbiddings. And, on the other hand, as the wealth of a village is always considered to be the property of the eldest among the natives, the women have actually become the possessions of a few old men and this has necessarily condemned a large number of young men to remain unmarried or lead a disorderly life. Organized prostitution, which was unknown to the original natives, has become a fruitful source of income to the polygamous men, but at the same time the severest scourge of the native society.

Race Conflict

The problem of race conflict has ever been present in the history of mankind and this conflict has been at the basis of all great civilizations. Writing in *The Indian*, Rabindranath Tagore points out how India has for ages attempted to solve this problem.

Of all the ancient civilizations, I think that of India was compelled to recognize this race problem in all seriousness, and for ages she has been engaged unravelling the most bafflingly complicated tangle of race-differences. Europe was fortunate in having neighbouring races more or less homogeneous, for most of them were of the same origin. So, though in Europe there were bitter feuds between different peoples, there was not that physical antipathy between them which the difference in colour of skin and in feature tends to produce. Not only in colour and features but in their ideals of life the western peoples are so near each other that practically they are acting as one in building up their civilization.

But it has been otherwise with India. At the beginning of Indian history the white-skinned Aryans had encounters with the aboriginal people, who were dark and who were intellectually inferior to them. Then there were the Dravidians who had their own civilization and whose gods and modes of worship and social system were totally different from those of the newcomers, which must have proved a more active barrier between them than full-fledged barbarism. . .

In India, after a period of fierce struggles, men of different colours and creeds, different physical features

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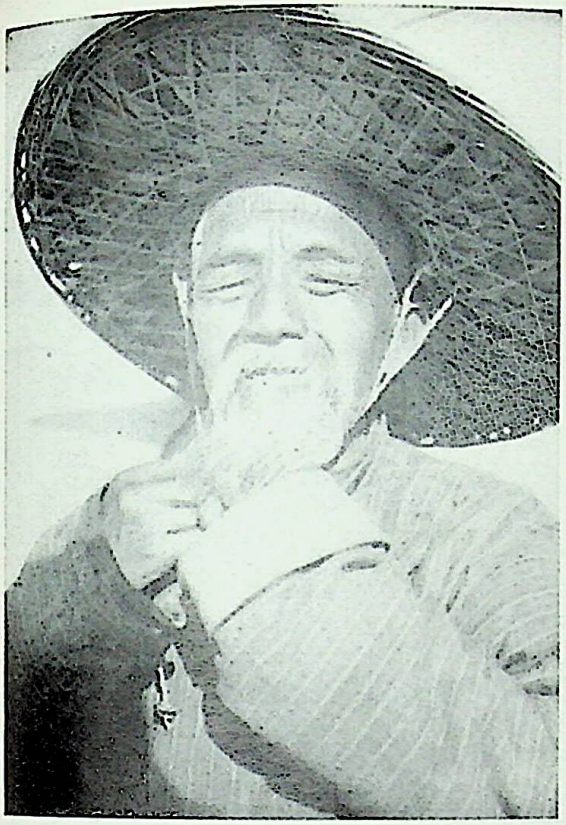
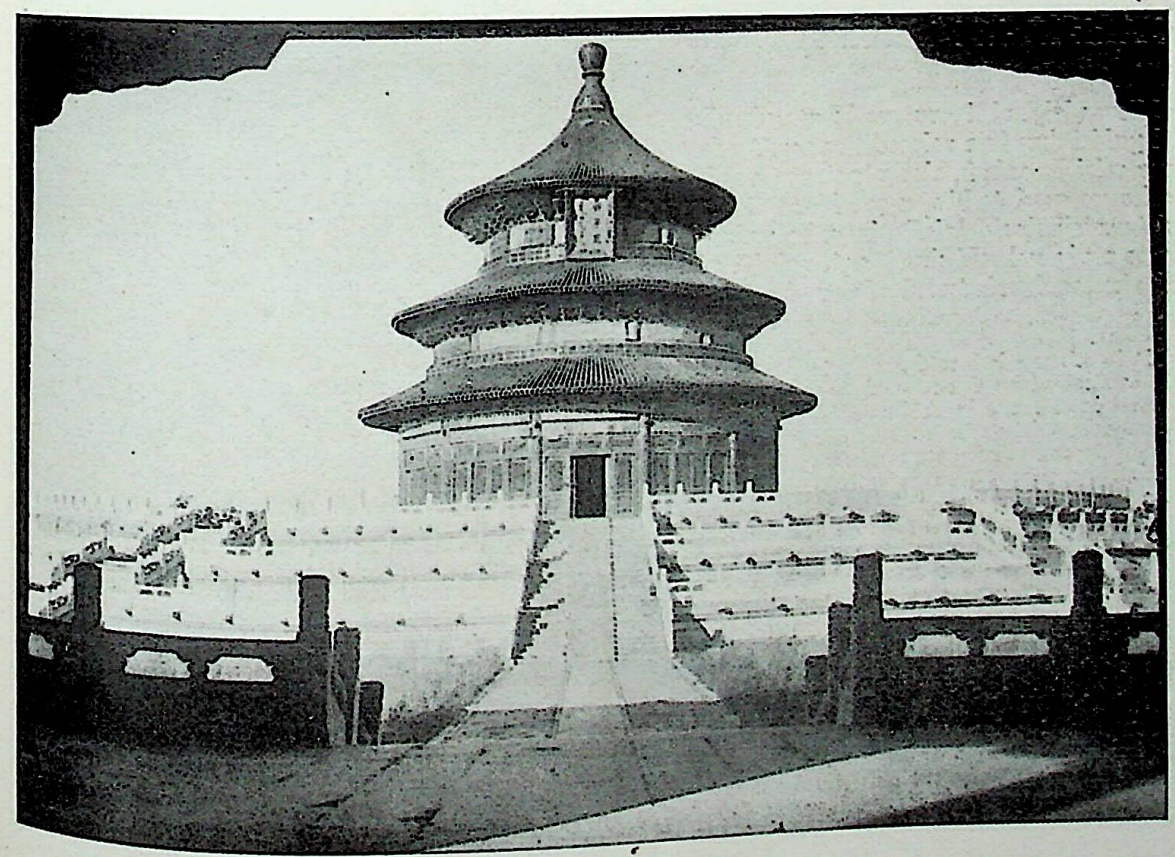


An old Chinese cabbage-seller

A young Chinese dancer



The Altar of Heaven, Peking. Once a year in the early hours of morning the Chinese Emperor used to pray at this altar for the welfare of his subjects

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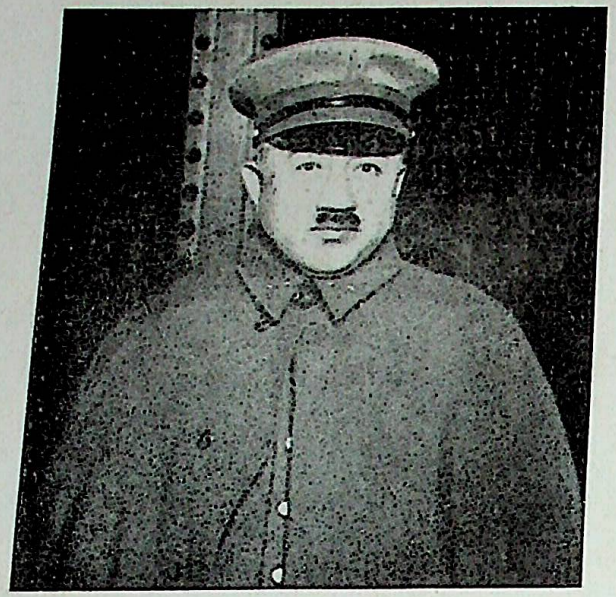
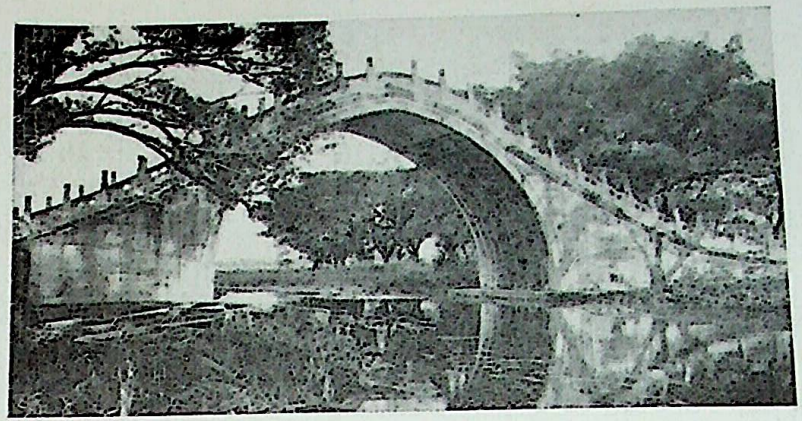
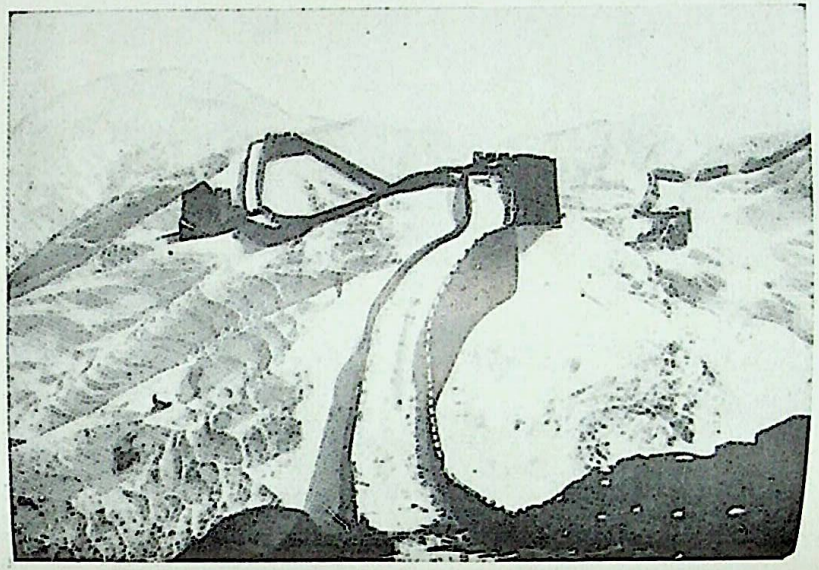


Major General Kenji Doihara
who is known as the 'Lawrence of Manchuria'



A spring and bridge in the famous Royal Summer Palace of Peking



The Great Wall of China

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and mental attitudes settled together side by side. As men are not inert matter but living beings, this juxtaposition of different elements became an ever-present problem for India. But with all its disadvantages this it was that stimulated men's minds to find out the essential unity in diversity of forms, to know that, however different be the symbols and rituals, God, whom they try to represent, is one without a second, and to realize him truly is to realize him in the soul of all beings.

When differences are too jarring, man cannot accept them as final; so, either he wipes them out with blood, or coerces them in some kind of superficial homegeneity, or he finds out a deeper unity which he knows is the highest truth.

India chose the last alternative; and all through the political vicissitudes that tossed her about for centuries, when her sister civilization of Greece and Rome exhausted their life force her spiritual vitality still continued, and she still retains her dignity of soul.

. . . If, by any chance, men are brought together who are not products of the same history and not moulded in the same traditions, they never can rest till they can find out some broad basis of union which is positive in its nature and which makes for love. And I am sure in India we have that spiritual idea, if dormant but still living, which con tolerate all differences in the exterior while recognizing the inner unity. I feel sure in India we have that golden key forged by ancient wisdom and love which will one day open the barred gates to bring together to the feast of good fellowship men who have lived separated for generations.

From a very remote period of her history till now all the great personalities of India have been working in the same direction. The Gospel of universal love that Buddha preached was the outcome of a movement long preceding him, which endeavoured to get at the kernel of spiritual unity, breaking through all divergence of symbols and ceremonies and individual preferences.

With the advent of the Mohammedan power not only a new political situation was created in India but new ideas in religion and social customs were brought before the people with a violent force. Nevertheless, it had not the effect of generating an antagonistic fanatical movement among Hidus. On the contrary, all the great religious geniuses that were born during this period in India sought a reconciliation of the old with the new ideals in a deeper synthesis, which was possible because of the inherited spirit of toleration and accumulated wisdom of ages. In all these movements there was the repeated call to the people to forget all distinctions of castes and creeds and accept the highest privileges of brotherhood of man by uniting in love of God.

The same thing has occurred again when India has been closely brought in contact with the Christian civilization with the coming of the English. The Brahmo Samaj movement in India is the movement for the spiritual reconciliation of the East and West, the reconciliation resting upon the broad basis of spiritual wisdom laid in the Upanishads. There is again the same call to the people to rise above all artificial barriers of caste and recognize the common bond of brotherhood in the name of God.

Sri Ramakrishna

The *Message of The East* relates the story of a meeting of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and Sri Ramakrishna :

Whenever he was told of any great devotee or spiritual teacher or a man of extraordinary renunciation and high spiritual attainment, he would become restless until he had found him. Thus it was he came to Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, founder of the Adi-Brahmo Samaj and the father of the renowned poet, Rabindranath, the visit being arranged by Mathur Babu himself, as he was a former class-mate of the Maharshi.

It will be interesting to our readers to know that Devendranath Tagore, who came from a long line of aristocrats and who represented the very acme of polished cultural attainment, was naturally a great advocate of conventional etiquette, while Sri Ramakrishna, who represented complete disregard to all outer forms of polished human society, was so wholely dedicated to the Highest. that it was difficult for him to pay heed to the ordinary details of life. This meeting, of tremendous contrasts on the outer plane, and might have caused a great clash but for their spiritual vision. Tagore at first was startled to see a man half naked, but he soon became aware of Sri Ramakrishna's genuine power. Sri Ramakrishna said to him, "You are the King Janaka of this age. (King Janaka, though sitting upon a throne, attained the highest spiritual realizaion.) I have been told that though you live in the world you have your mind firmly fastened on God; so I have come to see you. Tell me something about him!" Devendranath Tagore then reited a beautiful passage from the Vedas, the meaning of which is that this world is like a huge chandelier of which every living being is a light. Sri Ramkrishna was much impressed by this simile. As he himself stated later on : "When I was meditating under the Panchavati tree, I, too, had a similar vision. Finding his statement tallying with my experience, I thought he must be a very great man. I asked him o explain it. He said, 'Who could know this world? God has created man to proclaim His own glory. If there be no lights in the chandelier, everything is in darkness; one can't see the chandelier even.' We had a good deal of talk. He was pleased and invited me to attend their Anniversary."

The same journal publishes the story, as told by himself, how Sri Ramakrishna came to realize Christ.

When the desire to realize the Christian Ideal arose in my mind, the Divine Mother fulfilled it in a strange way, without any struggle on my part.

One day I was in the parlor of the country home of Jadu Nath Mallik at Dakshineswar, on the walls of which were many beautiful portraits, one of them being Christ's.

I was looking attentively at the picture of the Madonna with the Divine Child and reflecting on the wonderful life of Christ, when I felt as though the picture had become animated and that rays of light were emanating from the figures of Mary and Christ and, entering into me, altogether changed my mental outlook.

When I realized that my Hindu ideas were being pushed into a corner by this onrush of new ones, I tried my best to stop it and eagerly prayed to the Divine Mother : 'What is it that Thou art doing to me, Mother?" But in vain. My love and regard for the Hindu gods were swept away by this tidal wave, and in their stead, a deep regard for Christ and the Christian church filled my heart and opened to my eyes the vision of Christian devotees burning incense and candles before the figure of Jesus in the churches, and offering unto Him the eager outpourings of their hearts. Returning to the Dakshineswar Temple, I was so engrossed in these thoughts that I forgot to visit the Divine Mother in the Temple.

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For three days those ideas held sway in my mind. On the fourth day, as I was walking in the Panchavati, I saw an extraordinary looking person of serene aspect approaching me with his gaze intently fixed upon me. I knew him at once to be a man of foreign extraction. He had beautiful large eyes, and though the nose was a little flat, it in no way marred the comeliness of his face. I was charmed and wondered who he might be. Presently the figure drew near, and from the innermost recesses of my heart there went up the note, "This is the Christ who poured out His heart's blood for the redemption of mankind and suffered agonies for its sake. It is none else but the Master-Yogin, Jesus, the embodiment of love."

Then the Son of Man embraced me and became merged in me. I lost outward consciousness in Sahadhi, realizing my union with the Brahman with Attributes.

Unemployment Problem in India

F. Gapchenko observes in *The Revolutionary East*:

There exists in India, as in other colonial countries, an enormous army of the unemployed people who do not receive any help whatsoever from anywhere or anybody in the world . . . The most important task of the young generation of India is to organize the movement of these unemployed people on the basis of an united front. . . . If the matter is brought to this stage that all hungry and unemployed persons come out in the streets with their women and children, and demand substantial help or even only bread, this problem will attract the attention of the whole society to such an extent that a certain solution for this greatest social "curse" is sure to be found out. . . .

DISARMAMENT

Towards the end of May this year, the Soviet Government protested against the anti-Soviet campaign in the Japanese press and against the arrest of employees of the Russian Embassy in Japan on charges of espionage. Mr. Arita, the Japanese Foreign Minister had declared some days before that Japanese-Soviet relations were none too happy. The maintenance of excessive armaments by the Soviet, he said, on remote Far-Eastern outposts, constituted a real menace to peace in that part of the world.

About this time the naval negotiations about the limitation of armaments had fallen through in London owing to Japan's refusal to sign the 1936 treaty. Thereupon the U.S.S.R. seemed disinclined to give any undertakings regarding qualitative limitation of ships in the Far-Eastern fleet or any other curtailment of her naval forces there, although so far as European waters were concerned, they were quite willing to sign a treaty of limitations.

Japan's point of view with regard to Naval limitations was very clearly expressed by Admiral Kanji in the March issue of *Contemporary Japan*. He writes:

We have wars not because of armaments, but because of the qualities of the men who control them. Unless limitation of the former is accompanied by modification of the latter to make them conform with such universally commended, but not always practised, ideals as justice and equality, it can have little meaning. War breaks out when a Power or a group of Powers wishes to gain or exercise superiority. If there were no lust for superiority, war would be unthinkable and armaments would shrink without international action regarding them. International realities being what they are, however, we cannot afford to act on the assumption that this pleasant state of affairs exists or is likely to come into existence in the near future. What is possible, however, is to alleviate world tension by a treaty guaranteering mutual non-aggression and limiting the armaments of the Powers to a level that will be the same for all of them and so low that none can adopt a challenging attitude, thereby discouraging aggressive ambitions. Such a treaty would obviously lessen the possibilities of war.

It was with this in mind that the Japanese delegation at London proposed a common upper limit of naval tonnage and insisted on acceptance of it by the conference before discussion of other questions. Its formula recognized the right of the five Powers who had participated in the Washington conference to possess equal volumes of naval armaments, reduced the common limit to the lowest level possible and gave room for each Power to distribute its armaments within this limit in whatever manner it might deem most advantageous to its position and needs. It had the merits of removing inequality, reducing expenditure and giving consideration to differences in national conditions. It made possible a naval race within safe limits, thereby safe-guarding the morale of officers and men and permitting progress. In short, the plan was designed to do away with old complaints and give no grounds for fresh ones.

Despite the delegation's zeal in expounding it, this Japanese formula was not fully appreciated at the conference and met with objections which resulted in its rejections.

Germany felt keenly the disadvantages of her naval inferiority in the days preceding the World War, but the Kaiser hoped to compensate for it by exploiting his kinship with the British Royal Family. His amazement when Great Britain decided to side with the Allies came too late; Germany's inferiority in fleet strength proved fatal. It is my hope that the Japanese navy will never find itself in the position of the German navy on the eve of the World War, and it was to prevent this that the Japanese Government gave notice on December 29, 1934, of its intention to let the Washington naval treaty lapse at the end of this year and proposed at the London parley that the principal of equality in national defence be recognized as the basis of a new treaty. By bringing about a state of non-menace and non-aggression, Japan wished to

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clear away suspicions and soften animosities. She asked the other Powers to replace coercive disarmament with voluntary disarmament, and she sincerely believed that in no other way could world peace be served.

The maintenance of the *status quo* which the strong Powers seem to want at any cost is intolerable to States which are oppressed or require freer expression of national vitality. The clash of interest between these two groups makes for instability and fear of war, the very thing that we all wish to eliminate. Which of these groups is at fault? I maintain that all the trouble is caused by the blindness of the *status quo* Powers to the legitimate claims of the revisionists.

It is clear from the above that Japan aims at parity and as such the question of Naval limitations has been definitely relegated to the mass of futile suggestions made in the past to ambitious powers in an attempt to curb their lust for dominions and trade markets.

The present position in European armaments is as follows :

ARMY

	Standing Army	Trained Reserves
Great Britain ..	199,804	284,278
France ..	584,300	6,328,000
Italy ..	437,368	5,885,000
Russia ..	1,000,000	13,000,000
Germany ..	500,000 (?)	1,600,000

NAVY

	Submarines		Ships	
	No.	Tons	No.	Tons
Great Britain ..	52	51,000	224	1,107,500
Italy ..	57	37,500	114	333,000
France ..	93	80,000	103	476,000

AIR FORCE

	Planes	Forces
Italy ..	1,500	173,171
France ..	2,500	29,913
Great Britain ..	1,100	45,626
Germany ..	1,000 (?)	?
Russia ..	3,000	?

And now the race for re-armament is on!

Turning to the question of land forces, according to M. Eduard Herriot, the Soviet Government has now a total of 1,300,000 men doing military service. Counting trained reserves, M. Herriot estimates that the U.S.S.R. could mobilize an army of 13,000,000 men in times of war. But men alone do not constitute the strength of an army, and although, according to General Henri Loiseau, head of the French military mission, the Soviet army was "one of the most powerful fighting machines in the world," it had a vital source of weakness in its officers. Further weakness lay in the lack of efficiency in the transport system and in the thoroughness of the equipment. But in spite of all this, the land forces of the U.S.S.R. have to be reckoned as one of the most formidable armies of today.

According to Minister Koki Hirota of Japan, Russia had completed as far back as the beginning of this year, "excessive military works in Eastern Siberia." According to the Riga Correspondent of the London *Morning Post* these were :—

Fortifications on the 1,500 mile front from Lake Baikal to Vladivostok are nearing completion. The front line fortifications include numerous forts, anti-aircraft bases and underground barracks of reinforced concrete. Six kilometers behind the front line are the second line fortifications. Between the two are numerous "tank traps. . . ."

So much for the Soviet, now what about the others? the armies of Europe as computed by the United Press of U. S. A. are :

Nation	Standing Armies (Estimated)	Reserves	Pre-War Armies	Air-planes
Britain	337,000	1,000,000	414,000	1,750
Russia	1,300,000	2,500,000	108,000	3,000
Germany	600,000	1,000,000	718,000	2,800
France	684,000	4,000,000	975,000	4,000
Italy	979,000	1,250,000	293,000	3,700
Poland	273,000	700,000	192,000	800
Belgium	67,000	600,000	30,000	250
Austria	70,000	200,000	57,000	Unknown
Bulgaria	23,000	33,000	52,000	Unknown
Hungary	35,000	35,000	66,000	Unknown
Yugoslavia	140,000	150,000	153,000	580
Czechoslovakia	150,000	240,000	74,000	687
Greece	67,000	70,000	67,000	119
Holland	60,000	75,000	35,000	32
Rumania	180,000	200,000	160,000	820
Spain	180,000	180,000	86,000	500
Switzerland	45,000	450,000	3,600	240

And this is the eighteenth year after the "War to end all wars!"

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FAR EASTERN SITUATION

EARLY in March this year, American papers published an interview with the Dictator of the U.S.S.R., which came like a bombshell over the political world. In this interview, Stalin —Josef Vissarionovitch Dzugashvli, to give his real name—made certain statements which were as remarkable for their frankness as for their weight. Roy W. Howard who obtained this interview on behalf of the Scripps-Howard papers, gave it wide circulation, waiving copyright, in consideration of its momentous importance.

In Stalin's opinion the war-clouds were gathering, the two focal points being one in the Far-East in the zone of Japan and the other in Germany, and it was an open question as to where the war-menace was more threatening. In his opinion there was no doubt that the menace did exist, and in comparison with it the Italo-Ethiopian war was a mere passing episode. He attached serious importance to the statements made by Herr Hitler in the course of a then recent interview given to a Paris paper, which, though pacific in terminology, carried threats against France and the Soviet Union. Similarly he attached grave weight to the numerous statements made by militarists in Japan containing threats against other powers.

Stalin frankly declared that the Soviet Union was prepared to go to war with Japan if necessary to protect the integrity of its political ally, the Mongolian People's Republic—that is, Outer Mongolia.

At Tokyo, a Foreign Office spokesman described the Stalin declaration as a "bluff made now because Japan is absorbed in internal troubles"—the troubles referred to being the attempted *coup d'etat* by the Army insurgents on the 26th of February and its aftermath. In the opinion of the Japanese spokesman, Moscow had influence over only a small portion of the Outer Mongolians—the majority being unaffected by it. Hence Moscow was for ever posing as a protector of Outer Mongolia thereby trying to prevent the severance of ties with it.

He further declared that this outburst on the part of Stalin was calculated to encourage the Chinese Reds to further Soviet designs in China, and that it was well timed considering the renewed activities of the communistic elements in China. The activities referred to were those of a Chinese Red Army that had just then swept into Taiyuan in the Shansi Province, its apparent objective being Suiyuan in North China where it could effectively prevent Japan from closing the doors of communication between North China and Outer Mongolia. This attempt on the part of the communists to checkmate Japan in its penetration of Outer Mongolia, primarily resulted in a clash with armed forces of the Nanking Government, which was working under difficulties imposed by Japan through the "three points" of Koki Hirota. The most important of these three points was the third, by which Japan could demand freedom of movement of her armies in any province in China in which communistic activities could be proved. Needless to say, the Chinese Communists were trying to take advantage of the political turmoil in Japan following the political assassinations by the Army insurgents. Nanking viewed this communist inroad with grave concern and attempted to stop it by despatching two crack divisions and a detachment of bombing planes to occupy Taiyuan.

Bluff or no bluff, Stalin's declaration regarding armed intervention, had some apparent effect, because within a fortnight of its publication a proposal came from Japan to appoint a commission for demarcation of the frontier of the Soviet Union and Manchukuo. The Soviet Government agreed to this proposal on condition that similar action be taken to clarify the Outer Mongolian-Manchukuoan border. About this time (March 13) Soviet Russia made public her Treaty guaranteeing the independence of Mongolia.

Just when the world was about to heave a sigh of relief at the final settlement of a problem that was causing international tension since June 1935, came disquieting news, in the earlier part of April, about serious clashes at Lake Bor, on the border between Outer Mongolia and Manchukuo, between armed parties of Japanese and Mongolian fishermen. Cannon, armoured cars and airplanes were involved and for a time it seemed as if war was imminent between Japan and the Soviet.

Meanwhile, Nanking was going on with its campaign against the Chinese Reds. About the middle of May it was announced that after a

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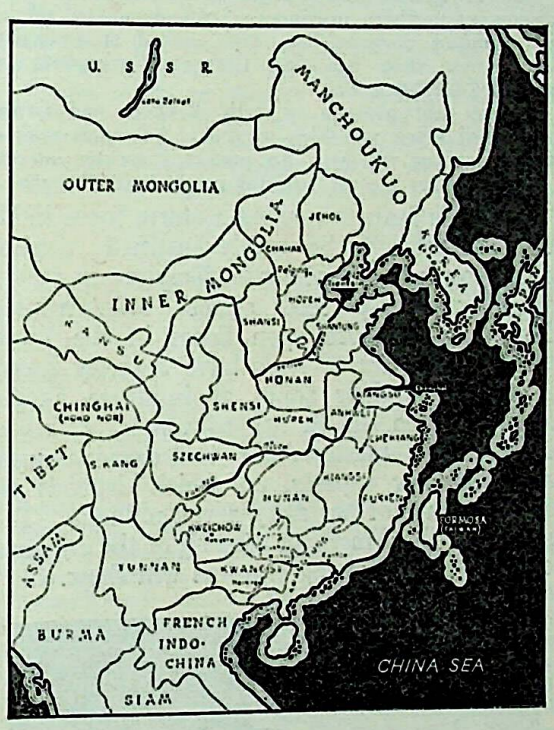
campaign of about three months' duration the Nanking armies had definitely routed Mao Tse-Tung's Red Army and that the Red General-President of the "Chinese Soviet Republic"—was in full retreat with the remnants of his forces, towards his mountain fastnesses in the province of Szechuan. Chiang Kai-shek, the Nanking Generalissimo announced that he hoped that even that last stronghold would be broken up and the Reds finally brought into submission. About a week later it was reported that the Reds were bottled up in Shensi, on the way to Szechuan and this seemed to be the end of the "Chinese Soviet." But the Red army in China seems to be irrepressible because in-spite of all attempts on the part of Nanking, they again succeeded in getting away, this time into Sikang, on the borderland of Tibet, Assam and Burma. This, for the time being, seemed to be the end of the Red attempt to foil Japan's Imperialistic attempt on China; and, with Chiang Kai-shek truckling down to every demand by Japan, Japan's road towards the penetration of North China seemed clear. Moreover, Japan and Nanking seemed to be in agreement, in one point at least, inasmuch as both were concentrating in the suppression of the Communists—the pro-Soviet party—although the net result so far seems to have been the contrary to what was attempted. The Reds are now in Sikang, beyond the reach of Nanking or Japan and within the zone of influence of the U.S.S.R.—*and incidentally on the borders of India although the "impenetrable" barrier of the Himalayas may be interposed in between.*

But the Reds were not the only group opposed to Japan in China. In fact, the whole country is resentful of the Japanese campaign for domination of the northern provinces. Only the consciousness of weakness due to internal strife and want of preparedness was holding back armed resistance so far. But it is apparent that if pushed too far, weak as she is, China might be forced into a "forlorn hope" attempt against Japan. Indeed popular opinion, as evinced by the student party, is strongly in favour of active resistance, and this opinion is gaining ground daily till it seems as if the hands of China's rulers would be forced.

About the middle of June it seemed as if matters were headed for a crisis, and that China was in for a major civil war. Rival armies of Canton and Nanking were reported to be on the march, the destination being Changsha, a strategic point on the newly opened Canton-Hankow line. The Canton army had the avowed intention of launching an anti-Japanese campaign. This the Nanking Government refused to believe, as they consider the real motive is to start a civil war in order to oust Chiang Kai-shek from power. The whole affair as yet seems to be shronded in mystery as the following extracts will show.



The Far Eastern Scene

From the Asia

"Both sides are bluffing," said Maj.-Gen. Seiichi Kita, Japanese military attache in Nanking.

Gen. Chen Chi-tang, head of the Cantonese Government, declared: "Nanking says the Canton anti-Japanese movement is merely a feint for the political aim of taking over the Government. This may easily be branded as false. Ever since the Shanghai hostilities [1932] we of the south-west have urged and we have prayed that Chiang Kai-shek adopt a strong foreign policy, in vain."

Said Marshal Chiang: "I am sure the leaders of Kwantung and Kwangsi Provinces [which make up the Cantonese Government] will not seize upon the diplomatic policy of the Central Government as an excuse to start a civil war."

Izvestia, official organ of the Soviet Government, saw "provocative maneuvers, designed to distract attention from Japanese plans for new aggression in North China, and to strain still further the relations between North and South China.

"Japan is seeking to muffle the approach of actual warfare by its talk about an alleged war between Central and South China.

"Undoubtedly the Japanese imperialists counted on increasing the already existing distrust between Nanking and South China, and even on the possibility of provoking actual warfare." —*The Literary Digest*

But in the beginning at least, Chiang Kai-shek had to face a very difficult situation.

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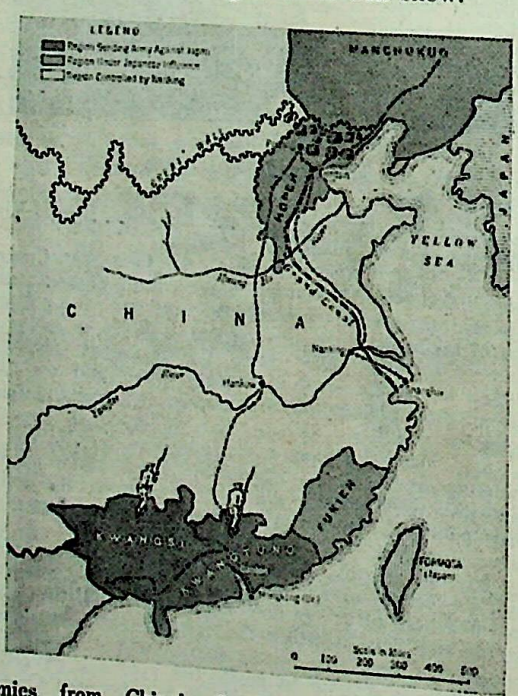
Rejecting Nanking's appeal to halt the march, General Chen, joined by Gen. Li Chung-jen and Gen. Pai Chung-hsi, Kwangsi leaders and Chiang's bitter foes, mustered 200,000 men and 150 planes and began the trek toward the north.

Inspired by these leaders, hundreds of Cantonese demonstrated against Japan. In Peiping students paraded in protest against the foreign invader. In the semi-autonomous northern provinces. Tokyo-dominated officials have dropped customs bars and winked at smugglers. The revenue drop has cost Chiang's Government upward of $400,000 a day.

Japan sent protests to both Nanking and Canton and rushed seven war-ships to Amoy, 270 miles north of Canton, landing marines. To protect American interests a United States cruiser scudded south from Shanghai.

Stalin's fears regarding a storm focus in the Far-East seem to be amply justified. Japan's strides towards a continental Empire—in fact, if not in name—proceed almost uninterrupted. There are no more open doors in the World markets. Earlier arrivals have securely locked the doors of their zones of influence against Japan, and so she in her turn must create or conquer new markets for the ever-increasing stream of her exports, on which depends the very existence of her sixty-seven millions. This at least, is the American reading of the Japanese riddle as the following extracts will show.



Armies from China's Southern Provinces reportedly on the march to force the Nanking Government to take up arms against Japanese invaders
From the Literary Digest

Hence, Japan's hunger for Asiatic colonies. Hence, too, her disciplined Kwantung (Continental) Army, which has overrun northern China, making and unmaking Provincial Governors, setting up new States, and butting belligerently against the stubborn borders of Soviet Russia.

First came Manchukuo. While armored cars poured Japanese troops into Harbin, the League of Nations was informed that the Manchus had set up an autonomous State by "self-determination," and Henry Pu Yi, fragile, bespectacled, outcast ruler of China, was proclaimed Emperor. Japanese industrialists promptly sank a billion dollars into Manchukuoan railroads, mines, and soybean fields.

Unsated, Japan pressed westward, handkerchiefs and gadgets following hard on the heels of bombing planes and motorized detachments. In the Provinces of Chahar and Hopei, however, angry Chinese began to buck. Snipers took to popping off Nippon troopers from behind the parapets of the Great Wall.

Short shrift was made of all such opposition. Officials by the score "resigned," making way for new ones, more complaisant to Kwantung Army orders. "Spontaneous" autonomy movements blossomed overnight in two great Provinces and eighteen counties; and a wedge-shaped zone along the Great Wall was declared "demilitarized."

Last week Japan took new steps to break down in northern China all resistance.

1. She sponsored a pact linking the East Hopei Autonomous Council with Manchukuo for common defense by the Japanese Army "against communism."

2. A new Japanese Ambassador was sent to the Chinese Central Government at Nanking, replacing an envoy whom Kwantung officers considered much "too moderate."

3. War-lords of the autonomous Hopei-Chahar Provinces threatend to reduce by 75 per cent all customs duties, thus slicing $40,000,000 a year in revenues from the Nanking Government, and easing the way for a greater flood of Japanese imports.

4. Six high Mongol officials were arrested for "conspiring with the Soviet Communists against Japan," and were trundled off to Hsinking, Manchukuoan capital, for court martial. —*The Literary Digest*

The Japanese presentation of the case for autonomy of the Northern China provinces shows the growing feeling of resentment in China in a different light. The movement for autonomy is treated not only as spontaneous but also as an essential for national progress. The other side is depicted as follows :

There is no denying the fact that North China abounds with causes of a nature to precipitate a campaign for autonomy, but it must also be noted that many important factors hindering an autonomous movement remain to be liquidated. In the first place, the upper and middle classes just mentioned will resist such a movement, whether wittingly or not. Still more stubborn resistance will be offered by the rulers. The less confident the rulers are of their strength, the more stubborn will be their resistance. Those who resist are favoured in weapons and in resources, both financial and intellectual, while those who seek autonomy are devoid of nearly all resources. The only resort left them is guerrilla warfare, which also has but a meagre chance for success. Considered in this light, it will be seen that a movement for autonomy was bound to occur in North China, but no real opportunity has so far offered itself for facilitating it. The circumstances surrounding the outbreak and progress of the present autonomous movement apparently endorse this.

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During the initial stage of this movement, when there was a loud clamour for a federation of the five provinces, Generals Yen Shih-shan, Shang Chen, Pu Tso-yi and Han Fu-chu apparently shuddered at the idea on the one hand, and on the other, pursued a calculating line of action, planning to define their attitude toward the popular campaign according to its later development. Soon they baulked at it, and then manifested an utter indifference toward the movement because they saw they could best maintain their semi-feudal influences under the old regime. General Sung Che-yuan is also one of the war lords of North China, but he threw himself resolutely into the whirlpool of the autonomous movement, and, unlike his colleagues, played a unique role.

General Sung was one of the war lords who trembled at the outbreak of the movement. China's provincial governors do not welcome a strongly stabilized Central Government which might threaten their position but want one sufficiently stabilized to lend them a helping hand when they fall into difficulties with home politics or foreign Powers. This peculiar psychology dominates all the war lords of China, including those in the North. In consequence, they have no intention of supporting the Nanking Government steadfastly, yet never hesitate to pledge nominal allegiance to Nanking. In other words, if the Nanking Government make demands upon them which they consider excessive, they have no scruple in checking Nanking's influence by utilizing internal or international issues to that end. The most salient case in point is the famous statesman Yuan Shih-kai (1859-1916), who succeeded in organizing a powerful military clique in the North by pitting the influence of the Ching Dynasty against that of the revolutionary force in the South, or vice versa according to his requirements.

Contemporary Japan, March 1936.

Whatever be the real causes behind the present movement, up to the end of last month (June) the situation was very tense as the following extracts show :

Marshal Chiang had the exhausting task of dealing with several quarreling war-lords at once, with the Japanese to boot.

In the south the rulers of the semiautonomous Provinces of Kwantung and Kwangsi jabbed angrily at him. They had demanded that he lead a national war against Japan. To force his hand they started armies on the march north. Such a war, Chiang insists, would be a calamity. He suspects that actually their concern is to drive out not Japan, but Marshal Chiang.

Chiang's most immediate problem, tho, was how to separate the Kwantung and Kwangsi war-lords. Gen. Chen Chia-tang, Kwantung ruler, is apparently less anxious to press for the war than Li Tsung-jen and Pai Chung-hsi, joint rulers of poorer Kwangsi.

Capitalizing on this fact, Chiang pushed desperate negotiations to forestall their march. From day to day in accordance with the developments of the parleys, the southerners halted or advanced their armies in southern Hunan Province.

The Nanking dictator concentrated his persuasive powers on the Kwantung chief. Reports from Canton stated he had offered General Chen several million dollars in cash and a promise of control over Kwangsi. Chen, however, fears that once Chiang has disposed of Generals Li and Pai, he will tackle him next.

Chiang, taking no chances of duplicity from either side, massed 70,000 of his best troops on the Kwantung-Kwangsi frontiers. Minor clashes between the Nanking and Kwangsi troops took place, but to prevent a major encounter, which might start the civil war, the main forces retired.

—*The Literary Digest*

If civil war does break-out, it will be of the scale of a major war, as the following estimates of the forces opposed to Marshal Chiang show :

Kwantung alone can throw into the field an army of 150,000 well-equipped soldiers. It also has a powerful air force and a navy. Two arsenals have been lately equipped with the latest European munitions.

Kwangsi has another 150,000 men. To these forces the formidable Chinese Communist Army in the western Province of Szechuan, arch-enemy of Japan, would add an estimated 500,000 troops.

Intensifying its military and political activity in North China, Japan played directly into the hands of war proponents. Already in complete control of the northern area, the Japanese military turned to Shantung, sacred Province where Confucius was born. This, it was believed, would be added to the second Japanese-dominated political group around Peiping—the East Hopei semiautonomous Government under Yin Ju-keng.

And what would be the result? American opinion is very pessinistic about the consequences.

Japan would carve out a bigger empire in China, putting Henry Pu-yi, currently Emperor of Manchukuo, back on the Manchu Throne of his forefathers at Peiping.

To prevent this, "there remains only a desperate tidal reaction by the Chinese people, and this is nearer now than it has been at any time since the taking of Manchuria in 1931. The climax in China may strike before the end of summer."

Nathaniel Peffer in *The New York Times*

Stalin does not seem to be a scaremonger so far as the Far-East is concerned!

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THE INTERNAL COMBUSTION ENGINE—A GERMAN SAGA

An internal combustion engine is one in which energy is directly translated into mechanical power by causing an explosion to take place behind a piston. Professor Andrade has epigrammatically described this as "*putting the furnace into the cylinders.*"

Thus the Encyclopædia Britannica, but this is hardly even a fraction of the full story. Harnessing the destructive energy of an explosion—a phenomenon that is almost synonymous with calamity—to do constructive work, is an achievent that deserves a whole chapter in the history of human endeavour in the path of progress. When we go further into the details of the simplification of working, both in the production and in the delivery of energy, the enormous economy in terms of space and weight of the engines compared to the energy generated, and the resultant ease in transport thereof, it cannot but be said that the Internal Combustion Engine is one of the latter-day miracles.

The story of its evolution is a long and involved one, but the landmarks of progress in the development of the Internal Combustion Engine as a medium of traction is as follows :

(*a*) In 1820, W. Cecil described to the Cambridge Philosophical Society his engine operated by a hydrogen-air mixture. This is considered to be the first *gas* engine of the internal combustion type in the world.

Needless to say, the fuel being gaseous, the use of engines of this type—even though vast progress has been made subsequently—is necessarily limited. The real development of these principles into an actual engine was made by Dr. N. A. Otto, a German, who produced his world-famous "Otto silent-gas Engine" in 1876.

The success of the Otto gas engine turned the attention of a host of engineers to the possibilities of the internal combustion engine. Gas being both expensive and difficult of detached transport due to bulk, inventors turned their attention to other possible fuels. Paraffin oils, such as kerosine, first were utilized and a whole host of engines, "Hot bulb," "Semi Diesel," etc., mark the development in this direction, the first being probably the Priestman Oil Engine (1885) in which paraffin oil of 152°F. flash point, was used as fuel. But the real start was made with the epoch-making invention by Gottlieb Daimler (1834-1900) of the Light Oil or Petrol Engine. Few inventions in the short space of a single generation have effected such profound changes in human life as the small high speed light oil internal combustion engine, more familiarly known as the 'petrol motor.' *Not only has it completely revolutionized land transport, but it has also rendered possible flight by heavier-than-air machines and in marine, submarine, industrial and even domestic life has wrought important and far-reaching changes.* The principal credit of the invention of this type of engine belongs to a German, Gottlieb Daimler, who produced an engine in 1886 which ran at 800 rev. per minute, and weighed only 88 lbs. per horse power.

The first Daimler motor-bicycle ran in 1886 and the first Daimler-engined motor car in 1887. Contemporaneous with Daimler, another German, Carl Benz of Mannheim had devoted much attention to the production of internal combustion engines for road vehicles and as early as 1878 had produced a tricycle with a ¼ horse-power engine capable of running at 7 miles per hour. At the 1889 Paris exhibition a Benz car was the *sole representative of automobilism.* It may be remarked in passing that Daimler was at that time devoting his attention to launches and small boats and from 1887 onwards succeeded in utilizing his engine largely in water-transport of that kind.

Thus started the history of the Internal Combustion Engine as a transport agent. Man's conquest of air was made possible through its development and in general it may be said that the whole world of transport has been revolutionized by it.

Then followed the invention of the Diesel Engine by Dr. Rudolf Diesel, another German, in 1892. Heavy oils can now be utilized, with greater output of energy per unit of fuel, and the fuel not being highly inflammable, there is less danger of fire. Further the later developments have made the construction of units developing vast amounts of available energy possible, thereby making the internal combustion engine unlimited as a source of power in any capacity whatsoever, stationary or mobile. It is the most economic in fuel of all internal combustion engines, and further the ignition being independent of the electric spark or the hot bulb, the production of energy is still more simplified.

The application of the internal combustion engine in the development of land, water and air transport during the fifty years since the invention of the first practical engines in Germany is now part of human history. This year there has been a jubilee in Germany of the 50 years of automobiles, in which some of the first vehicles used in road-transport have been exhibited.

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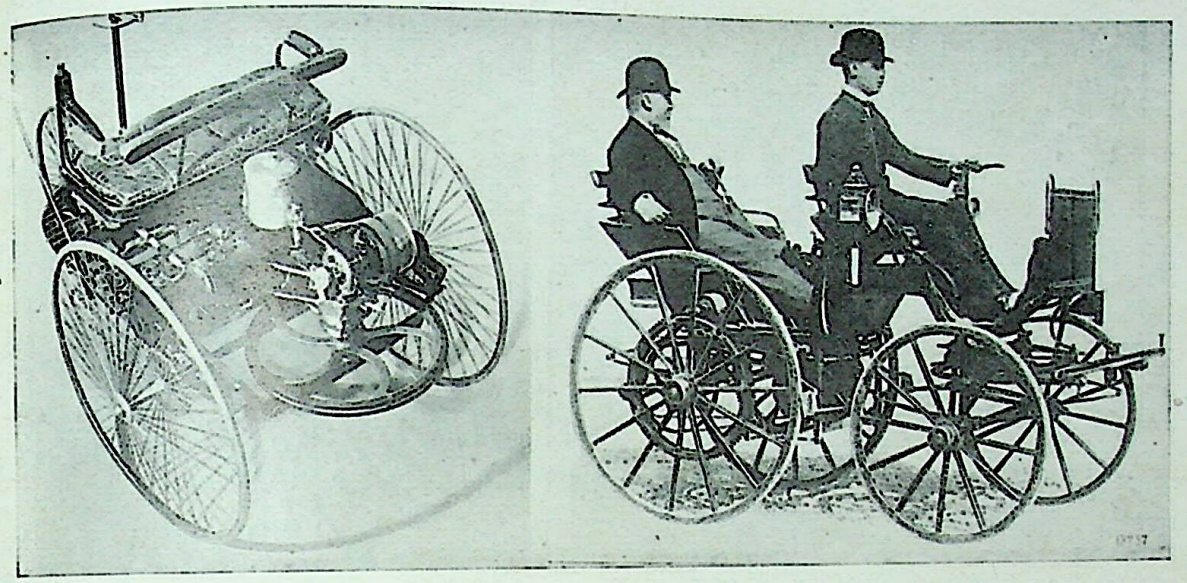
THE GERMAN SAGA OF THE INTERNAL COMBUSTION ENGINE



Motor Jubilee
The First Bicycle and Tricycle—1886

Hapag-Motorship "Orinoco" in Hamburg

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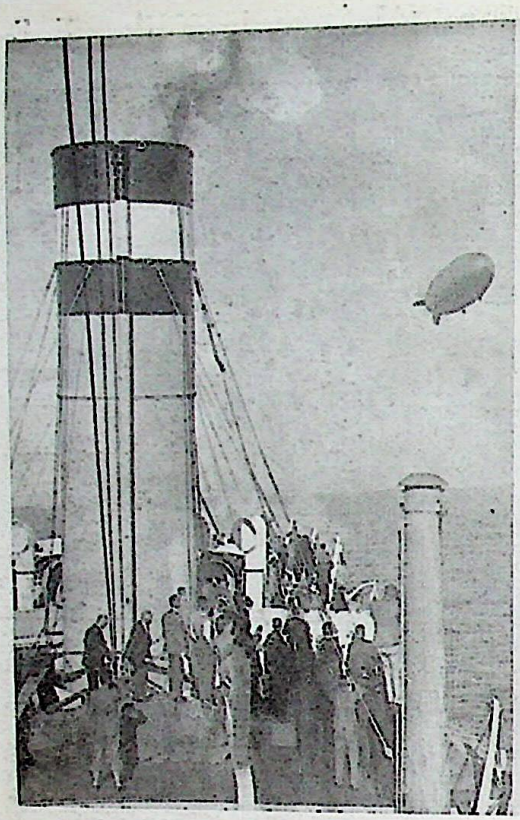
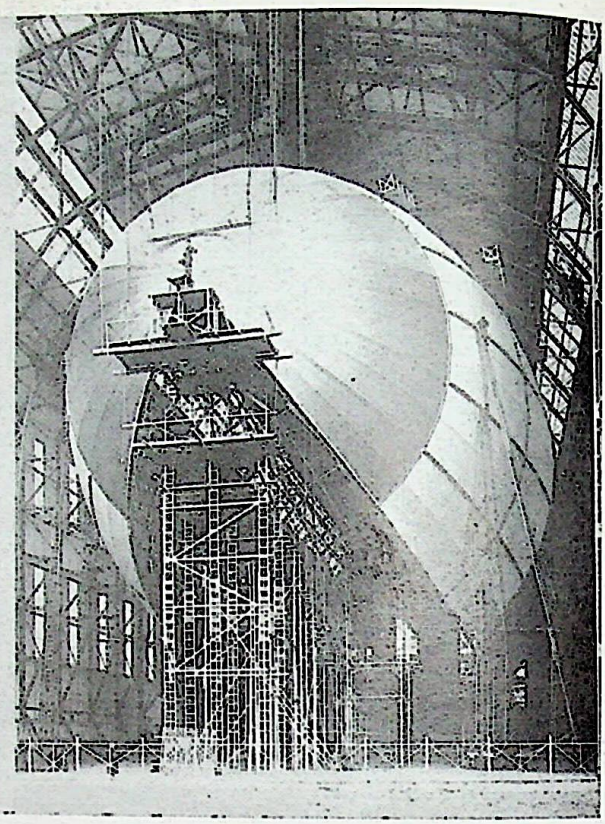
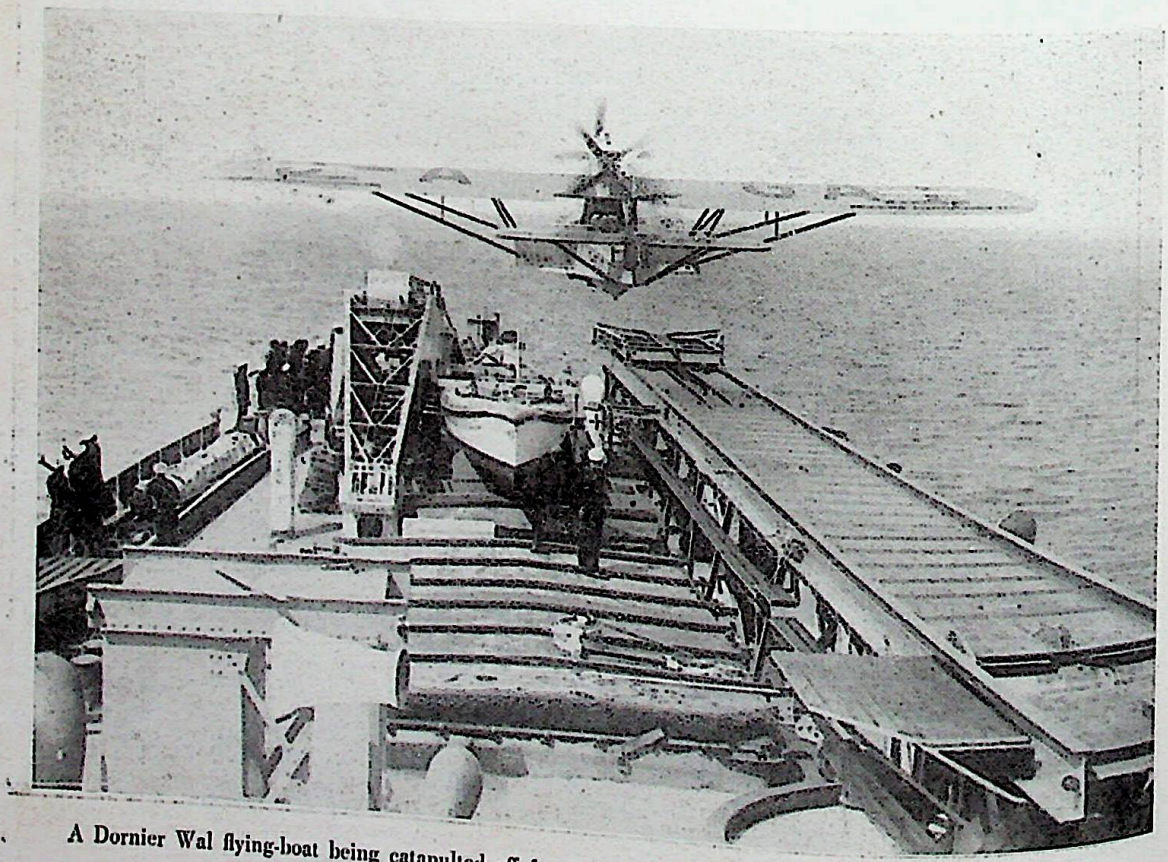


The airship "Hindenburg" meets Hapag-Steamer "Oceana" in mid-ocean



Construction of the new Zeppelin



A Dornier Wal flying-boat being catapulted off from the deck of 'Westfalene' in mid-Atlantic

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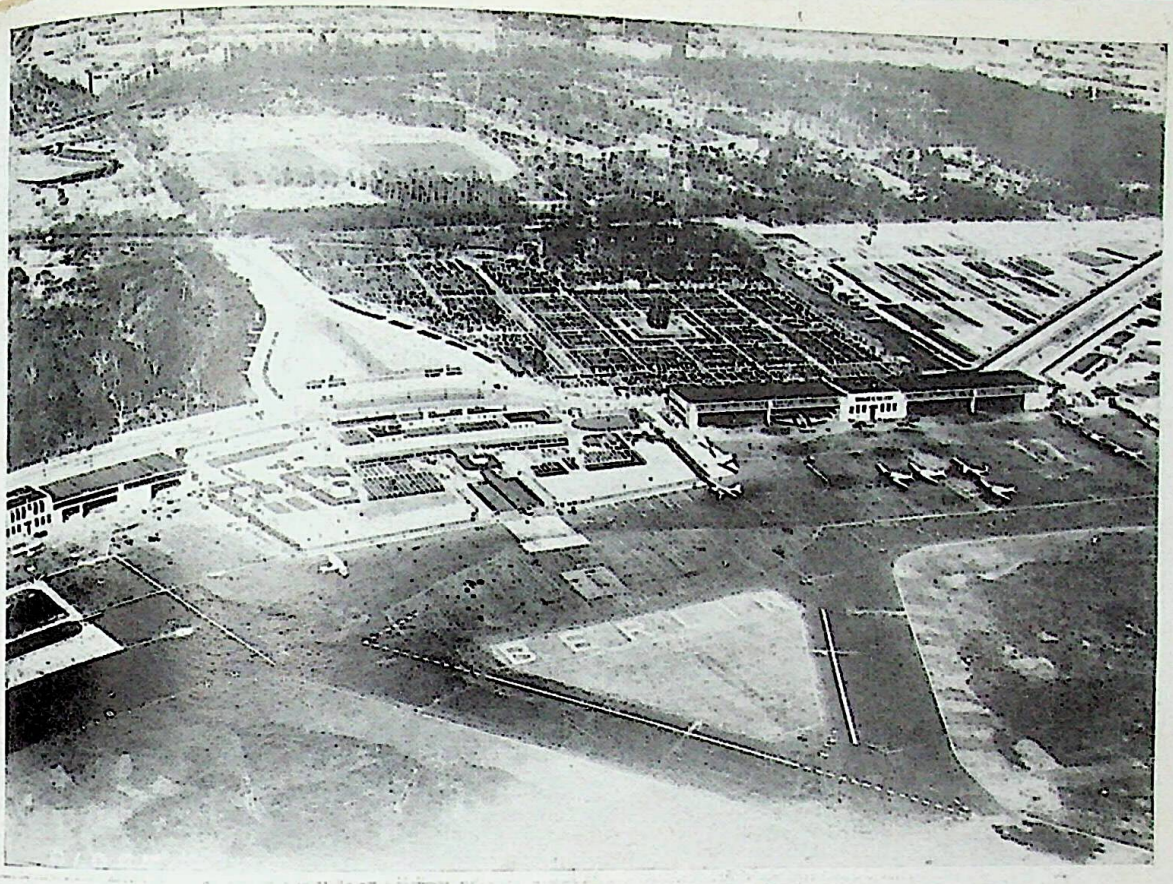
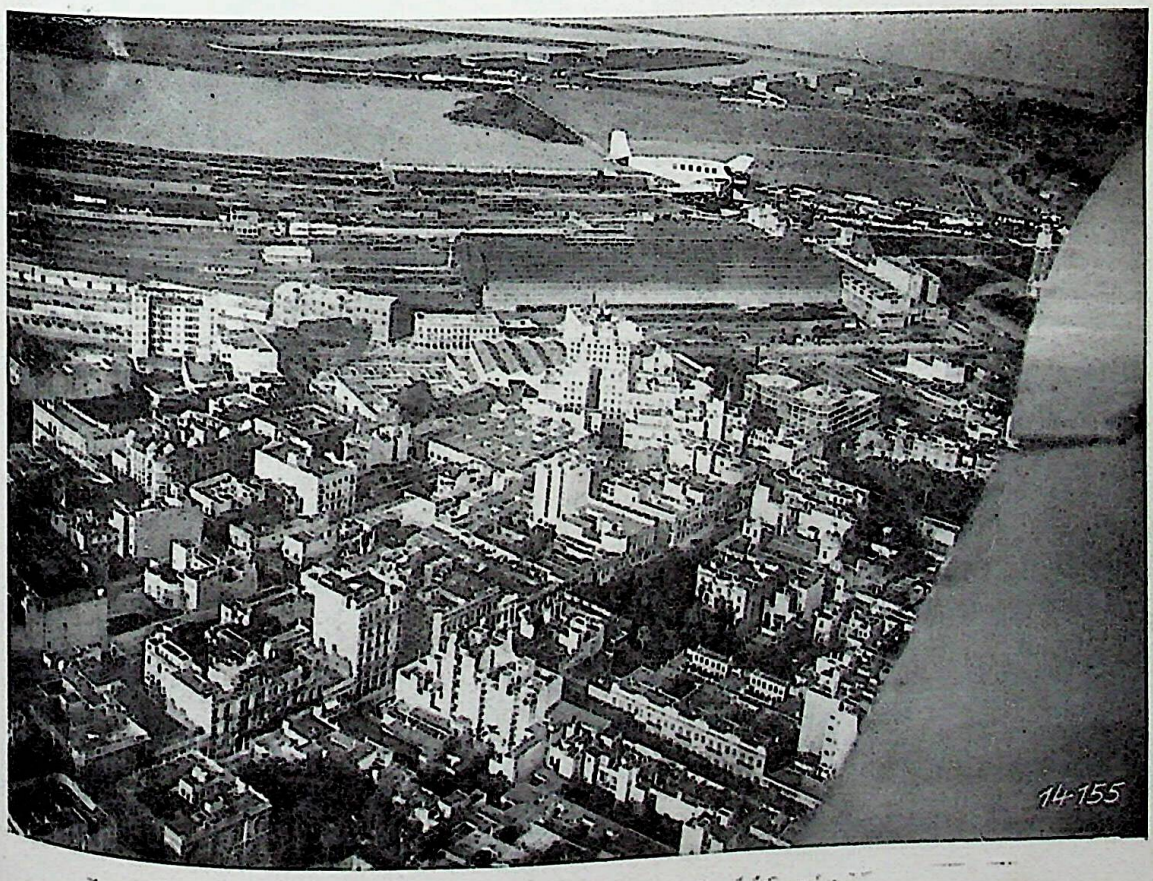


Bird's-eye view of the Tempelhof aerodrome in Berlin



German Junker Plane over Buenos Ayres

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Birthday Celebrations of Hitler in Berlin

Mayday Celebrations in Berlin, Children waiting to see the "Fuehrer"

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NOTES

The New Constitution of India *

This attractive book of 398 pages by two Indian scholars, gives us our first, and as yet our only, full reliable and competent description of and commentary on, India's New Constitution. It is written from the Indian standpoint, that is, from the standpoint of a great civilized and historic people who feel deeply the injustice of being compelled to submit to a constitution framed, no part of it, by themselves, but wholly by foreigners, and with the clear purpose of holding them more securely than ever in subjection. And yet, the book is not primarily a work of controversy, or even of propaganda, but of unpartizan scholarship. The reader is everywhere impressed with its moderation, candor, and fairness. He is also impressed with the wide reading and thorough research of its authors, which is evidenced by their numerous, carefully chosen and illuminating citations, and their very full, sometimes too full, documentation. One actually gets from the book a better understanding of India's New Constitution than from reading the Constitution itself, because the book's descriptions and analyses are so clear and its comments are so informing.

Notwithstanding that the volume is so unpartizan, it makes undeniable (as it was compelled to do if it would be truthful), the wholly undemocratic and autocratic character of the Constitution, and the truth of the claim of the Indian people that it does not advance them a single inch toward real self-government. It gives them a little more freedom in this particular and that, where so doing does not interfere with British interests; but they are allowed to do absolutely nothing except what their foreign masters graciously give them permission to do. There is not in the Constitution anywhere a single definite promise or assurance that they will be granted independence, or even dominion status within the British Empire, in a thousand years. There are vague intimations that the purpose or hope of their masters is, to grant them, sometime, in some unnamed future, something which may possibly be called self-rule; but that is all. There is no time set for any kind of advance : India's future is retained wholly in the hands of Great Britain.

To be more specific :

1. The New Constitution of India contains no bill of rights. Any person may be arrested and imprisoned for any length of time without trial.

2. There can be no future change in the Constitution except by the British Parliament; India is allowed no power in the matter.

3. The army and the very large police force are kept wholly under the control of the British. India cannot command a single soldier or a single policeman.

4. The British retain full control of India's foreign relations.

5. They retain full control of India's national finances. Of all the taxes collected and all other public revenues the Indian people are not allowed to spend a rupee except as permitted by their British rulers.

6. Under the New Constitution the Viceroy becomes virtually an absolute monarch in his relation to India. He can veto any law, and thus destroy it; by what is called " certification," he can enact any law he pleases, in defiance of the whole Indian nation : This has been done repeatedly by past Viceroys in the case of ordinances; now the Viceroys are to be still more autocratic and to have still more power.

If the government of a nation containing one-fifth of the entire population of the globe is a matter of world concern, then this book is of world interest, and should be found in important libraries everywhere. It may be ordered from

* The New Constitution of India : By S. K. Lahiri and B. N. Banerjea. Publishers, The Politics Club, Calcutta. Price Six shillings.

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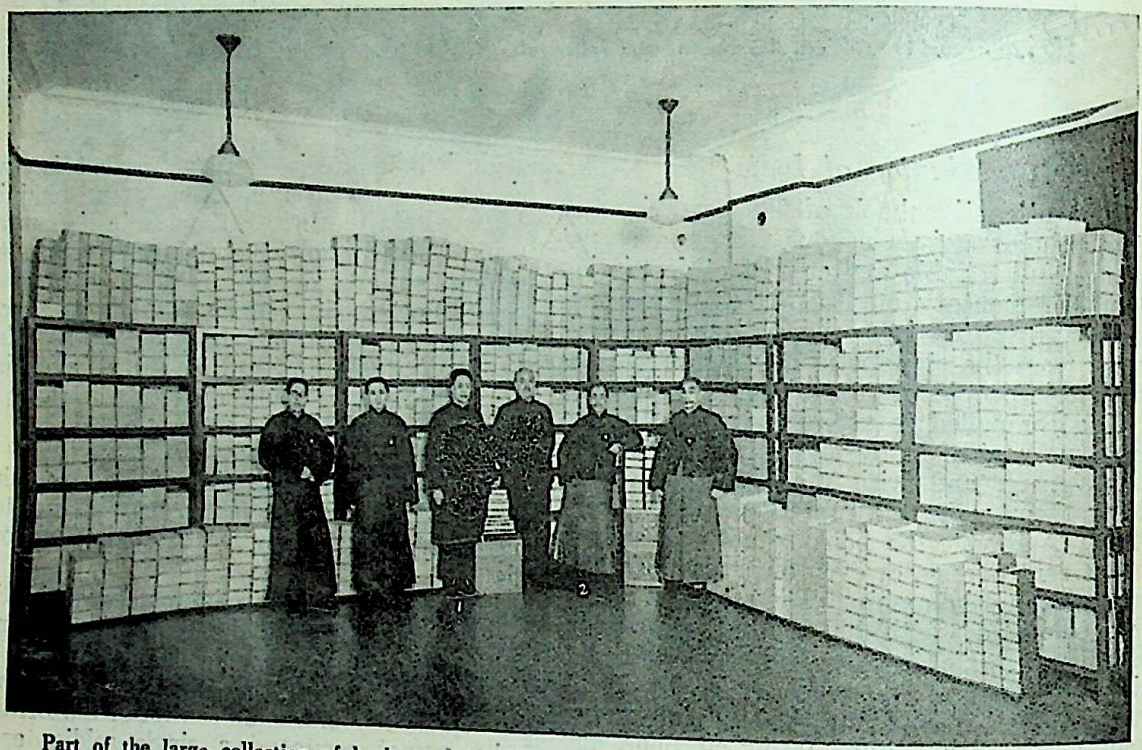
its publishers, or The Book Company, in Calcutta, or from the Bibliophile, 16, Little Russell Street, London.

J. T. SUNDERLAND

The Sino-Indian Cultural Society

The Sino-Indian Cultural Society was established towards the end of 1934 and Rabindranath offered the hospitality of the *Visva-Bharati* to the Society. The organizing Secretary, Prof. Tan Yun Shan, is a well-known Chinese scholar and had been to Santiniketan twice before in order to form closer cultural contact with Hindu scholars. He organized the Society in China. He contributed an illuminating article on "Cultural Interchange between India and China" to *The Modern Review* for November, 1935. The President of the Supervising Board of the Society is Hon'ble Tai-Chi-Tao, who is also a Minister of the Central Government, being the President of the Examination Yuan. He is now in Berlin in connection with the Olympic games, having gone there to be in personal control of the Chinese team. On his way back home, he will pay a visit to Santiniketan. The eminent scholar, Dr. Tsai-Yuan-Pei, the Director of the National Central Research Institute, is the President of the Executive Board of the Sino-Indian Society. Prof. Tan Yun-Shan has recently come back to Santiniketan to take charge of the activities of the Society here. He has brought with him nearly 100,000 books, pictures and manuscripts for the Chinese Hall, as well as Rs. 30,000 towards the expenses of the Hall. A few Chinese scholars will soon follow and the Society will arrange for the exchange of professors and scholars between various Chinese centres of learning and *Visva-Bharati*.



Part of the large collection of books sent by the Sino-Indian Cultural Society to Visva-Bharati, as photographed at the headquarters of the Society in Nanking. 1. Prof. Tan Yun-Shan. 2. President Tai-Chi-Tao

Inter-Religious Fellowship

The objects of the Inter-Religious Fellowship are :

1. To encourage sympathetic study of the fundamental beliefs and ideals of all religions.
2. To extend and popularise the idea of inter-religious education through lectures, conferences, study classes, hospitality and such other means as may present themselves.
3. To promote the spiritual unity of mankind by means of inter-religious friendship amongst men and women of goodwill in all countries.

We are in perfect sympathy with these objects, which are somewhat similar to those of the World Congress of Faiths.

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Professor Tan Yun-Shan

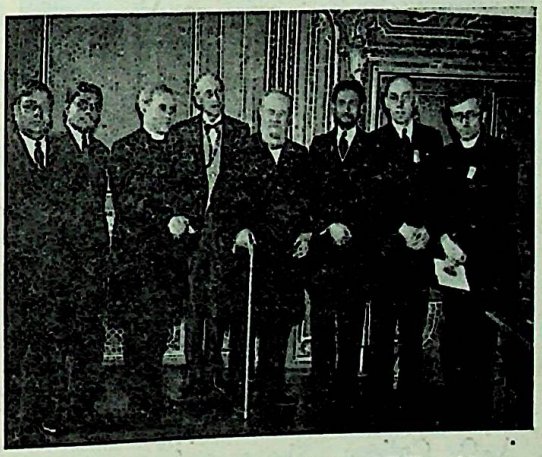
Membership :—All who are interested in furthering the objects of the Fellowship shall be eligible for membership.

The bond between members shall be the recognition of the reality of religious experience in every age and land. A member of the Fellowship will prove his loyalty to his own faith by a reverent attitude towards the faiths of others.

Executive Committee, Inter-Religious Fellowship

Some Members of the Council, Inter-Religious Fellowship
(Indians : Hari Prasad Sastri, Sir Abdul Quadir, Imam A. D. Ahmed)

Among the members of the Council of the Fellowship are followers and earnest students of the Hindu, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Jewish, Christian and Muslim faiths and of Sufism, Brahmoism, Bahaism, Theosophy and Spiritualism.



Speakers at the Inter-Religious Fellowship meeting

On June 9 last a meeting was held under the auspices of the Fellowship at the American Women's Club, London, at which five speakers representing Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam spoke in answer to the questions :

What is your conception of the Supreme Being ?
How does your religion help to promote World Brotherhood ?

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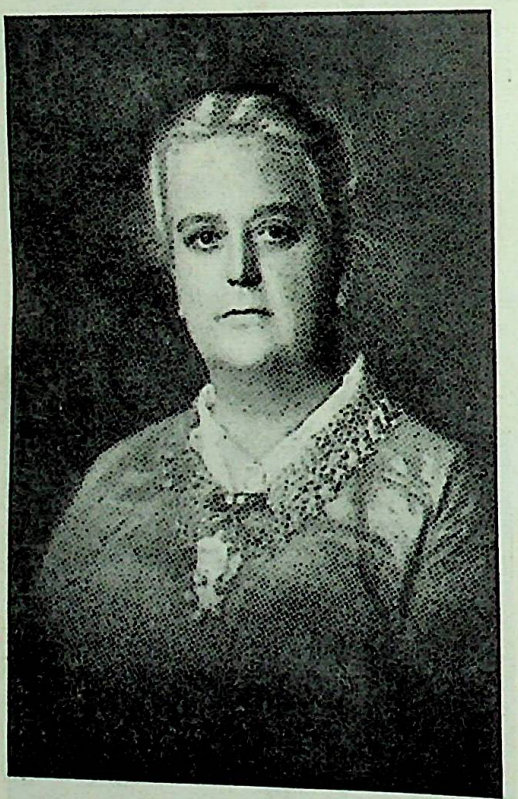
They were: Dr. Hari Prasad Sastri, D.Litt., Hindu; Rabbi Dr. Moses Gaster, Jew; Dr. E. B. Fernando, Buddhist; Dr. W. R. Matthews, Dean of St. Paul's, Christian; and Imam Aftab-ud-din Ahmad of Woking Mosque, Muslim.

Sir Evelyn Wrench, the chairman, summed up, and the Rev. Leslie J. Belton concluded the meeting with a few observations.

Miss E. J. Beck

Miss E. J. Beck, who died early this year in Allahabad at the age of 74, came out to India first in 1883 with her brother the late Mr. Theodore Beck, a former principal of the Aligarh



Miss E. J. Beck

M. A.-O. College. She was for many years secretary to the National Indian Association in London. Many Indians who have received part of their education in London and who resided at or frequented the students' hostel at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, can bear witness to her kindliness, as the following extract from Mrs. J. W. Westbrook's memorial address indicates:

> When a long time ago a brilliant young Indian—now with some little fame as a writer * * * came to London, he came to Miss Beck in his difficulties. He had eloped with his own wife—she was very young and her parents wanted to keep her at home; but the girl was very unhappy in London, paralysed with shyness and home-sickness, and apparently unable to learn any English. Miss Beck took her in, spoke to her in Urdu, and was a kind and motherly friend till it could be arranged that an Indian lady should take her back to her own people.
>
> I met here an Indian student who looked ill and weak, and who told me he had just come out of hospital after an operation. He said, "I was so long ill that all my Indian friends forgot me, but Miss Beck never forgot me, and she came to see me every week."
>
> I remember when an Indian student was ill with tuberculosis in a Swiss sanatorium, and could not go home to India because the steamer company would not take him as a passenger unless he had a guardian to look after him in the ship, Miss Beck went to Switzerland, to see him and to arrange about his transport, and then came back to London to find and persuade another student to take up the difficult task of seeing the invalid boy home.
>
> Such are some of the many things I know personally. Every one of her friends here could tell similar tales of her.

A Sample Exhibition in Calcutta

As a preparatory to opening of the Commercial Museum by the Corporation of Calcutta a Sample Exhibition was opened by Sir Nilratan Sircar some time ago. In this Exhibition articles from all over India were collected. Among the many important exhibits those from the Government Industries Departments, Mysore and Mayurbhanj States, Visva-Bharati, Tata Iron & Steel Co., Burn & Co., and Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works deserve mention. Printing machines, photographic goods, rubber tyres, and sewing machine manufactured in India were seen at the Exhibition.

The Exhibition was divided into the following sections:—Textiles—Clothing and Outfit; Chemical and Pharmaceutical products; Sports; Silverware; Paper; Stationery; Foot-wear and Leather goods; Machinery and Tools; Electrical Industry; Heating Sanitary Plant; Inventions and Patents; Minerals; Office, Business and Shop Equipment; Mechanical Instruments and Apparatus; Toys, Pottery, Enamel, Aluminium and Brassware, etc.; Toilet and Cosmetics; Painting; Building Appliances; Confectionery; Agricultural Products; Furniture.

The special feature of the Exhibition was its Educational section.

A large number of charts about the different districts of Bengal, their areas, population, yield of agricultural products and cottage industries, about material resources of India and their by-products attracted the attention of the visitors. Another set of interesting charts on the import of several articles which are essential in our daily life, and that of the unattempted

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industries were exhibited. There were also a large number of charts to show the production of various agricultural products in different countries of the world, to show the gradual but rapid decline of cottage industry in Bengal and heavy loss of wealth therefrom.

Arrangements for daily lectures and cinema shows on various aspects of trade, commerce, and industry were made.

Origin of Chandernagore

Mon. Alfred Martineau, Director of the famous *Revue d' Histoire des Colonies Francaise*, (1936, Tome XXIX), appreciatively draws the attention of the public to the researches on the "Origin of Chandernagor" of Mr. Harihor Sett. He published two articles in 1927 in *The Modern Review* which Mon. Martineau characterizes as "une etude tres documentee sur l'histoire aneienne de celte ville" (a well-documented study on the old history of that city). As the researches of Mr. Sett are already known in India, the learned French expert in Colonial History gives a *resume* in French of Mr. Sett's articles in the current number of the Review of the History of the French Colonies.

Japan Looks to Gandhi

Indicative of the curious cross-currents agitating Japan is the interest of certain Japanese circles in Gandhi. The Mahatma has been invited to visit Japan and the Japanese press has been paying considerable attention to him and his ideas.

The reasons behind these moves are interesting. The leader of those looking to Gandhi is Dr. Tomiko Kora, well-known representative of Japanese women. In an interview with the press Dr. Kora made known the basis of her interest in the Indian saint. Japan, she said, is highly prosperous and successful, but it is in danger of losing its soul. Japan's worship of Mammon and Mars has not brought the desired results. "We are tired of our prosperity," said Dr. Kora, "which acts as a sort of dead weight; we are dreadfully materialized; we seem to have no purpose in life."

So Japan once more turns to India for spiritual aid, "like rain after a long period of drought." Two thousand years ago Japan accepted Buddhism as a gift of India. But the spirit of Buddha passed out of Japanese Buddhism and aggressive and militarist Shintoism with its emperor worship became dominant. Now once more Japanese circles are looking to India. A new movement is afoot called the New Living Movement which aims to re-order society on more spiritual lines. Gandhi's message of universal love, his mysticism and "spiritualism" appeal strongly to the "New Living" group. What a strange situation that the Preacher of Non-Violence should be sought after in one of the strongholds of Militarism and Violence! (Nofrontier News Service.)

Bar of Court's Jurisdiction: Is It Conducive to Public Efficiency?

In recent provincial legislations there has been a tendency to bar the interference of Civil Courts and reserve the power to the Local Government. This is not always conducive to public efficiency. We will make our meaning clear by giving one or two specific instances. Under the new Bengal Municipal Act of 1932, if any dispute arises as to the election of a Chairman or Vice-Chairman, the matter shall be referred to the Local Government, whose decision shall be final and *shall not be questioned in any Court* (italics ours). In Jalpaiguri there was a dispute over the election of Rai Saheb Dr. Satish Chandra Gupta as Chairman; and the Local Government took about six months to decide it. In the Panihati Municipality, there was a dispute over the election of a certain government-nominated Commissioner as the Vice-Chairman. The dispute was referred to the Local Government on the 19th December, 1934; but the Local Government even after 18 months has not been able to decide one way or the other. Suppose it sets aside the election; there will be a fresh election; and a new man may be elected Vice-Chairman this time. But this new man will have less than 30 months' time to act instead of the full period of 4 years. A Civil Court with all its delays does not surely take 18 months' time to decide such a question.

We hope our provincial legislators will be more careful in future in delegating powers to the Local Government, and barring the jurisdiction of Civil Courts.

The Imperial Garrison

Sir Robert Cassels, Commander-in-Chief. India, declared the other day that the whole of the Indian army was maintained for the benefit of India. But the Government of India in its despatch of 25th March, 1890, said:

> "Millions of money have been spent on increasing the army in India, on armaments, and on fortifications to provide for the security of India, not against domestic enemies or to prevent the invasions of warlike peoples of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East."

Again, the Government of India said:

> "It would be much nearer the truth to affirm that the Imperial Government keeps in India and quarters upon the revenue of that country as large a portion of its army as it thinks can possibly be required to maintain its dominion there; that it habitually treats that portion of the army as a reserve force available for imperial purposes; that it has uniformly detached European regiments from the garrison of India to take part in imperial wars whenever it has been found necessary or convenient to do so; and more than this, that it has drawn not less freely upon the native army of India towards the maintenance of which it contributes nothing to aid it in contests outside of India and with which the Indian Government has had little or no concern."

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This official testimony was quoted by Dadabhai Naoroji in his presidential address at the Calcutta Congress of 1906. To that may be added the following from Lady Lugard's article in the 1902 volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*:

"India has its own native army and pays for the maintenance within its frontiers of an *imperial garrison*" (Italics ours).

International P. E. N. World Congress At Buenos Ayres

Each year the prominent writers and editors who compose the membership of the P. E. N. Club (Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists) send delegates from their respective national Centres in all parts of the world to the International P. E. N. Congress. The Congress meets each year in a different country. Last year the Barcelona Centre was host to the Congress and Madame Sophia Wadia represented India. This year the gathering will be held in Buenos Ayres, Argentina, early in September.

These P. E. N. Congresses exert a quiet but powerful influence for international goodwill. The P. E. N. Club exists to promote cordial relations among writers everywhere, and the yearly international Congresses especially facilitate stimulating contacts among the writers of many countries. Lasting international friendships are formed at the Congress and the delegates take home to their own lands a sense of world-wide cultural solidarity which is a potent factor for world peace.

Madame Sophia Wadia, secretary to the P. E. N. India Centre, which has Dr. Rabindranath Tagore as its president and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee as its vice-presidents, has again been elected to represent India.

Professor Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University has received an invitation from Buenos Ayres and will represent Bengal as secretary to the Bengal Chapter. Next to Hindi, Bengali is spoken by the largest number of people in India, and the vast majority of them live in the province of Bengal and have a progressive literature.

French Army Oath

Paris (NNS)—On Bastille Day (July 14) last year the French troops reviewed by the President of the Republic took the following oath: "We swear to defend our democratic liberties, bread to the workers, and peace to the world." This is a breath-taking change from the usual oath taken by armies. For contrast compare the notorious address made to a group of new recruits by the last German Kaiser. Said he:

"Recruits, you are too young to know the full meaning of what you have said, but your first care must be to obey implicitly all orders and directions. . . . You are my soldiers, you have surrendered yourselves to me, body and soul. . . . It may happen that I shall order you to shoot your own relatives, your brothers, or even your parents—which God forbid! and then you are bound in duty implicitly to obey my orders."

Request to Contributors

Some contributors send copies of the same article to different editors, including ourselves, without informing them that it has been sent to others also. The result is, everyone of the recipients thinks that it has been sent to him alone and prints it, if found suitable, as an exclusive contribution. We do not desire to do so. We shall, therefore, be obliged if, when any contributor sends his article to us and other editors also, he will kindly communicate that fact to us.

Nazi "Successes"

London (NNS)—Germany's death-rate jumped alarmingly during the last year. In 1934, there were 207,539 deaths in German cities over 100,000; in 1935, this figure increased to 224,631—a rise of about 8 per cent. The reason for this serious situation is found by competent foreign observers in two factors: The dismissal of Jewish doctors from hospitals and the crank health theories advocated by the Nazis. In pre-Nazi Germany the Jewish physician was a very important figure. To him was due not only the pre-eminent rank of German medicine and new medical discoveries, but also the efficiency of German hospitals. These Jewish doctors have now been expelled and the Nazis have waged a systematic war on scientific medicine. Various kinds of "nature healing" have been ardently propounded and eagerly adopted. The result has been disastrous.

In another field also the Nazis have had conspicuous "success." Their vast propaganda machine has been put to work in order to increase the number of marriages and thus produce more cannon fodder. These efforts, too, have failed. In 1933, there were recorded 15.7 marriages per thousand inhabitants; in 1934, this declined to 13.8 and in 1935, it fell to 10.7. In 1934, 55 towns recorded 252,863 marriages, while the 1935 figure for these same towns was only 217,252—a decline of 14.1 per cent.

"The Cultivation of Soya in Germany"

We read in No. 12, Volume II, of the Bulletin of the Hamburg World Economic Archives:

It is well known that the soya bean is second to no other vegetable on the earth as regards content of first-class fat and excellent protein. This explains why in almost all countries to which the soya bean is not indigenous attempts have been made for many years now to introduce this valuable plant. In Germany, attempts to rear and cultivate it go back about 15 years. They have proved that the soya bean can be cultivated with success

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in this country too, given suitable soil-treatment and correct selection of species.

It is unnecessary to discuss further the special importance which soya cultivation can have for Germany. The mere fact that soya contains a very high percentage of the very foodstuffs which are of the greatest importance for Germany, *i.e.*, fat and protein, sufficiently indicates their extreme importance for the food supply.

This passage is followed by a tabular statement showing the average yields in corn, fat and protein of a German species of soya over five years of experiments in north, south, east, west, south-east, south-west, north-west and central Germany.

Soya should be extensively cultivated in India. Are any regular experiments made and records of yields accurately kept anywhere in this country?

Bees in War

Berlin (NNS)—Bernhard Guehler, well-known German apiarist, has discovered that bees may be very useful in war. Microscopic notes may be affixed to their bodies with some sticky substance and then they might be released in order to return to their hives. By dusting the bees with various colours, front line troops could send information back to their base, the various colours constituting a signal system.

From ancient times elephants and horses have been used by man for his murderous purposes. Dogs and carrier pigeons have also been used as auxiliaries. Bees are still smaller animals to be used in warfare. And the smallest, and perhaps the most destructive, organisms so used are some bacteria.

One longs for the day when man's knowledge and ingenuity will be used wholly for beneficent purposes.

American Agricultural Achievements

The New Republic writes :

Dr. O. W. Willcox has for some years been writing books about the new science of "Agrobiology," which makes possible enormous increases in productivity of the soil through new technical methods. Striking confirmation of Dr. Willcox's general theory now comes from California in the form of a report by Dr. W. F. Gericke, associate plant physiologist of the University of California. Dr. Gericke has been growing tomato plants fifteen feet high and tobacco twenty feet high. He has produced 217 tons of tomatoes per acre and has grown 2,465 bushels of potatoes—against a United States average at present of 116 bushels. Many other vegetables have responded similarly, and striking results have also been achieved with flowers.

"Under Dr. Gericke's method, plants are not set into the earth at all. Shallow tanks are filled with a liquid composed of some ten chemicals, all of them readily available in commerce, and this liquid is heated by electricity or otherwise. Over the tanks is spread a wire screen covered with straw, excelsior or moss, in which the seeds are planted, thrusting their roots down into the liquid below. The growth takes place in unheated greenhouses or, in the proper season, out of doors. The products of this process are of high quality, and in the case of tobacco it is possible to avoid the rankness that sometimes accompanies rapid growth under natural conditions. That this plan is not a toy of the laboratory is shown by the fact that tomatoes produced under Dr. Gericke's method are now being sold on the California market, at normal prices and at a commercial profit."

Dhan Gopal Mukerji

Though death comes and must come to all, it cannot but be mourned. Poignancy is added to grief when one dies young. Sorrow is still further intensified when suicide or foul play is suspected to have cut the cord of life.

Dhan Gopal Mukerji was born in Calcutta in 1890 and died last July in New York at the age of 46. He received his early education in Calcutta and went to Japan without the knowledge of his parents while still a boy to learn some industry. But somehow or other that desire was not fulfilled, though he received some education in Tokio. With the help of some Indian merchants of Yokohama he proceeded to America, "to become probably the best-known Bengali in America." There he earned his living by working in the fields, dish-washing in hotels and private residences, working in orchards, etc., and gave himself an education in the Leland Stanford University of California, graduating there in due course. Henceforth he engaged himself mainly in writing books and occasionally in lecturing in America and England. He became famous as an author. A few of his books became the best sellers in the years of their publication. Among his works may be mentioned :

Rajani, Songs of the Night; *Sandhya*, Songs of Twilight; *Layla-Majnu*, A Musical Play in Three Acts; *Caste and Outcast; My Brother's Face; The Secret Listeners of the East; The Face of Silence; A Son of Mother India Answers; Visit India with Me; Devotional Passages from the Hindu Bible; Disillusioned India;* and the following stories for children, which were very popular :

Kari, the Elephant; Jungle Beasts and Men; Hari, the Jungle Lad; Gay-Neck; Bunny, Hound and Clown; The Chief of the Herd; Ghond, the Hunter; Hindu Fables; The Master Monkey; and Rama, the Hero of India.

A Son of Mother India Answers was a reply to Miss Mayo's infamous *Mother India*. His *Gay-Neck* was awarded the John Newbery Medal for "the most distinguished children's book" of 1927.

Besides various places in America where

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Dhan Gopal Mukerji delivered his lectures, he lectured at Oxford, Cambridge, Leeds and other University centres in Great Britain, in conjunction with educational leaders of England, France and America, and had been asked to return. His lectures were brilliantly given. Some of the subjects were : Everyday Life of India, The India of Tagore and Kipling, Tagore and the Hindu Dramatists, The History of India, Buddha and Buddhism, Hindu Conceptions of Immortality, The Sanskrit Epics, The Bhagabad Gita, Greek and Hindu Ideals of Life, Socialism and Anarchism in Modern Drama, Anatole France, Henrik Ibsen, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and the New Religion, Hugo and the Romantics, The Persian Poets and their Message, Tolstoy, Turgeniev, Dostoevsky, Three Living Russian Dramatists—Andreyev, Artzybasheff and Gorki, and Merejkowsky.

He was one of India's cultural ambassadors to America.

To The P. E. N. Congress at Buenos Ayres

The P. E. N. club or association is an international institution with great possibilities. It has centres in almost all civilized countries. Its object is noble, namely, to promote friendliness and goodwill among writers of all countries and, through them, among all peoples.

The times are out of joint. The world is passing through a crisis. May be, we are witnessing the throes of the birth of a new age. Nevertheless, one cannot but mournfully think in these days of what man has made of man. This leads one inevitably to consider how far the object of the P. E. N. has been or is being gained, though it is not responsible for want of success to any extent.

By an abuse of their function and opportunities, many journalists have fomented hatred, distrust and contempt among races, peoples, classes, communities and other groups, instead of promoting mutual understanding and neighbourliness among them. Many journalists in independent countries, owing to national greed or arrogance, or from motives of personal gain, have sought to bring about a state of war among nations, and some of them have succeeded in their wicked plans. The victims in such cases have been for the most part unorganized and backward peoples. It is a matter of shame that any among us journalists should be guilty of such conduct, forgetting the high ideals of our noble profession.

But journalists alone have not been to blame. Poets, philosophers, playwrights, essayists, novelists, historians and writers of some other classes have also directly or indirectly fed the flame of racial, national and sectarian hatred and arrogance, and have tried to produce an inferiority complex among those peoples whom they dislike or despise, or want to exploit. Nay, even some devotees of science, which stands for the dispassionate pursuit and propagation of truth, have tried to prove the innate superiority of some races and the innate inferiority of others.

Nevertheless, members of the P. E. N. cannot and should not give way to despondency. For, if some authors have failed to " follow the gleam," others, perhaps not less noteworthy, have been steadfast in their strenuous quest.

We would earnestly and respectfully appeal to writers of all classes to discountenance, by personal example and other means, all kinds of writings calculated to hinder the growth of human solidarity. We are encouraged to make this appeal, as among authors of various kinds—poets, philosophers, playwrights, economists, editors, essayists, novelists, historians, biographers, scientists and writers on things spiritual —many there are who are ever pressing and reaching forward toward the ideal of neighbourly goodwill and peace.

The Indian States' People

The people of the Indian States number eighty millions in round numbers. The population of Germany is 66 millions, of Great Britain and Northern Ireland 44,500,000, of Italy 43 millions, and of France 41 millions. In the Government of India Act, 1935, and in the various deliberations, consultations and other preparations for passing that measure the British Government and Parliament totally ignored the vast mass of humanity inhabiting the Indian States. Could any earthly power, in anything that it did, have totally ignored the existence of the people of Germany, of Great Britain, of Italy, or of France?

The fact is the British Parliament wanted and wants to use to rulers of the Indian States as weapons to fight Indian nationalism. The British Parliament knows that these rulers are autocratic, anti-democratic and opposed to Indian nationalism. It also knows that the people of British India and of the Indian States belong to the same race or races, speak the same languages, follow the same religions, have close social ties and commercial intercourse with one another. It knows, too, that the people of the Indian States are nationalistic like the people

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of British India. So it, the British Parliament, in the constitution which it has thrust upon India, has given excessive representation to the rulers of the Indian States, but *no representation at all to the people of those States*. Hence, no section of the people of India as a whole has greater justification for chafing against this British-made constitution than the people of the Indian States.

The Indian States' People's Conference

The fifth session of the All-India States' People's Conference opened on the 18th July last in the Pearl Opera House, Karachi, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya presiding. Delegates attended from Central India, the Panjab, Gujarat, and the South Indian States. A large number of Congressmen and Socialists were also present.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was called on to address a few words, speaking in a personal capacity, declared that India was one and indivisible. Differences inside the Congress on the question of Indian States, wherever they existed, only showed that the Congress was a living organization reflecting a variety of opinion held in the country. Explaining the Congress attitude Mr. Nehru, while assuring them of Congress support, pointed out that it was their duty to work for their own amelioration.

That is true, but the States' people want to know how far and in what ways the Congress would help them in their work of self-amelioration.

Dr. Sitaramayya's Presidential Address

After briefly referring to the objects of the Indian States' People's Conference, Dr. Pattabhi detailed the achievements of the organization during the last few years it has been in existence and particularly mentioned the Loharu Sikar incidents.

He too declared in his own way that India was one and indivisible.

"That day will be a proud day in our annals when the States' people and the people of the provinces march no longer as the rearguard and vanguard, but march together abreast of each other to their victory and attain their destined goal of Poorna Swaraj, with equality as the base and liberty as the summit and fraternity as the cementing factor in which all aptitudes will have equal opportunities, all votes have equal rights, in which the 'nought' and the 'have' are balanced and in which enjoyment is proportioned to effort and gratification to need."

In dealing at some length with the relations between the Indian National Congress and the States' subjects Dr. Sitaramayya strongly criticized the Congress for what he termed "taking away with the left hand what is given by the right hand." *The Servant of India* writes in this connection :

Dr. Pattabhi sees no justification whatever for the rejection by this year's Lucknow Congress of an amendment moved in the interests of the States' people to the resolution which declared that "the struggle for liberty within the States has, in the very nature of things, to be carried on by the people of the States themselves." The amendment only sought to modify the declaration to this extent that, while the main burden of the struggle must necessarily fall on the States' people, the Congress as a body should not disencumber itself from all responsibility for participating in such struggle. Dr. Pattabhi did well to disabuse the minds of Congressmen of the notion that "the States' people wanted or would want the Congress to fight their battles." The States' people, through the Working Committee of their Conference, have made it clear that they want nothing more than "recognition by the Congress of its duty to give active help . . . in their struggle for political freedom as the resources available to the Congress would permit of such help being given." Their demand "leaves to the Congress unfettered judgment as to the particular struggle in which it may give active support to the States' people, but only asks for an unambiguous enunciation of the principle that, the British Indian people and the States' people being common members of the Congress, it shall not discriminate between the two, giving active help to the former and reserving only moral sympathy for the latter."

In his presidential address Dr. Sitaramayya criticized Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's views on the Indian States, their rulers and their subjects, and concluded as follows :

Mr. Desai is against the establishment of direct relationship between the States' people and the Federation and bases on it a certain piece of legal advice he gave to the princes. The latter does not concern us, but is not the former in utter variance with the demand that the States' people should have direct representation in the Federal Legislature—a demand endorsed both by the Congress and its great leader, Mahatma Gandhi? Once the demand of the States' people is admitted to be legitimate and there is no escape from such an admission —the subsequent dicta of Sjt. Bhulabhai J. Desai will not hold water. To say that the king is the fountain-head of all powers and authority is to ignore the centuries of progress in democracy that the world has made or the demand for complete independence which the Congress has put forward now for seven years. To say again that "the Indian States should not part with their sovereignty even to a small extent" is to sow the seeds of a confederation and destroy the conditions pre-requisite to a federal structure. But to support such a piece of advice by the argument that 'the States' subjects would then be placed in the unenviable position of having to serve two masters, appears very much like giving a nice democratic political cover to a conservative professional view.'

The statement that Mahatma Gandhi endorsed the demand that the States' people should have direct representation in the Federal Legislature has not been accepted as correct by *The Servant of India*.

Gandhiji and Direct Representation of The States' People

The Servant of India writes :

Dr. Pattabhi, while free with criticism of the

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Congress, tries to make out that Mahatma Gandhi is thoroughly impeccable in this matter. The truth, however, is that he is the *fons et origo* of all mischief in connection with the States. It is he that is responsible for making the Congress adopt an uncompromising policy towards the British Government and a pusillanimous policy towards the States. . . . It is the Mahatma that restrains the Congress from insisting upon popular representation of the States in the federal legislature. Dr. Pattabhi picks out what appear on their face to be favourable passages from his speeches at the Round Table Conference in 1931 and prints them in black type in his own presidential address. But he leaves out the passages which have been the rock of offence to the States' people. What precisely was the Mahatma's position in regard to election of the States' representatives in the federal legislature? Did he insist upon it as a matter of right? Did he make it an essential condition of federation? No, he only pleaded with the Princes for an introduction of "elements" of representation of their subjects, but was prepared to leave the final decision in the matter to the Princes.

Gandhiji's policy towards the Indian States may be due, not to pusillanimity, but to some other reason.

"As so much is being said about this subject either in ignorance or with a deliberate desire to exonerate the Mahatma," *The Servant of India* says that it "might be allowed once again to go into the history of the question at some length." So it proceeds:

> Dr. Ambedkar, the doughty fighter on behalf of democracy, had spoken before the Mahatma did on the question of the States' representation. He had said:
>
> "With all respect to the Princes, I am afraid I cannot agree with them (in their demand for being permitted to nominate their representatives in the federal legislature), and I must insist that their representation shall be by election. . . . We are framing a constitution for establishing a system of responsible government for India. It follows from this that no concession can be made, no scheme can be adopted, if ultimately it is found that that concession or that scheme is going to compromise the system of responsibility or is going to whittle down the system of responsibility at which we are all aiming. Applying that test, it follows that you cannot consent to the claim of the Princes for nomination of their representatives in either House."
>
> Sir Sultan Ahmed and Mr. Gavin Jones followed Dr. Ambedkar and they dissented from this opinion. Sir Sultan said: "This Committee can do no better than to leave this matter (of nomination or election of the States' representatives) entirely in the hands of the Princes." Mr. Jones used almost the same words. He said: "As to the method of their appointment (*viz.*, the appointment of the States' representatives) I think we must leave that entirely to the Indian States." Between these two sets of views which might a champion of the States' people and an "unadulterated democrat" as Gandhiji called himself be expected to support—to insist as an indispensable condition of federation upon the election of the States' representatives or to leave it "entirely" to the decision of the Princes? Gandhiji lent his weighty support to the latter and repudiated the former.

In support of its statements the Poona weekly reproduces the following passage from one of the speeches of Mr. Gandhi at the so-called Round Table Conference:

> "That being so (we being an ill-assorted group at the Round Table Conference), I could not but endorse the opinion given by Sir Sultan Ahmed, which was perhaps emphasised by Mr. Gavin Jones, that the utmost that we can do is to plead with the States, and show them our own difficulties. At the same time I feel that we have to recognize their special difficulties also. Therefore I can only venture a suggestion or two to the great Princes for their sympathetic consideration; and I would urge this, being a man of the people, from the people, and endeavouring to represent the lowest classes of society—I would urge upon them the advisability of finding a place for these also in any scheme that they may evolve and present for the acceptance of this Committee. I feel, and I know, that they have the interests of their ryots at heart.. . . The Princes, be it said to their credit, when they declared themselves frankly and courageously in favour of federation, claimed also to be of the same blood with us—claimed to be our own kith and kin. How could they do otherwise? There is no difference between them and us except that we are common people and they are—God has made them—noblemen, Princes. I wish them well; I wish them all prosperity; and I also pray that their prosperity and their welfare may be utilized for the advancement of their own dear people, their own subjects. Beyond this I will not go. I cannot go. I can only make an appeal to them."

On this passage our contemporary observes in part:

> Mahatma Gandhi can seldom hold any but minatory language to British rulers; but the utmost that he could be persuaded to do to the native rulers is to be exhortatory to them. The difference in this behaviour is solely to be explained by the fact that the first are foreign and the second are Indian, for even he will be unable to deny that his "great" Princes are far more tyrannical than the British Government. If Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement which he made about the Liberal Party, that their self-government consists merely in the replacement of white-skinned by black-skinned administrators, is true of any one politician in India it is true of the Mahatma.

Mutual Relations of the Congress and the States' People

On the mutual relations of the Congress and the Indian States' people, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said in his presidential address:

> Our mutual relations may now be here summarized. India is one and indivisible, call it provinces or states, call its problems political or economic, call its organizations conferences or Congresses. Its scheme of government must one day be a genuine Federation,—a pyramid of states and provinces with a central Government presiding over the various state and provincial Governments, the latter enjoying full authority, based on the principle of responsible government and built up on the plinth of representative institutions. To bring this about, a pyramidal scaffolding is built by the nation in which the Congress forms the apex of a series of organizations connected with trade unions, labour, peasantry, social and socio-economic institutions and the States' people. Without the factor at the top the organization becomes truncated. Without the factors at the bottom it becomes

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baseless. The Congress is pledged to this ideal. If that is so, it should be the equal concern of the Indian National Congress to see that the internal autonomy of the states and the provinces is equally well-secured for the people of the respective areas. In this view, the Lucknow Congress has stated that it stands for the same civil, political and democratic liberties for every part of India. Why then does it say that the struggle for liberty within the states has to be carried on by the people of the states themselves? It may be that delegates from the states are fewer in number than those of the provinces. But the Congress is equally the Congress of the whole Indian nation. Its creed is equally binding upon the people of the states as upon the people of the provinces.

It ought to follow therefore that the Constituent Assembly talked of by the Congress leaders, if and when it comes into being, should be equally the Constituent Assembly of the people of British India and the people of the Indian States.

The Hindu Problem of "Untouchability"

We know there are depressed people or "untouchables" among Indian Muslims, Indian Christians and Sikhs. We are not considering that fact in this note. What we want to say is that the conversion of Hindu "untouchables" to Muhammadanism, Christianity or Sikhism would not solve the Hindu problem of "untouchability." What is wanted is that the "untouchables" should continue to form part of the Hindu community, as they do at present, but should cease to be treated *in practice* as "untouchables." We believe that a time is coming when the castes and classes which now receive humiliating treatment will cease to have such treatment. We know of castes in Bengal from whose hands, in the past (and that not a distant past), Brahmans and other "high"-caste people did not take a glass of water. At present, by educational and economical advancement, these socially "depressed" castes have come to occupy a prominent position in the Hindu community. What they have done, other castes can do, and, we are confident, will do. In fact, as we said in our presidential address at the Surat session of the Hindu Mahasabha, an entirely casteless Hindu community is not unimaginable.

No Hindu wishes anyone belonging to any Hindu depressed or "scheduled" caste to become a Christian, a Mussalman or even a Sikh, though there are Hindus who, if any depressed class person felt that he must needs renounce Hinduism and adopt another faith and asked these Hindus what faith they would prefer him to adopt, would say that they preferred Sikhism. But that does not mean that those Hindus want the scheduled castes to become Sikhs. In making these observations we use the words 'Hindu' and 'Sikh' in the popular sense. We are aware that the Hindu Mahasabha definition of 'Hindu' includes Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Brahmos, Arya-Samajists and followers of other faiths of Indian origin.

So far as we are concerned, we are against anybody changing his faith for any economic, political, social or other worldly advantage. But we would not oppose anybody changing his religion for spiritual or theological reasons. As the cry that the depressed classes should renounce Hinduism is the outcome mainly of non-religious, non-spiritual and non-theological reasons, we have not been able to admit that it represents a desire for genuine conversion in its true sense. In making these remarks we do not seek to minimise in the least the social and economic disabilities of the depressed classes, nor do we consider the treatment accorded to them for centuries as anything but atrocious and inhuman. We want all Hindus of all castes to remain Hindus and co-operate in reforming Hinduism and the Hindu community.

"Sugarcane Is Sugarcane and Jute Is Jute"

"Remember the obvious fact that sugarcane is sugarcane and jute is jute"—so advises the Governor of Bengal in reply to the clamour that the Government have failed in their duty in not fixing the minimum price for raw jute as they have done for sugarcane. The poor Bengal ryot may submit in all humility that he remembers it full well. He remembers that the sugar industry is mainly in the hands of Indians, while that of jute is practically monopolised by non-Indians, that Britain purchases little of sugarcane while her purchase of raw jute is enormous, that the British commercial and industrial magnates who have condescended to come here and engage themselves in the heavy tasks of exporting raw jute or manufacturing them into gunnies and bags must be allowed to have a big margin of profit not only to induce the young Britons to keep the chain uninterrupted (alas, the Indian Civil Service requires propaganda!) but also to place them, the British manufacturers in India, beyond the reach of any risk, real or imaginary, and of any competition, present or prospective. The Bengali jute-grower, illiterate as he is, has not the faculty of rationality fully developed and whenever a principle is enunciated he expects to see it applied to all and every case and takes dis-

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crimination as nothing short of injustice, and clamours.

Reforms Indeed in Fiji !

Mr. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, the British Secretary of States for the Colonies, is 'unwilling to entertain the suggestion that a referendum be held either of European and Indian electors exclusively or on a more extended basis' and comes 'to the conclusion that it will be in the interest of the Colony [Fiji] that a compromise should be imposed' by him. But he must be a bold optimist, if he expects that 'political peace shall be restored with the least possible delay' if the Legislative Council of Fiji is reconstituted as recommended by him. Mr. Ormsby-Gore proposes neither the abandonment of the communal representation which the Indians have so stoutly opposed since its introduction in 1929 nor that of the official majority which is the very negation of democracy, but expands both with a vengeance. The present position and the proposal may be put thus :

	at Present	as Proposed
Official	.. 13	17
Nominated		
Fijians	.. 3	5
Indians	.. ..	2
Europeans	.. ..	2
Elected		
Fijians	.. ..	..
Indians	.. 3	3
Europeans	.. 6	3
Total	.. 25	32

Thus we see that if in the present system there were 9 seats for election in a council of 25, Mr. Ormsby-Gore's proposal gives only 6 in an enlarged council of 32, thus reducing the elected members to a hopeless minority.

An apparent impartiality has been exhibited by dividing fifteen seats equally among the Indians, Fijians and Europeans; but when one looks at the latest official figures of population, the inequity is at once revealed :

	Numbers	1 Seat per	1 Elected seat per
Europeans	.. 4,763	952	1,588
Indians	.. 83,289	16,257.8	27,763
Fijians	.. 98,479	19,695.8	36,826.33

Taking the European representation as the standard (1 representative for 952.6 persons), Indians ought to have been allowed 83 seats and Fijians 103. If the Europeans are favoured with this exceptionally high representation for the capital they have invested, the part played by the Indians in developing the agriculture, industry and trade of the Colony is no less important. And no reason can justify such an invidious and insulting discrimination. Again, the excess of nomination mars the value of the small representation by election, whatever it is worth. The cry for communal representation is loud enough in India in certain quarters, but the Indians in Fiji refused to accept it, and on the opposition of the Europeans and Fijians to their proposal in the Legislative Council to have a common roll, the Indians 'resigned their seats; which have for all practical purposes remained vacant ever since.' As a penalty for their grave offence Mr. Ormsby-Gore's recommendation is that, of the five Indian members three are 'to be elected on a communal franchise and two to be nominated.' Perhaps among the Indians who are demanding a common roll the communal consciousness is not sufficiently developed to suit British imperialists.

The only gratifying note in this connection is that the attitude of the Government of India, as voiced by Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai in the Legislative Assembly and Sir Jagdish Prasad in the Council of State, 'was one of retention of the elective system and that the substitution of nomination for election would be a retrograde step.'

King Edward VIII Unharmed

A man, named MacMahon, perhaps of somewhat unsound mind, tried last month to shoot, injure or frighten King Edward VIII, or merely to create a sensation—it is not yet decided which. We are glad that not the least injury was caused to the young monarch. He kept his composure admirably throughout the incident. There is no reason why Englishmen should seek to assassinate or do the least harm to their King. Besides being personally very popular, he is a strictly constitutional monarch, acting according to the advice of his ministers, who in their turn represent the majority party, for the time being, of an elected House of Commons.

The Coming Elections

All political parties in India are trying to set up their candidates for the coming elections and get them returned. We wish success to those who have nationalistic and democratic objects—not merely communal or sectional ones—and who would make the early attainment of Swaraj their goal.

We have not been in favour of any Congressman accepting office and have given our reasons for our attitude in some previous issues. Thoroughly patriotic ministers may, no doubt,

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be able to work the new constitution in such a way as to get some good out of it. But there ought to be at least one strong party of which all members would make it their sole object to attain Swaraj at the earliest possible date. But that cannot be done effectively by any party of which some would mainly co-operate with the Government as ministers (which they must if they are to be true to the spirit of their oaths) and the rest would be in opposition. A divided party cannot be a strong party.

Mahatma Gandhi's Position

Neither responsibility without power nor power without responsibility is desirable. He who has or those who have power should shoulder responsibility also. And similarly he who is or those who are to be made responsible should have power. From this point of view, Mahatma Gandhi's position in Congress politics is confusing. Theoretically he has retired from politics and is, therefore, technically not responsible for what Congress does. But practically, as he is consulted in all important matters and on all important occasions, and as his advice is generally followed by the majority party, he is still, perhaps, more powerful than any other Congress leader, though less powerful than he was before the rise of the Congress Socialist and Congress Nationalist parties, when in Congress circles he was all-powerful.

As Mahatma Gandhi is the most experienced and wisest among Congressmen of the new regime and is in fact the inaugurator of the regime and the creator of its mentality, it is quite natural and reasonable to consult him. But should he not in that case also shoulder the responsibility?

Apart from Congress politics, the uplift work which Gandhiji is doing is of vital importance. We have nothing to say against it. Nor is it necessary for our present purpose to decide whether this uplift work and Congress politics can or should be directed and done by him simultaneously. And, needless to add, as both kinds of work are necessary and important, the question of the priority or superiority of either does not arise and need not be tackled.

July, Month of Some Radical Changes

The Declaration of Independence of the thirteen States of which the American Union (later, U. S. A.) then consisted was adopted by Congress on July 4, 1776. Americans all over the world celebrate this day with rejoicings.

The Bastille, a fortress in Paris, was noted as a state-prison. The prisoners were usually criminals; but some were victims of political despotism and were lodged there in virtue of *Lettres de Cachet*—noblemen, authors, savants, priests and publishers. At the beginning of the French Revolution on the 14th of July, 1789, the fortress was surrounded by an armed mob eager to destroy the stronghold of tyranny. The besiegers gained the day, and the destruction of the Bastille commenced on the following day. The event in itself was apparently of no great moment, yet it finally broke the back of the court party and changed the current of events in France. The Bastille had long been regarded as the stronghold and symbol of tyranny, and its destruction was everywhere hailed as the downfall of an evil system.

The 14th of July is celebrated in France and in French Colonies and possessions. British officials, too, take part in the rejoicings in Pondicherry and Chandernagore.

Civil War in Spain

Fighting has been going on in Spain between the forces of its socialist government and the fascist rebels. The latest advices (July 28 and 29) appear to indicate the probability of the rebellion being crushed, but, Reuter adds, "it is still a matter of days—possibly of hours —before any decisiveness can be realized."

If that decisiveness were reached before the dawn of August 1, 1936, the month of July would be noted for yet another political event of great moment.

Arab Revolt in Palestine

The disorders in Palestine which began in April last are really due to the strained and unsatisfactory relations between the Arabs (Muslim and Christian) and the Jews there for years past. But the immediate provoking cause, as stated in the British House of Commons in June last, was a mere robbery, in the course of which three Jews were killed in a bus. This and the incidents which followed gave rise to a blood feud. Then there was a strike called by the Arabs, which was joined in by all sections of Arabs, including Christian Arabs. The other features of what is practically a revolt are matters of recent history. The British Government, which is the mandatory in Palestine, has appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole situation. But it has been announced that the Commission will not

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begin its work before the disorders have entirely subsided.

Three parties are concerned in the matter —the British Government, the Jews and the Arabs (Muslim and Christian). The British Government is guided by imperialist motives and wants to satisfy and gain the support of the Jews all over the world, in furtherance of its imperialist objects. The Arabs of Palestine have had their home there for the last 1,500 years. They do not like to be ousted by the Jews, which they are afraid they will be if further and unrestricted immigration of Jews into the country be allowed to go on. By a declaration of the British mandatory power, Palestine has been declared the "National Home" of the Jews. So the latter contend that that expression would be unmeaning if as many Jews as the land can accommodate were not allowed to come in and settle there.

British motives in Palestine may be understood if a few facts are kept in view. When in 1917 Lord Balfour promised a National Home for the Jews in Palestine, he did so, not from any altruistic philanthropic motives, but in order to gain the support of Jews all over the world to the Allied side—it was really a war-move. This will be understood from what Mr. Lloyd George said in the course of his speech in the House of Commons on June 19 last.

"At the time the French army had mutinied, the Italian army was on the eve of collapse and America had hardly started preparing in earnest. There was nothing left but Britain confronting the most powerful military combination the world has ever seen. It was important for us to seek every legitimate help we could get. We came to the conclusion, from information received from every part of the world, that it was vital we should have the sympathies of the Jewish community. In these circumstances and on the advice which we received we decided it was desirable to secure the sympathy and co-operation of that most remarkable community, the Jews, throughout the world. They were helpful in America and in Russia, which at that moment was just walking out and leaving us alone."

Mr. Lloyd George continued :

"In these conditions we proposed this to our Allies. France accepted it, Italy accepted it, and the United States accepted it, all the other Allies accepted it, and all the nations which constituted the League of Nations accepted it. And the Jews—I am here to bear testimony to the fact—with all the influence they possess responded nobly to the appeal which was made. I do not know whether the House realize how much we owe to Dr. Weizmann with his marvellous scientific brain. He absolutely saved the British army at a critical moment when a particular ingredient which was essential we should have for our great guns was completely exhausted. His great chemical genius enabled us to solve that problem. But he is only one out of many who rendered great services to the Allies. It is an obligation of honour which we undertook, to which the Jews responded. We cannot get out of it without dishonour."

Not only during war-time did Britain gain by pleasing the Jews, but, ever afterwards, Britain would stand to gain by keeping them satisfied. As Mr. Amery observed on March 24 last :

"In these days when defence problems are uppermost in our minds, we cannot forget the immense importance of Palestine as the effective air centre of the British imperial system, not only from the point of view of protecting the Suez Canal and guarding the Eastern Mediterranean, but from the point of view of our communications with India and the East. Palestine offers the very outlet to the Mediterranean for oil supplies under British control. Who knows whether we shall have access to American supplies in future? The importance of Haifa, both as an oil base and as a general naval base, more secure than Malta would be in certain circumstances, is very great."

Mr. Amery clinched his argument by adding :

"If we had in Palestine a prospering and developing community [meaning the Jews], bound to this country by ties of gratitude, influenced by the fact that we have made an ancient dream [*i.e.*, a National Home] come true, the effect would surely be well worth keeping in mind."

Owing mainly to Italy's success in Abyssinia the situation in the Mediterranean has changed to a great extent. For that reason also British imperialists must attach greater importance to the strategic value of Palestine and appreciate more than ever the alternative route to the Suez Canal which it offers. All this was pointed out by Mr. Amery on June 19 last.

To understand the contentions of the Arabs and Jews it is necessary to know that on June 30, 1935, the estimated population of Palestine was 1,261,000, of whom 825,000 were Moslems, 375,000 Jews and 100,000 Christians. The Christians there are also Arabs. These figures show that there is no immediate prospect of the Arabs being outnumbered by the Jews. Moreover, as Palestine under British mandate has an area of about 10,000 square miles, it can easily support a population of, say, three millions. It is also to be borne in mind that the country was the ancient home of the Jews, and some Jews had been living there all along before Jewish immigration began fifteen years ago. Owing to the development of the country by Jewish wealth and enterprise, there has been considerable economic improvement by the expansion of agriculture and industry. And Arabs have derived much advantage from this improvement. Wages have increased. It is not a fact that all the land which the Jews now occupy was taken from the Arabs. Much land has

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been and will be made available by reclamation by the draining of swamps and other methods, and some of these areas go to Arabs also. Owing chiefly to sanitation introduced by the Jews, infant mortality in Palestine has gone down from 189 per mille in 1925 to 153 in 1932, and the general death-rate from 24 per mille in 1929 to 22.3 in 1932. (Statistical Year-book of the League of Nations, 1933-34.)

A consideration of all these facts shows that there is something to be said in favour of Jewish immigration to Palestine.

On the other hand, Arabs, like other peoples, being liberty-loving and desirous of independence, cannot be expected to live for ever under a British mandate. But the declarations and pronouncements of British statesmen show that Britain wants to dominate the country in perpetuity. Palestine is under an A mandate, like Iraq and Syria. Iraq is no longer under a mandate, Syria is on the way to self-rule. Why should the Arabs in Palestine then be expected to reconcile themselves to practical subjection for an indefinite period?

The proposals for a Legislative Council are also unacceptable to the Arabs. These were published on December 22, 1935. According to these, the council is to consist of 28 members —5 official, 11 nominated unofficial (3 Moslems, 4 Jews, 2 Christians, 2 Commercial) and 12 elected members (8 Moslems, 3 Jews and 1 Christian). Apart from the official *cum* nominated majority, the Arabs cannot but object to getting comparatively less representation than they would be entitled to on the basis of population. They also resent the intention of the Jewish extremists to become a majority in course of time as also their claim even now to a majority of seats. That the Jewish attitude is like this will appear from the following statement of Dr. Eder, Chairman of the Zionist Commission in Palestine :

> "There can be only one National Home in Palestine and that a Jewish National Home, and no equality in partnership between Jews and Arabs but a Jewish predominance as soon as the members of the race are sufficiently increased."

Consider also what Lord Melchett, a Jew, said in the British House of Lords on February 26 last :

> "We take the view that we cannot put ourselves in a minority in a National Home. A minority status of the Jewish people is neither novel nor singular. It has lasted for centuries and it is world-wide. But if 'National Home' is to have a real meaning we cannot of our own volition and free will accept a minority status there."

Needless to say that we condemn the introduction of the virus of communal and separate representation in Palestine, as also in Fiji. These are manifestations of the same policy which has given India a "constitution" based on the Communal Decision.

As Congressmen in general appear to incline to the Arab view and as Indian Muhammadans feel perturbed, we have tried to understand the situation in Palestine and to set out the facts of the case as briefly as we could.

Bengal and the Communal Decision

We print elsewhere the full text of the presidential address of Rabindranath Tagore at the Calcutta Town Hall meeting held to protest against the Communal Decision.

We would ask all those who are against the Bengal Hindus' movement against that Decision to calmly read or re-read the address of a man like the Poet who is and has all along been above all communalism in order to understand the dangers underlying the "constitution" thrust upon India.

The Bengal memorialists who have submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State for making certain alterations in the Communal Decision so far as it relates to Bengal, have done so with reference to section 308 and sub-section (4) of the Government of India Act, 1935. The provisions contain therein empower His Majesty in Council to make an order for the amendments prayed for. It is said that though there are this section and this sub-section in the Act they are not meant to be acted upon. What are they, then, meant for? Do the critics of the memorialists suggest that the British Parliament, in inserting these provisions in the Act, did something superfluous or nonsensical or foolish? That would be paying no compliment to the combined intelligence and wisdom of the members of the legislature of the greatest State in the world. So, we do not think the critics suggest any such thing. Do they then suggest that the British Parliament wanted by these provisions to hoax or delude or deceive any section of His Majesty's subjects in India? Such a suggestion would be still less complimentary to that august body. But supposing the critics persisted in making that suggestion it would be for them to name the sections of the people of India whom, according to the critics, the British Parliament wanted to hoax or delude or deceive. It is not for us to make any such suggestion.

It has been said, again, that a pledge has

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been given to the Moslems that the Communal Decision would not be altered in any way—not at least before ten years have elapsed after the coming into force of the Act. But there is no such pledge in the Act. And both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, honourable members declared, *no one dissenting*, that nothing except what is to be found in a parliamentary statute or some similar parliamentary document is binding on Parliament.

The Chairman of the Conservative M. P.s India Committee, Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, stated in the House of Commons :

"No pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any real legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919. (*Hansard*, 10th December 1934, Vol. 296, No. 15, p. 142).

Lord Rankeillour, who was for many years Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker in the House of Commons, and so may be assumed to speak with some authority, said that Britishers were bound by the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, but by nothing else. And speaking of pledges he added these words :

"No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed, no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment." (*Hansard*, House of Lords, December 13th, 1934, Vol. 95, No. 8, Col. 331.)

These things were said in the British Parliament without a single dissentient voice in order not to be obliged to give effect to the pledges given by British sovereigns and British statesmen in authority that India would be given Dominion Status. So, after we have been treated to solemn declarations that those pledges, in fact every pledge not embodied in a parliamentary statute, was not worth a straw, we are now to be told that some pledge given to the Moslems must be looked upon as very very sacred and inviolable ! ! ! The British Parliament, Home Government, and the British people can do what they like, but let them not make themselves the laughing-stock of the world by inconsistency like this.

Bengal Hindus, who are a minority, are quite within their rights in forgoing the "advantage" of separate electorate. Separate electorates have been provided as a minority right. But if any minority does not want it, why should it be forced upon them? Joint electorate is both democratic and nationalistic. Bengal Hindus want it.

In every province every minority for which seats have been reserved has got "weightage," that is, representation in excess of its population strength. In Bengal, Hindus have got, not only no weightage, but have been given less representation than even what they are entitled to on the basis of population. Why should it be so?

It has been said that Bengal Hindus are so advanced that they do not require weightage. But are not Bengal Europeans advanced? Why have they got very excessive weightage? Because they represent the conquering and ruling race? If that is so, Europeans in other provinces also represent the dominant race. Why have they not been given weightage there as excessive as what they have got in Bengal?

In legislative bodies the vote of the most cultured, the richest, the most public-spirited and the ablest member is equal to that of the opposite sort of member. So it is ridiculous nonsense to ask Bengal Hindus to merely protect themselves to do their duty as citizens and by means of their culture, enterprise and the like.

Bengal Hindus have been blamed for claiming weightage, and that on the ground of their importance in some respects. If they had the making of the constitution in their hands, they would not have provided weightage for themselves or for any other community or class. It is because a wrong sort of constitution has punished them by giving weightage to others and depriving them of even their due representation on the population basis that they seek this sort of remedy.

As for claiming weightage on the ground of some sort of importance, other minorities in Bengal and in other provinces have been given weightage because of their importance in some respects. Why should Bengal Hindus alone not have weightage on that ground? In the Federal Legislature some Provinces have got more members than they can have on the basis of population, because of their alleged historical or commercial or military importance. Critics of the Bengal Hindus never found fault with the allotment of such excessive number of seats to these Provinces. It may be that Bengal Hindus have no importance of any kind. If so, let that be stated plainly. But let not those who have agreed to or acquiesced in the giving of excessive representation to others find fault with Bengal Hindus for claiming weightage on the ground of some sort of importance.

As regards the Lucknow pact, Bengal Hindus know that it ought not to continue but that it ought to be replaced by some other

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agreed arrangement, not by something arbitrarily imposed on the province. The Simon Commission's recommendation was to that effect.

Some Moslems have said that they too have got less seats than are due to them on the population basis. But the Hindus in all provinces in which they are a majority have also got less seats than they are entitled to on that basis.

There is also a Bengal Moslem complaint that, though they are the majority community in Bengal, they have not got the majority of seats here. It may be argued in reply that by getting a few of the special seats which they are sure to capture, they will have a majority of the seats. Moreover, their grievance, if it be a real one, is more than matched by a more serious and a more real grievance of the Hindus throughout India. It is that, though the Hindus are a majority of the population of India, they have been reduced to the position of a minority in the Federal Legislature, as there they have been given much less than half the seats.

We will in this connection remind Bengal Moslems that, before the Unity Conference at Allahabad, Bengal Hindus, assembled in Conference at Birla Park under the chairmanship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, arrived at the decision that both Moslems and Hindus in Bengal should have seats proportionate to their numerical strength and that a combined effort should be made by the two communities for the purpose. The Moslems did not agree to combine with the Hindus for such a purpose. The decision meant that the European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians were not to have weightage, which is excessive, but only the number of seats to which they are entitled on the basis of population. A Moslem-Hindu endeavour to reduce the number of the European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian seats, would have made both the Moslem and Hindu communities objects of displeasure with the Government and the Europeans.

We have also heard to the argument that by capturing some of the special seats, Bengal Hindus will be able to get as many seats as they are entitled to on the population basis. This is not correct. The Hindus and others in Bengal to whom "general" seats have been allotted, form 44.8 per cent of the population. The total number of seats is 250, and 44.8 per cent of 250 is 112. The number of "general" seats is 80. So, if Bengal Hindus are to get 112 seats, they must capture 32 special seats. But the number of special seats which both Hindus and Moslems can try to get is only 20. Even if Hindus capture all these 20, which is impossible, they get only 100 seats, *i.e.*, 12 less than what they are entitled to on the population basis.

Bengal Moslems can have no grievance against the Hindus in the matter of seats. For, taking it for granted that they have got less seats than they are entitled to, the seats which they have lost have gone, not to the Hindus, but to the Europeans and Anglo-Indians. But their outcry is directed solely against the Hindus! They ought to remember that in the Hindu majority provinces, Hindus have not got all the seats which they should have got on the population basis. They have lost some seats; and these have gone to give weightage mainly to Moslems. But the Hindus have not made the Moslems their target of attack for this iniquity. They have blamed the British Government for it.

World Congress of Faiths

The World Congress of Faiths, being the second International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths, was held this summer in the great hall of University College, London, England, and closed after two weeks of success on the 17th of July, with a farewell meeting at Queens Hall under the able chairmanship of Sir Francis Younghusband, who heads the British National Council.

These Congresses of World Fellowship of Faiths are not a parade of competitive creeds, but rather a vigorous and enthusiastic attempt of mankind to find a solution of human problems through spiritual consultation, and co-operative understanding. Thus only can a bridge be built across the chasm of ignorance and prejudice.

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, the International President of the World Fellowship of Faiths, opened the Congress with an eloquent speech, which was deeply appreciated.

The religions of India, both Hinduism and Islam, were well represented by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Professor Mahendra Nath Sarkar, Professor Surendra Nath Das Gupta, Sir Abdul Qadir, Mr. Yusuf Ali and many other leaders.

Buddhism was represented by Professor Susuki of the Imperial University of Tokio, Japan, and Professor Malalasekara from Ceylon.

Confucianism was finely presented by the poet and dramatist, Mr. S. I. Hsiung of China, and the Jewish view by a Rabbi of vast experience, Dr. Israel Mattuck.

The two founders of the World Fellowship of Faiths, Charles F. Weller, of Chicago, and

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Kedarnath Das Gupta of India, came from America to join the World Congress and were accompanied by a number of faithful workers.

The Deans of St. Paul's and of Canterbury extended cordial reception to all the delegates, and arranged special World Fellowship services at Canterbury and at St. Paul's Cathedrals.

The Congress unanimously came to the conclusion that the fundamental truths underlying all Faiths is one, but that people worship God by different names and forms. In other words the Congress re-echoed the ancient Vedic Truth, "Ekam sad bipra bahudha badanti," "Brahma is One. We call Him by different names."

Appeal for Help for Famine Relief

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The Deans of St. Paul's and of Canterbury extended cordial reception to all the delegates, and arranged special World Fellowship services at Canterbury and at St. Paul's Cathedrals.

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and whether a provision in the Government of India Act based upon that alleged practice was advisable. Professor Keith's reply on this point is printed below.

It is, of course, nonsense to deny the responsibility of Ministers in England in respect of police work in any form. The Chief Commissioner is not merely wholly subordinate to the Home Secretary, but he is on the most intimate terms with him under normal circumstances and is bound to keep him informed on any point in which the Home Secretary is interested. Naturally the latter is most anxious to be kept out of the unpleasant business of secret service work whenever of routine character, but anything of novelty would be reported at once to him, and he can demand and will receive at once any information whatever. The plain fact is that for certain purposes the Governor is given the powers of a Minister and that Indian Ministers are not regarded as trustworthy on principle. 'De facto,' of course, the Governor may well really hand over his function to the Minister concerned, but the position is quite anomalous and the alleged parallel non-existent.

Tariff Board, Good-bye!

As the Government of India Act has practically destroyed the camouflage of Indian fiscal autonomy and of protective duties for the encouragement of *indigenous* industrial enterprise in India, it is only proper that the Tariff Board has been given the *coup de grace* (for the present?).

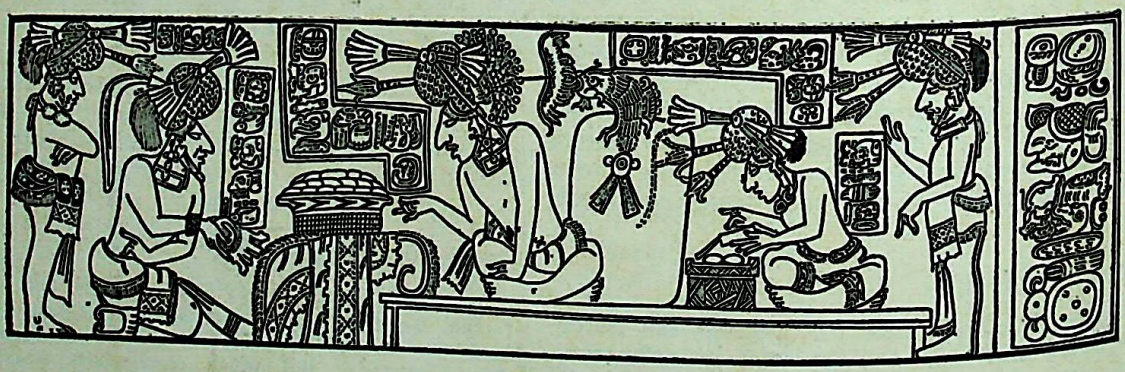
Women's Fellowship of Service

We congratulate the founders of the Women's Fellowship of Service, Poona. It is to be conducted on the lines of the Servants of India Society. May it have a career of increasing usefulness and beneficence!

Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference

The session of the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference which was held at Sholapur last month under the presidency of Sir Cowasji Jehangir was a success. Among the resolutions adopted by it was the following:

This Conference, whilst once again expressing its great dissatisfaction at the new Constitution as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which is more objectionable than the Bill originally introduced, is strongly of opinion that it is the duty of all citizens to take part in the forthcoming elections, to utilize the Constitution for obtaining from it the maximum advantage and also to accelerate the revision of the Constitution, so as to secure at an early date the realization of India's goal of Dominion Status.



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A VILLAGE CORNER
By Bhupatinath Chakravarti

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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21.8.36

THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 1936

VOL. LX., No. 3 WHOLE No. 357

OUTCAST

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

1

IT was the first full moon of Spring. The soft gusts of the South breeze spread the fragrance of the mango blossoms. The tireless call of some sleepless *koel*, hidden within the thick foliage of an old *lichi* tree by the garden pool, made its way through the open window of Hemanta's wakeful bedroom.

The restlessness of Spring was also upon Hemanta. He loosed a lock of hair from his wife's coil and twined it round his fingers; he tinkled her bangles one against the other; he pulled at the jasmine garland wreathed over her head till it hung in a festoon between her brows; he carried on much as the fitful breeze outside was doing, as it lightly tossed the flowers now this way, now that, to awaken them to their own beauty.

But his wife, Kusum, her absent gaze plunged in the depths of the moonlit void, sat motionless on the edge of their bed near the window, her husband's furtive overtures finding no response.

At length, taking both her hands into his own, and giving them a little impatient shake, Hemanta said: "Where have you wandered off to, Kusum?—so far it seems, you'd look a tiny little speck even through a telescope. I do so want to have you close to me to-night. Just see how charming it is!"

Kusum listlessly turned her eyes away from the sky till they rested on her husband's face. "I know a spell," she murmured, "which, all in a moment, would make the Spring, the moonlight, and all this beauty vanish into nothing."

"If so, I'd much rather you didn't use it," replied Hemanta. "If you know any charm to bring three or four Sundays round in a week, or keep the night on till the next evening, out with it by all means!"—with which he tried to draw his wife nearer.

Evading his clasp, Kusum went on: "I must tell you to-night what I'd thought to reveal only on my death bed. I feel now it'll be easy for me to take my punishment."

Her husband was on the point of trying to laugh off her difficult mood with a couplet on punishment from Jayadeva's love lyrics, when he was interrupted by a loud clatter of wooden sandals, hurriedly coming up the stairs towards their room. Hemanta winced, as at some portent, to hear the well-known footsteps of his old father, Harihar Mukherji, thus angrily approaching.

"Hemanta!" roared the harsh tones of Harihar, when he had come up to their door. "Send your wife out of the house at once!"

Hemanta stared blankly at Kusum. She showed no sign of surprise, but seemed to cower away from very existence as she hid her face in her hands. . . . The call of the *koel* kept coming through the window, unheeded.

So lovely is this world: so easily is all its loveliness wiped away.

2

"Is it true?" asked Hemanta of his wife, on returning to her after the interview with his father.

"Quite true," said Kusum.

"Why did you not tell me, all this time?"

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"I've often tried to, but never could get the courage,—so sinful am I."

"Well, tell me all now."

And Kusum told him, firmly, collectedly,—as a fire-walker goes with slow, deliberate steps over glowing coals,—with no outward sign of where and how much it was scorching her.

Hemanta heard her through. Then, without a word, he rose and walked out of the room.

The husband who has left me, felt Kusum, will never be mine any more. . . .

It did not seem strange to her,—as if what had now befallen had come about as naturally as any of the other happenings of their everyday life: so benumbed was her whole being,—with only this difference, that the world, for her, appeared to be emptied of everything it held, love and all.

As the old memories of Hemanta's love-making floated across her mind, a thin, dry, joyless smile left a gash, as of the passing of a sharp knife from one end of her consciousness to the other.

All that love,—which she had felt to be so unlimited in its depth, so inexhaustible in its wealth; in which the least rift had been so heart-breaking, each union bursting with such tense gladness; which had seemed so boundless, so timeless, it could not be imagined to come to an end even in the next life,—all that love was just this much, hanging on so slight a thread! One touch of social tyranny had levelled it to the ground, breaking up its immensity into a handful of dust.

"A charming night!" so had declared Hemanta, only a short while ago, with the love-tremor in his voice. That night was still there; the cry of that same *koel* was still ringing through it; the South breeze was still swaying the folds of the mosquito net; the moonlight, like a love-lorn maiden in her beauty, was still lying on the edge of their bed. And it was all illusion?..

Falser, in word and deed, than ever I have been, is this love!—thus felt Kusum.

3

Early next morning, sleepless Hemanta turned up, wild and dishevelled, at old Peary Ghosal's house.

"Well," Peary genially inquired, "what's the news?"

On fire all over, trembling in every limb, Hemanta could only blurt out: You've destroyed our caste, you've ruined our home, you've——, you'll have to pay dearly for this!"—and then his contending emotions choked him into silence.

Peary smiled. "And you people? You've saved my caste, kept me in society, poured balm on our home,—so loving, so careful of my concerns have you been!"

Had Hemanta's wrath been as potent as the curse of the Brahmins of old, Peary would have been reduced to ashes; as it was, the conflict raging within the distracted youth only seared his own heart, while the old man remained smiling blandly.

Hemanta managed to stammer brokenly: "What have I ever done to you?"

"Let me rather ask you," said Peary, "what had my daughter, my only child, my all in all, what had the poor girl ever done to your father?—I see you don't know. Then sit down and listen, my son, as calmly as you can, while I tell you about it. It's rather a long story, but it has its points of interest.

—"When my son-in-law made away with his wife's ornaments and ran off to England, you were but a child. You may, however, remember something of the hubbub that broke out in our village on his return as a barrister, five years later. But no. You were then at school, here in Calcutta. Well, your father assembled our caste-fellows, took the lead, and ruled: 'If you decide to send your daughter to her husband, you must have nothing more to do with her.'

—"How I begged and prayed of him to let us off this once. How I humbled myself, offering to induce my son-in-law to submit to any penance, if they would but take him back into caste. But your father was adamant. Neither did I have the heart to part for good with my loving daughter. So I left my caste behind, and came and settled in Calcutta.

—"But even here social persecution followed us. When my nephew was engaged to be married, your father went over and spoke to the bride's people, getting them to break it off. It was then my complaisance got exhausted. 'I'm no son of Brahmin,' I swore, 'if I don't have my revenge!"

—"Now you understand something of the situation. But wait a moment. You'll find the rest of the story even more interesting.

—"When you entered college, Bipradas, whom we called uncle,—the poor fellow is no more,—used to live in a house next to your lodging. He had given refuge to a young *kayastha* girl, Kusum, widowed while yet a child. And, so rare was Kusum's beauty, Uncle Bipradas was hard put to it to guard her from the attentions of the college students.

—"But what's easier than for a young girl

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to elude an old man? She had to go so often up on the terraced roof to air clothes and other things.— On the other hand you also, it appeared, couldn't do justice to your studies, except out on your own adjoining roof-terrace.

—"What passed between the two of you, from terrace to terrace, is known to you alone. But the way the girl went on, down below, made the mind of Bipradas misgive him. She became strangely forgetful of her household duties; she lost her appetite and her glow of health; one evening he caught her weeping unaccountably. And eventually he came to discover the distant communion between you two overhead; you had developed a taste for solitary study, he gathered, and were absenting yourself from college, to be alone with your books in the little staircase room opening on your terrace.

—"At his wit's end, old Bipradas came to consult me. 'Look here, Uncle,' I suggested, 'You've been wanting, ever so long, to retire to Benares. You'd better do so now. I'll look after the girl.' So he thankfully went off on his pilgrimage, and I put up Kusum with my crony, Sripati Chatterji, next door, giving it out she was his own daughter.

—"What happened as the result, you know more fully than I do. Anyhow, it's been a great pleasure to recount all the previous circumstances to you. It sounds like a romance. It would read like one too, only writing is not in my line. My nephew has a bent that way, I may ask him to try his hand at it. Of course, no one could do it as well as you and I in collaboration, for the sequel is yet unknown to me."

Hemanta had hardly been attending to Peary's last remarks. "Did Kusum make no objection to such a marriage?" he queried, pursuing his own thoughts.

"That's not an easy question," replied Peary. "You've had your own experience, my boy, and know what women are. When they mean 'yes' they say 'no.' When Kusum first came over to her new quarters, and missed her daily sight of you, she was quite beside herself. Later, I could see, you'd contrived to find out her address. You began to miss your way to college, and kept coming to a stop, books in hand, in front of Sripati's house, as if searching for something lost. I couldn't conclude it was the road to your college you were looking for, because the way through a respectable householder's window is reserved for winged insects and love-sick hearts only. However, I was mightily sorry to see the girl so miserable, and your studies so sadly interrupted.

—"I went over one day, drew Kusum aside, and said: 'You needn't stand on ceremony with your old uncle, my child. I know what your heart is pining for. The youth over there, he's in a bad way too. I'd be glad to help on your union.' Kusum, for answer, burst into tears and fled from the room. I repeated my visits, talking to her about you, till I overcame her bashfulness. At last I succeeded in impressing on her that marriage was the only way out. 'But how can that be?' she still persisted.

—"After we had gone through our own arguments, for and against, Kusum wanted me to take your opinion about it. 'The poor fellow's nearly off his head, as it is,' I protested. 'It would never do to worry him with all these complications. Once the marriage is over, everything will come right. Since there's not the least chance of outsiders learning the truth, why risk his life-long unhappiness?' Whether Kusum understood, or did not, was more than I could understand. She only kept a tearful silence. When at length I said: 'Then let it be,' she broke down completely.

—"Thus stood matters, when I made Sripati go over to your father with the proposal of marriage and, as I was told, you lost no time in sending on your acceptance. That's how your marriage was brought about.

—"Shortly before the fateful day, Kusum suddenly turned contrary. 'Uncle dear,' she pleaded with me, 'I beg you to stop it.' 'Nonsense!' I exclaimed. 'With everything now settled, what on earth am I to say to them?' 'Send me off somewhere, and tell them I'm dead!' she cried. 'And what about the young fellow?' I objected. 'On the eve of his dreams coming true, he's in the seventh heaven. And I'm to tell him you're dead! Next I'll have to be writing to you of his death, to receive in return the news of yours. Would you burden my soul with the sins of Brahmin-murder and woman-murder in my old age?'

—"On an auspicious day, at a propitious hour, your marriage was duly celebrated, and I was, at length, well quit of my oath. The rest you know."

"Having done to us what you had to do, what made you let it out?" asked Hemanta gloomily.

"When I came to learn, the other day, that your sister's marriage had been arranged, my conscience began to prick me again. One Brahmin's caste I had to spoil because of the duty I had taken on. I now felt it no less my duty to stop the stain from touching another innocent Brahmin. So I wrote off to tell the other

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side I held proofs of Hemanta Mukherji's wife being Sudra-born."

Hemanta suppressed his surging emotion with a supreme effort. "And what will happen to the girl, now that I'll have to give her up—will you take care of her?" he faltered.

"I've only done as much as my duty required. It's no part of my business to shelter other people's discarded wives."—"Here!" Peary shouted to his servant. "A glass of iced water for Hemanta-babu. Quick!"

But Hemanta did not wait for his cool hospitality.

4

It was the fifth night after the full moon. No cooing of *koel* was to be heard. The *lichi* tree, by the pool, looked like a smudge of ink on a dark background. The South breeze was there, but seemed ghost-ridden as it blindly wandered in the moonless night. And the stars stared fixedly, as though probing the darkness for some hidden mystery.

There was no light in Hemanta's bedroom. He sat on the edge of their bed near the window, looking out into the blackness before him. On the floor, at his feet, Kusum lay prone. Time itself appeared to have stopped, like a sea suddenly becalmed, to gaze expectantly on the picture,—presented by the artist, Fate, on the canvas of eternal night,—of two still figures enveloped in a turmoil of emotions whirling about them: one the judge, the other a supplicant for justice. . . .

Presently came the clatter of those sandals. Harihar's strident tones penetrated their room from outside the door. "How long are you going to be, sending away the woman? I can't have any more of this dilly-dally."

At the sound of Harihar's voice, Kusum convulsively clasped Hemanta's feet in a last embrace. At his concluding words, she made the parting salutation of taking the dust of his feet, as she released them before rising to leave.

Hemanta shouted back to his father: "I'm not going to cast off my wife!"

"You'd have us lose caste, then?" roared Harihar.

"I don't believe in caste," returned Hemanta.

"Then get out, both of you!"

Translated by Mr. Surendra Nath Tagore for *The Modern Review.*

I CANNOT REMEMBER MY MOTHER

I cannot remember my mother,
only sometime in the midst of my play
a tune seems to hover over my playthings,
the tune of some song that she used to hum
while rocking my cradle.

I cannot remember my mother,
but when in the early autumn morning
the smell of the *shiuli* flowers floats in the air
the scent of the morning service in the temple
comes to me as the scent of my mother.

I cannot remember my mother,
only when from my bedroom window
I send my eyes into the blue of the distant sky
I feel that the stillness of my mother's gazing on my face
has spread all over the sky.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly

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ROBERT BROWNING

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

Robert Browning is less distinctly national, less distinctly local, more cosmopolitan, more universal in his thought and his appeal, than almost any other eminent modern writer. We may almost say that much of his poetry, so far as its central matter is concerned, might as well have been written in India or in Greece, long ago, as in modern Italy or modern London. This is because his poetry is primarily concerned with great things, the deep things of man's life which do not much change with changing skies or moving centuries. True, he often writes about local things, and even things which in themselves are of small importance; but it is their relations to larger matters, their universal relations, that interest him. A grain of sand is very local and very small, but it sustains relations to the whole earth, and to the solar system. This is what Browning sees, and what makes him a writer of universal interest, not only to Englishmen but to the world.

All this means that he is pre-eminently a problem poet; and his problems are of the greatest that man can know, those relating to God, the universe, and the supreme issues of human life; therefore they concern the men and women of all lands, whether Europe, or Asia or America or the islands of the sea. Humanity is mysteriously, wonderfully, deeply one, therefore a fresh, intelligent and profound study of humanity in any of its aspects is of universal and permanent human interest.

In Browning's poem entitled "Fra Lippo Lippi," we find these lines:

> "This world's no blot for us,
> Nor blank; it means intensely and it means good;
> To find its meaning is my meat and drink."

I think we have here the key to a true understanding of the poet's life, work and message.

Judging from all that he wrote and also from the very full knowledge that we have of his personal history, it does not seem too much to say that no man ever believed more firmly than he that the world and man's life are not mere blind chance and emptiness, but full of infinite significance and worth. And is it not equally clear that to penetrate ever more and more deeply into that significance and into the reality of that worth, was the supreme aim of his endeavor all his years?

Robert Browning was born and spent his early life in a suburb of South London. He was a student for a time in a London College but his schooling was not extensive. He early learned to love books and reading, to find delight in his own thoughts, and to take long walks by day and under the night stars. In later life he used to say that Italy was his only university; but I think we cannot accept this as quite correct: he passed through another very important university before he ever saw Italy. His most important early teachers were his father's old-fashiond garden, some particular books which influenced him much, the Dulwich woods near his home, which he dearly loved, and great, stirring, many-sided London, which gathered up the whole world of human interests into itself. All these were his university. And probably no school less real, less living, could have made him the fresh, independent, many-sided, intensely human, and marvellously stimulating thinker and writer which he later became.

He began writing poetry very early. We are told that at twelve years of age he had already written enough to make a fair sized volume. But he had friends wise enough to keep these early productions out of print, though they recognized in them distinct signs of genius.

Curiously enough, these early poems seem to have had melody and form for their chief aim,—giving no hint of his later work in which form and melody were always subordinate to thought.

Very curiously, as it now appears to us, Browning's earliest poetical model was Byron. We wonder at this, because we find his maturer poetry so far removed from that of Byron in almost every particular.

The influence which wakened him to the deeper meanings of poetry,—indeed, which stirred him more profoundly and aroused the spiritual side of his being more effectively than anything else connected with his early life, was the poetry of Shelley. In after years he always spoke of Shelley with love and admiraton rising to enthusiasm, as one who in a critical time had revealed him to himself, and done much to mould his conception of poetry and life itself. This,

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too, we wonder at a little, because it seems difficult to discover much similarity, much that is common, in the two poets.

By the age of twenty Browning seems to have really found himself. By this time he had determined what his life-work was to be; he had formed his poetical aims and ideas, and was ready to launch upon the sea of authorship which for more than fifty years he was to sail amid sun and storm, with heroic persistence, guided only by the stars that shone in the sky of his own soul.

His first poem of importance was *Pauline*: *A fragment of a Confession*, as he called it. Published anonymously, it attracted the attention of only a few discerning souls. He himself wished afterwards to forget it. But it was a guide-post pointing the direction of the path upon which he had set out. It was a sample, rather a poor one, yet a sample—of the kind of work which he was to do. To those who had eyes to see, it was distinctly prophetic of greater things to come.

Three years later, at the still very early age of twenty-three, he published the first poem that showed his real power, *Paracelsus*.

From this time on, throughout a long life, his career was one of steady writing and authorship. Every two or three years gave to the world something from his pen—either a work of considerable length, or a collection of short poems. When he reached the end of his long life he left behind him a larger body of published work than almost any other English poet.

Externally Browning's life was a quiet one, as the life of a great writer must necessarily be. Its earlier part was spent in England, its intermediate years in Italy and its last years in England again.

A rare charm attaches to his domestic life, because of the deep love and perfect intellectual companionship between him and his wife, Elizabeth Barrett, whose writings, under her maiden name, and especially those later, under her name of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, are hardly less sure of immortality than are his own. It was on her account—because she could not live in England—that they made their home for so many years in Italy. There she died and the frail body, from which the glorious spirit had fled, was laid to rest in the little Protestant cemetery of Florence, near the old Pinti gate.

The love and the intellectual companionship of Mr. and Mrs. Browning form one of the most charming idylls in literary history. It will long remain an ideal of what married life may be on the higher plane of the spirit. Browning wrote nothing finer, nothing that gives evidence of having come more straight out of his deepest heart, than his tributes to his gifted wife. In his poem entitled "One Word More," with which he dedicates to Mrs. Browning a volume containing fifty of his poems, he writes with infinite tenderness:

> "Take them, Love, the book and me together:
> Where the heart lies, let the brain lie also."

After she had gone from his side, he dedicated to her his greatest poem, *The Ring and the Book*, in lines of wonderful beauty, which at once sing and sob:

> "O Lyric Love! half angel and half bird,
> And all a wonder, and a wild desire;
> Boldest of hearts that ever braved the sun,
> Took sanctuary within the holier blue,
> And sang a kindred soul out to his face,
> Yet human at the red-ripe of the heart.
> Never may I commence my song, . . . my due
> To God, who best taught song by gift of thee,
> Except with bent head and beseeching hand,
> That still, despite the distance and the dark,
> What was again may be; some interchange
> Of grace, some splendor once thy very thought,
> Some benediction, anciently thy smile."

I am glad to dwell a little upon the domestic life of Mr. and Mrs. Browning, their affection and their companionship, partly because of the beauty of it; partly because it stimulated both to do much of their best work; and partly because it seems to me it may well be thought of as one of the influences that operated to make Mr. Browning give to love so prominent a place in his philosophy of life and in his conception of religion. How could one to whom love had been so much in his own life, fail to see that true and pure love is the great need of the world? How could one who had found out that his own life, rich as it was in other ways, had reached its highest happiness and its greatest good in love, fail to see that religion, if it would supply men's deepest need, must be, above everything else, love? And how could one to whom such a personal revelation of love had come, fail to make love the crowning attribute of God himself? We reach the divine through the human. Our own souls are the best mirrors in which to see the Oversoul. Our own hearts tell us of the great Eternal Heart because it was that which set ours beating. To be sure we may well look to tree and flower and star to learn about God, because there is so much of God,—his power, his wisdom, his law, his beauty—in each of these. But better still is it to look within ourselves into our thinking minds, our loving

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hearts, and our souls that long for him as a plant for the light, or a babe for its mother.

We shall be wrong if we think of Browning's work as all of it poetry. Much of it is, but some of it falls short. Any adequate study of Browning as a poet must take cognizance not only of his excellencies but also of his limitations. His quality was that of a great oak, possessing all the ruggedness, strength and majesty of an oak, but not especially conspicuous for grace or elegance. His writings are a gold mine, very rich,—one of the richest in all modern literature; but there is much inferior material mixed with its gold.

Probably Browning wrote too much; at least he was willing to give to the world much that does not represent him at his best either in thought or in expression. Considerable of what he wrote in his earliest years he threw away. Why was he not wise enough to do the same with poorer parts of his later writings? He seems not to have at all adequately realized that what our crowded modern age wants of its writers is not quantity but quality. A part of his writing, perhaps one quarter or one-third of all, undoubtedly will live, even this small part constituting a larger aggregate than the total product of some of our poets. The rest of his work, fortunately for him as well as for the reading world, is fast being forgotten.

Perhaps the style of no modern writer is more uneven than Browning's. When he is at his best he is lucid, concise, successful in rhythm, rich in imagery, extraordinarily wide in vocabulary, with an exact and felicitous choice of words. From this he ranges all the way down to a style that is rugged, rambling, involved, obscure, full of elisions and parantheses,—the utter despair of the average intelligent reader.

It seems strange that one who was able to write so supremely well could have allowed himself to write so carelessly as he did in no small part of his work.

Some of Browning's themes are seen at once to be vital; others are likely to strike the reader as trivial; but the most trivial are not infrequently treated in such a way as to bring out profound thought.

Certain subjects that one might expect to find in a modern poet, one looks for in vain in Browning. During his lifetime both England and Italy were aflame with great political movements,—in the former to extend the liberties and rights of the people, and in the latter to shake off the foreign yoke and get a free and united nation. But of all this we discover hardly an echo in Browning's writings. Quite as noticeable is his silence regarding movements of social and industrial reform. The Nineteenth Century was alive, as no preceding century had ever been, with schemes and movements for improving the social and industrial condition of the people. It was the century that largely abolished slavery. It was the century that gave birth to socialism, industrial co-operation, plans for the better housing of the poor, scientific charity, intelligent child-saving work, popular education, international movements for peace and arbitration. But of none of these things does Browning write in any other than an incidental way. Browning's subject was the soul of man, its nature, development, hopes, fears, struggles, victories, despairs, problems, destiny.

In his *Paracelsus* Browning gives us lines which describe the ideal which, seemingly at the very beginning of his career, he set up for himself as a poet:

> "Every passion sprung from man, conceived by man,
> Would I express and clothe in its right form.
> . . . No thought which ever stirred
> A human breast should be untold; all passions,
> All soft emotions, from the turbulent stir
> Within a heart fed with desires like mine,
> To the last comfort shutting the tired lids
> Of him who sleeps the sultry noon away
> Beneath the tent-tree by the wayside well,
> All would I portray."

Could a poet choose a greater field than this?

Though Browning was a close observer of nature and often gives us, in his poems, descriptions of nature that are full of beauty, power and insight, yet, to him, the world of earth and sky is chiefly interesting as a stage for the life of Man. To him Man is everything, and external nature is of importance only as a frame in which to set the picture of the human.

Browning's dramatic poems are not dramas in the sense that Shakespeare's are. They lack action and dramatic situations. Thoughts and emotions are their subject-matter. At one time he believed that his dramas could be played, could be produced on the stage of the theatre; and attempts were made to act them as plays; but without success. The truth is, Browning is far too subjective, too intricately subtle, too analytical, for a play-writer. He lacks appeal to the senses. It is too hard to grasp his meaning. Worst of all, he too often analyses when he should portray, dissects when he ought to create, gives us psychological refining instead of action, and pathology instead of life. This is a criticism made by his friends as well as by his enemies. His were what have been called

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"psychological dramas,"—to be read, not to be acted.

All Browning's poems, whether long or short, and in whatever form written, have been called "dramas of the soul." The reason is plain : his supreme interest, in everything that he writes, is in the development of the soul. To him man is everything and in man the soul is everything. Necessarily, therefore, his poems must be dramas of the internal life of human beings, —tracing the workings of passion, the influence of motives, the pursuit or abandonment of ideals, the sway of mind over mind,—all those intricate and marvellous processes of the soul by means of which character is built up or destroyed, and human destinies are wrought out.

To Browning this internal world, filled with the tragedies and comedies which make up the warp and woof of every human life, is of overmastering importance, compared with which not only the world of external nature, but also the world of outward human events sink into relative unimportance.

Throughout his poetry Browning suggests the old question that Jesus asked, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?"

Browning's philosophy was distinctly idealistic. Born as he was into an age of physical science and discovery and unparalleled material advance, he saw many men around him greatly disturbed in their thinking, losing their grasp on spiritual things, becoming skeptical concerning the soul and God. Not so Browning. He felt that what St. Paul said of man is also true of atoms and stars, of science and law and evolution,—they all "live and move and have their being" in the eternal God. He felt that the material is but the garment of the spiritual. He saw the throne of God in every molecule of the physical universe. He felt that the physical universe is based upon the spiritual and draws from it its life.

Like James Martineau in England and Emerson in America, Robert Browning was a powerful influence in opposition to the tide of materialistic thought which rose so powerfully in the western world during the last half of the Nineteenth Century with the new developments of science.

Yet Browning was a thoroughly modern man. His spirit was modern. He believed profoundly in science, and rejoiced in all its discoveries and revelations. He was the admirer and the personal friend of many of the leading scientists of England. But he was not carried off his feet by the material aspects of science. He was wise enough to see that science cannot take the place of religion, of poetry, of art, of music. He was also clear-visioned enough to see that science does not disturb religion, when religion is rightly understood.

While Browning was an idealist, he was, in one sense, also a realist. He was impatient with ideals that were merely dreamed about, he wanted them lived. He has no sneers for visions of future heavens but he demands first of all that men should seek to bring about heaven here and now. He feels that the hope of a life beyond death should make men more faithful to the duties of this life. He expresses this thought in the following lines :

"I act for, talk for, live for, this world now,
As this world calls for action, life and talk, . . .
No prejudice to what next world may prove,
Whose new laws and requirements my best pledge
To observe them, is, that I observe these now . . .
Doing hereafter what I do meantime.
Let us concede (gratuitously though)
Next life relieves the soul of body, yields
Pure spiritual enjoyments : well, my friend,
Why lose this life in the meantime, since its use
May be to make the next life more intense?"

Browning is not a poet of ease. He is not a quietist. His ideal of life is not rest, or cessation from struggle. Struggle to him is not an evil but a good. Above almost any other poet, ancient or modern, he is champion of the strenuous life. He sees life to be a battle, a battle that is sometimes very severe. But this does not dismay him; rather it gives him joy. Is it said that victory is to the few? Yes, he replies, what men call victory *is* to the few. But what God calls victory is to all who will have it. To God a brave struggle is itself victory.

This high strain runs through all his writings. There is hardly a poem of importance that does not contain some notes of it. And it has a wonderful power to stir the blood and to awaken hope and heroism. Let me give some ringing notes of this splendid strain :

In *Cleon* we read :

"Why stay on earth except we grow?"

In *Saul* :

"What stops my despair?
This :—'Tis not what man does
Which exalts him, but
What man *would* do!"

In *The Ring and the Book* :

"The moral sense grows but by exercise."

In the poem entitled *In a Balcony* :

"I count life just a stuff
To try the soul's strength on, educe the man."

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In *James Lee's Wife* :

"Rejoice that man is hurled
From change to change unceasingly,
His soul's wings never furled."

In *Bishop Blowgram's Apology* :

"When the fight begins within himself,
A man's worth something."

In *Rabbi Ben Ezra* :

"What I aspired to be,
And was not, comforts me."

"All I could never be,
All, men ignored in me,
This, I was worth to God, whose
Wheel the pitcher shaped."

"Then welcome each rebuff
That turns each smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand
but go!
Be our joys three-parts pain!
Strive and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare,
never grudge the throe!"

In *Abt Vogler* :

"What is our failure here but a triumph's
evidence
For the fulness of the days? Have we
writhed or agonized?
Why else was the pause prolonged
but that singing might issue thence?
Why rushed the discords in, but
that harmony should be prized?"

Browning has been called the poet of triumphant faith. I think these are exactly the right words. Not only do all the greatest of his writings breathe a strong spirit of faith, but his faith has in it an element of joy, of assurance, of triumph, of victory that is equalled, I believe, in no other poet. In this he far surpasses Tennyson. Tennyson is the poet of hope struggling up into faith. But he never gets quite past the struggle. The faith that he reaches is always a little tremulous. It never seems quite sure of itself. But in Browning there is no such limitation. In his faith there is no hint of trembling. It has wings as strong as an eagle's. If it struggles it is the struggle of a lion with a foe that is certain to be vanquished. His eye is clear. His tread is firm. His hand is strong to lead others less sure-footed than he.

He has some passages on immortality as triumphant as anything in Saint Paul. In *Abt Vogler* we have this paen of victory :

"There shall never be one lost good! What was,
shall live as before;
The evil is null, is naught.
All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good,
shall exist:
Not its semblance, but itself; no beauty,
nor good, nor power
Whose will has gone forth, but each
survives the melodist,
When eternity affirms the conceptions
of an hour.
The high that proved too high, the heroic
for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose
itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God by the lover
and the bard;
Enough that he heard it once: we shall hear
it by and by."

We have this from *Bifurcation* :

"But deep within my heart of hearts there hid
Ever the confidence, amends for all,
That heaven repairs what wrongs
Earth's journey did.
All that is at all,
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God
stand sure."

Paracelsus contains these lines :

"I see my way as birds their trackless way.
I shall arrive! what time, what circuit first.
I ask not; but, unless God send his hail,
Or blinding fireballs, sleet or stifling snow,
In some time, his good time, I shall arrive:
He guides me and the bird. In his good time!
If I stoop
Into a dark tumultuous sea of cloud,
It is but for a time; I press God's lamp
Close to my breast; its splendor, soon or late,
Will pierce the gloom: I shall emerge one day."

It is clear that Browning is an optimist. But he was the kind of optimist who faced the world's pain and suffering and sorrow, saw it all, felt it all, and was still full of faith and hope; for his eyes penetrated deeply enough into humanity, deeply enough into the great moral laws to see the sufferings and sorrows of men as humanity's growing pains. Humanity is being created, and these things are the fires and the hammers by means of which the better humanity that is to be, is being wrought out. If the human soul is the thing of supreme value in the universe, how can permanent disaster befall it? If God is in his heaven, as Browning makes little Pippa sing, where is there room for doubt that "all's right with the world?" It may be that men and nations and the world itself are passing through fires: but if God is God, then they are purifying and refining fires, out of which the gold of ultimate good is to come; they are not fires of disaster and doom. Such is the virile and triumphant note of Browning's poetry.

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EUROPE FACING WAR?

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

In England Parliament is on the point of rising and we shall soon have the long summer interregnum in which to ponder events. What a number of things have happened already this year! Only seven short months have passed as yet. But in that short space the world, as we have known it since the Peace Treaties, has finally broken in pieces.

The beginning of the year, with singular appropriateness, saw the death of King George V. Many of the rising generation were at pains to understand why the King's death touched their elders so deeply. They could not realize how the end of that reign, to those who survived or had lived through the Great War, symbolised the end of the war generation. With the death of King George the War somehow passed into history—and the war generation, the "lost generation", as they have been called, could not but feel its passing.

But one war has trod upon another's heels, so fast they follow. Scarcely had the King died when there followed the collapse of Abyssinia. Abyssinia collapsed because the League Powers were too timid to save her. France was anxious that nothing should be done to injure Italy because she wanted Italy on her side if and when war should break out between France and Germany. Indeed, though it was never mentioned until the Emperor of Abyssinia blew the gaff at Geneva, she had actually entered into a secret treaty with Italy guaranteeing to Italy a free hand in Abyssinia. So that was why the oil sanction was never put on. The League Powers have always allowed France to use the League for her own purposes. And at the long last they allowed her to *destroy* it for her own purposes.

Still Italy has always been a mercenary ally. In the Great War she changed her allegiance because she saw that the Allies could give her a better price. And no sooner has she won the Abyssinian war than her movements have become mysterious—and it is still in doubt as to whom she is selling her sword! France thought she had secured her vis-a-vis Germany, but the immediate upshot was that Germany marched into the Rhineland and thereby tore up the Treaty of Locarno, and far from Italy frowning on this, Italy and Germany came to an understanding over the old vexed question of Austria. Germany in fact, who had to be provided against, suddenly became rampant —not only in the Rhineland but in Danzig and Czecho-Slovakia also—and egged on by Italy cocked a snook at Geneva and the whole timid world.

It only remains to be said that at present Italy and Germany are consulting off stage while the poor remains of the Locarno Powers have been meeting in London and issuing conciliatory communiques. These conciliatory communiques meet with little response. Italy, like all the dangers all the way down history that men have tried to buy off, is merely engaged in *raising her price.*

Indeed once lose sight of the League of Nations and how soon we find ourselves vulnerable in a trackless, unprincipled world. Only a few months ago fifty nations at Geneva voted for sanctions against an aggressor Italy. But our half-hearted leaders said that if it came to the test of war these nations would back out of it and leave Great Britain to carry the burden. (Their real undisclosed stumbling-block being that secret treaty between France and Italy.) Accordingly though they had taken the lead in putting on sanctions, they took the lead in taking them off. One can only hope that events, as they are now developing, are just as they anticipated.

For what is now as clear as daylight is that the Fascist Dictators are in the saddle, or behave as if they were, which amounts to the same thing, and that these Dictators will stick at nothing to attain their own ends. Fifty nations at Geneva, it seems, were not ready to call the bluff. As they were not ready, it was good-bye once and for all to the idea of collective security —and so instead back to rearmament in the (surely vain) hope that these Dictators will not make war before our armaments are ready. Everyone in England is talking as if war, at the utmost, were just two years ahead. One responsible statesman has actually been heard to reflect that perhaps the enemy will kindly postpone the outbreak of hostilities until after the Coronation. It shows the kind of fantastic

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world we have come to. War in two years when we are *all* rearmed and can *all* do the utmost damage.

Part of the present Government's propaganda in the interests of recruiting, and of encouraging the man in the street to face the increased taxation which will be necessary to pay for armaments, is worth commenting on at this juncture. The bug they would affright us with is the air menace. So they are making a great show of anti-gas drill and gas masks. Gas masks will soon be available for every man, woman, and child (there'll be a special one to fit over the pram). But all this is in fact bamboozle. Gas masks cannot protect the body against the effects of blistering gas. Gas masks cannot protect towns and houses against incendiary bombs. Incendiary bombs, incidentally, particularly if it were a mass attack on London and Manchester and Birmingham and all the nerve-centres of the country, could destroy the morale of the people even if everyone was fitted with a gas mask. No. Once we abandon the hope of collective security, there is nothing but chaos.

It is a pity that his country's rearmament, to the plain man's way of thinking, seems to him to be the counterpart in his own life of standing on his own feet. Tory Conferences cheer as they pass resolutions in favour of increasing the Navy. And the man in the street feels puffed up when the King passes "at the head of his Guards" after the Trooping the Colour ceremony. He sees in this pageantry the image of his country's greatness and independence—when the truth is unfortunately that no army on earth can preserve a country's independence. Science has changed all that. To entrust the safety of his King to his Guards is to live in a fool's paradise!

As I write these notes in my office looking across to Westminster Hall I can see column after column of Canadian war-veterans marching on their way to the Cenotaph in Whitehall. On Sunday they were in France to see King Edward unveil their Memorial at Vimy. Do these deeply moving spectacles—the march to the Cenotaph was headed by numbers of women, widows and mothers of those who had fallen—inflame the old unthinking patriotism, or will they take away from these ceremonies rather the determination that never again will they allow their governments to plunge them into war? The text of Mr. Baldwin's speech to the War Veterans is not out yet. But loud speakers were fixed in Palace Yard and some of the speech I could hear from my window. In particular—and it was loudly applauded—I heard him say that the world is the poorer now for the men we lost in the war, men who should be leading us now, and that if these men were alive today they would be determined that there should never be another war.

Another memorable speech has been made during the past week. Colonel Lindbergh has been visiting Germany and he spoke at a luncheon given by the German Air Ministry. It is interesting to find such a leader amongst airmen making so modern an appeal. Leaders in any particular field nowadays—which generally means specialists in some one particular field—are too often unable to see anything beyond the development of their own particular sphere, fail to see it in relation to society as a whole. Colonel Lindbergh, however, is acutely alive to the evils as well as the advantages that aviation has brought in its train. He sees that the one irretrievable fact is that now no nation can defend itself. "It is no longer possible," he said, "to shield the heart of a country with its army. The army can no more stop an air attack than a suit of mail can stop a rifle bullet. Aviation has created that most fundamental change ever made in warfare. *It has abolished what we call defensive warfare.* It has converted defence into attack."

Will the common people ever grasp this fact?

Even more striking was Colonel Lindbergh's second point. Aviation, he says, has introduced an entirely new factor: a new *time factor.*

> **"We have moved so fast that we have imposed an 'aeronautical time' on military tactics, taking away the old defence of astronomical time, which has probably been civilization's greatest safeguard in the past. . . . Within a day or two damage can be done which no period of time can ever repair."**

It is quite impossible to over-emphasize this idea—the idea that by means of bombing from the air, from which there is no escape and no protection, towns and their civilizations can be bombed out of existence within a day or two. No escape! The only retort the bombed people may make will be to bomb the towns of their enemies. Destroy, that is, more towns and peoples and the age-old beautiful things that have come down with them.

Eloquent testimony to the truth of Colonel Lindbergh's warning is being given to the world just now by the events which are happening in Spain. How the trouble there will end, no one can tell. At the moment it looks as if it will be war to the bitter end in Spain at the best: at the worst outside entanglements may embroil what is left of Spain with her neighbours. Be-

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cause it has been shown that the present Fascist rebellion was hatched in collaboration with German Nazi agents. And, into the bargain, Germany is now objecting to arms being supplied by foreign countries to the Spanish Government—pretending that to do so is for a foreign country to "intervene" (but of that more later). The point worth noting now is that in Spain, as Colonel Lindbergh prophesied, we see damage being done in a few minutes, damage which no period of time can ever repair. Seville Cathedral, it is rumoured, has been destroyed. This glorious place has been famous all over the world and all down the ages. And it is ironic to recall now the charter which the mediæval monks drew up when they first decided to build the cathedral. Let us, they said in it, build such an outstandingly beautiful cathedral that generations which come after us will think that we must have been mad! Well, aviation has seen to it that never again can men build anything so beautiful that its preservation will be a matter of course for all time.

It is so strange to think that the arch-fiend of the Fascist movement, Signor Mussolini, comes of a country which is crowded out with beautiful palaces and churches and paintings. As things are developing in his hands, and solely as the outcome of the spirit of war which he has deliberately fostered and praised, all the beauty of Italy will be bombed into the dust. And this man is supposed to be an arch-patriot.

Poor plain man in the street. What are his leaders going to do to save him? All their policy seems to be to re-arm and to hope there won't be war. But re-armament, as such, is a danger in itself. Apart from setting the pace for competition in armaments, it means poverty for the masses later on whether war breaks out or not. Re-armament has already wiped out the 1935 Budget Surplus. The Overseas Trade figures for June told the same story. Exports had fallen by over £1 million while the increase in imports rose to very nearly £10 millions. The increase in imports, of course, is due to the import of raw materials for the making of armaments. But apart from all this, re-armament now means a slump later on. Enormous numbers of men are being taken on by armament firms. But if there is not a war, how long is the armament programme to run on—and what will happen to these men at the end of it? What will happen to all the industries and services their employment has stimulated? Where there are increases in a working population, new shops, new cinemas and so on, spring up to cater for them. How is all this to be kept in commission?

It is the fashion in Government circles to comment on the "unhelpful" attitude of the Opposition. The Opposition, they say, have no other idea than to be obstructive. What would you do in our place they pathetically enquire. But as Mr. A. J. Cummings, writing in the *News Chronicle*, points out, to be asked such a question is a tall order, seeing the mess into which they have got us all!

Anyway the answer which he makes is perhaps worth pondering. He says that the present Prime Minister, "if he were really mad-keen about peace, might still save the situation." And he suggests that he should call into consultation at once all parties in the State and all the Dominion premiers and then announce to the world that the whole force of the British Empire would be thrown into the scale on the side of peace and collective security through the League, and that it would begin at once by proposing an all-European non-aggression, arbitration and mutual assistance treaty, coming into force when ratified by Great Britain, Russia, France and at least five other States.

The operative words there, as the lawyers say, are obviously those which speak of the *whole force* of the British Empire being thrown into the scale on the side of peace. If only our leaders could see their opportunity! What are they afraid of? Lord Beaverbrook and Lucie Houston? If another war comes, and European civilization goes finally under, what will future historians say of the way in which the mightiest Empire the world has ever seen threw away her opportunities—not only her opportunities, but her responsibilities? Because of course there is no escape from the truth that the greater your power, the greater your obligation. It is the duty of Great Britain to take a positive line, to announce a programme of reconciliation and reconstruction, to explain that programme to the world at Geneva, and then go ahead with it with the help of those who will join her. (Can there be any doubt that the other nations would join her?) The people everywhere, whatever their temporary affiliations, long for peace. Even the Dictators could not fail to listen to their people if such a spirit was actively abroad. Especially if we could convince these Dictators that the whole weight of the British Empire, re-inforced by other peace-loving nations, was ready alternatively to call their bluff!

It would indeed be wonderful if we could

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wake up one day to find that some leader had at last lived up to his title and given the world a lead. For the day has gone by when peace could be wooed by tentative measures. We can no longer put our faith in treaties renouncing this or treaties guaranteeing that. Witness the way in which Italy has torn up the Kellogg Pact and Germany the Treaty of Locarno.

The only thing that can save us now is a programme of action. Peace, non-aggression, as it is called, must first be agreed upon. And after peace, Arbitration. This will mean treaty revision perhaps and perhaps some colonies changing flags. (Treaty revision, the Little Entente have said, means War.) None of these is easy. It would have been easier a few years ago, before the Dictatorships reared their ugly heads, and a transfer of sovereignty would have been but from one democracy to another. But we can only deal with things as they are: remembering that no single wrong can be greater than the general wrong of war.

This does not mean though that we must go into the negotiations which are ahead of us resolved to purchase peace at any price. Peace can never be purchased. We must not, for instance, obtain the co-operation of Germany in renewed Locarno talks by allowing to her the condition she has been making—the condition that the talks shall be concerned with securing an agreement as regards Western Europe only. When Germany asks that, she is really asking that France and Britain shall give her a free hand to make war on Russia so long she does not make war upon France. To allow of that would be supping with the devil with a vengeance. Because it is well known that whenever Germany makes war on Russia, Japan has agreed to make war also. Nor can we purchase Italian co-operation by agreeing to her price. Italy's price is not merely iniquitous, it is humiliating. She wants to obtain recognition of her rape of Abyssinia: more than that, she wants the League of Nations to eat dirt and reverse their decision that in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute Italy was the aggressor. What it does mean is that we must try to ascertain, as a result of arbitration, what is the most equitable solution of the disputes that divide the nations and, having ascertained that, resolve to carry it through. Bearing in mind that those nations which are called upon to make special sacrifices in the general interests of peace, should receive some compensation from the general body of the nations. It has been observed, for instance, that one evil result of the Peace Treaties, of the attempt to break up Europe along the lines of self-determination, was that it created miles and miles of new customs barriers. In any transfer of territory, an economic *anschluss* might be simultaneously imposed over the whole neighbouring territories concerned. . . .

But the point to bear in mind is that if we are to save the situation we must act *now*. There is not a moment to lose. The triumph of the Italian dictator in Abyssinia has given a fillip to Fascism all over Europe. The Fascist dictators are egging on the rebels in Spain to a war to the bloody end, however bloody the end. They will stick at nothing, care nothing for the tragic desolation of Spain, because they see beyond it to their dream of Fascist supremacy in the Mediterranean. Part of Signor Mussolini's price is the reduction of British naval strength in the Mediterranean: if the Fascist revolution in Spain succeeds, he will take over Spanish bases for his ships. In this nightmare of Fascism triumphant, Germany is co-operating. When the Spanish Government raided the house in Spain which is the headquarters of the Nazi Labour Front, they found plans for co-operating in the present Fascist rebellion.

Indeed, it looks as if the next European war had already begun.....And, if it has, what is the good of talk of isolation as indulged in by the Beaverbrook press and company? How can we be isolated from Europe when, thanks to aviation, we are just exactly ten minutes away. (Let us never forget the new regime of aeronautical time). We must do something to check this rush towards war—for it is undoubtedly a rush. The German Government is not spending £800,000,000 a year on armaments *pour rire*. War is coming, if it is not already beginning.

London,
30th July, 1936.

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BOMBAY EXPERIMENTS IN THE EDUCATION OF ILLITERATE WORKMEN

By S. G. WARTY, M.A.

I

Illiteracy, as is well known, is the crying evil of India. Out of every 100 persons, no less than 92 are illiterate. Even in an advanced city like Bombay, which seems to progress on quite modern lines, only 25 per cent of the population is literate. Literacy is practically confined to the higher classes, while the working class population is almost wholly illiterate.

The efforts of the Government and the Local Bodies are directed to the education of the children only, while adult education as such does not exist. A few experiments on a very small scale have been made by private agencies, in scattered areas, on an unsystematic basis and in a haphazard fashion, but with indifferent results. It goes without saying that large experimentation of this kind will have to be undertaken before we can predicate results of any real value.

In February, 1935, the Bombay Adult Education Association started a Literacy Branch to carry out experiments in Bombay City on a systematic basis in the matter of spreading literacy among the workmen. I was put in charge of the work of organizing the classes and acquiring the necessary experience. Before now, such experiments in the City made by other agencies had ended in failure, and these experiments having been carried on on unsystematic lines, there was little experience on record regarding them to guide us. In other words, I had practically to start on a clean slate.

I hold that mass illiteracy among adults can never be liquidated especially in India unless the State and the Public Bodies take the responsibility upon themselves, but I also hold in present circumstances at least, that before this their responsibility is recognized by them, a great deal of organized work by private agencies will have to be in evidence, to convince the Public Bodies and the State, of the utility and the feasibility of such an enterprise.

Further, it did not seem to me a practical proposition, that private agencies would succeed to any material extent in the education of the working classes, without active assistance from the mill-owners. In a city like Bombay, I feel that for any real progress among the working classes in the matter of literacy, wholehearted co-operation from the mill-owners is absolutely essential.

Though therefore I began to start classes for the workmen with the assistance of such funds as the Association itself was able to place at my disposal, my efforts from the very first were directed towards enlisting the co-operation from the mill-owners. It must be stated here that mill-owners as a class are naturally suspicious of anything that is likely to stir the working classes. There are communists in Bombay and by reason of their activities much trouble has undoubtedly been caused to the industry. In these circumstances, to gain the mill-owners' confidence was the greatest problem.

Considerable press propaganda was carried on for the purpose, articles were written in the press, letters and appeals were made to the mill-owners and personal visits were also paid to them. Slowly but surely, this propaganda began to tell, and a few of the mill-owners could be persuaded to assist the movement. Their example is serving as a qualification to us to approach others. It is hoped that before long, if the Association is wise enough to proceed on sound lines, practical sympathies from many others may be obtained.

The proposal that is placed before the mill-owners in a practical shape is as follows :—Each mill-owner is to contribute a small amount of Rs. 15 per month to the Association and the latter is to appoint a teacher on Rs. 12 per month to teach two classes, each for one hour a day, either before the mill-work commences or after it is stopped. The shift system of working being now adopted in many mills, the two classes can be taken one after another. The balance of the amount, *i.e.*, Rs. 3, is to be utilised for contingent expenses. The supervision of these classes was provided free by the Association.

Where the mill-owners' co-operation is forthcoming, the class can be held in mill premises, in a place provided by the mill-authorities and no rent has to be paid for it, as in the case of classes outside the mills. Besides, lights, blackboards, benches and such other materials are also willingly provided by the

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mill-owners, for, once the responsibility is undertaken, it becomes a matter of prestige with them. Further, the workmen who attend the classes, have not to come there specially for the classes, as they come there to attend the mill-work. It is found that there is greater attendance in classes held in mill premises than in classes held outside the mills.

It must be understood that illiteracy is not regarded as a reproach in India, and workmen do not feel the slightest inclination to learn. The greatest difficulty therefore lies in inducing them to attend the classes. Reading books, exercise books, pencils have all to be supplied to them free at least in the beginning, and for this purpose the contingency amount out of the mill-owners' contributions is being spent.

II

From February 1935 to February 1936, fourteen literacy casses were started. The number has had to be limited, for, the Association with its meagre funds, had to start them on its own responsibility unassisted as yet by the mill-owners on an adequate scale. Further, it was thought that this number was sufficient to get the necessary experience of the difficulties to be encountered in the matter of organization as well as in the method of teaching.

The number enrolled in each class in mill premises is about 30 but the number in classes held outside the mills is much less and ranges between 10 and 20. For these and many other reasons, all future classes should be started in mill premises only, according as the necessary co-operation from the mill-owners is forthcoming. The total number of the students enrolled in all the classes together is nearly 320, and the attendance never goes beyond 50 per cent on the average even when the best efforts are made to induce the workers to attend.

Of the 14 classes, 11 are held in mill premises for mill-workers, one is a class held outside the mill but in the mill area and open to all adults, one is a class for office peons and one is a class for Harijans (the untouchables) held in an area colonized by the community. Experiences have been gained and recorded in regard to each of these classes. It is found that in the case of the office peons, illiteracy as such is not so common as among other workers, but they are anxious to learn English which may improve their prospects in the office. As regards the class outside the mills, it is difficult to keep up the regular attendance or increase the number on the roll. In the case of the class for the untouchables, one has to meet with great disappointments in the beginning as progress is painfully slow, practically nil for months together, but one should not lose patience.

The question as to what constitutes literacy has also to be decided. My own conception of a literate is that he should be able to write letters to others and read those which he receives. That is the standard laid down by the Census Commissioner also. Beyond that, I think, one need not aspire for the present in India. My experience shows that we can make a man fairly literate within six months, if he cares to attend the class regularly for one hour a day. Taking it for granted that the men attend for at least half the number of the working days of the class, he should be literate within one year. Making allowance for all contingencies, I have come to the conclusion that each class held in the mill premises, can make 20 persons literate each year.

It must be observed that the problem of adult education in the literacy branch is not the same everywhere in India. There is a vast difference specially between the rural areas and the urban areas like the City of Bombay. The worker in Bombay is not like the worker in the village. The latter is mostly an independent man, can take his own time to work in the field, lives in uncongested houses and ordinarily possesses considerable leisure. The worker in Bombay has to do very tiresome work for nine hours in the mill in the midst of nerve-destroying noise and lives in small, congested rooms in *chawls* most of which are insanitary. He lives away from his home in the districts, and in a very few cases, can bring his wife and children to Bombay. He takes his meals in hotels or in private families by arrangement, in which case he has to keep their time. After nine hours' continuous work in the mill, he is absolutely tired and is in urgent need of relaxation and recreation.

In such circumstances, the desire to learn, to be literate, even when keen—it is not so, however—is smothered. It sometimes seems even a cruelty to ask such a tired man to attend a class for another hour after his work. If he has a family in Bombay, he has to make his purchases and do other work connected with his home, for which he has to spend what leisure he has. For these reasons, it would appear that one should feel satisfied even with such success as usually attends the efforts, in such circumstances.

One other difficulty, often unforeseen, also arises. Even after the mill agrees to co-operate in the starting of the classes in its premises, the

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workers are afraid to join them even when willing, from fear of the jobbers. The jobbers are very powerful persons in Bombay mills. They have the whole labour force at their command, because the workers at start come to be employed in the mills through them. Besides, the jobbers carry on a very flourishing business in money-lending among them at very exorbitant rates of interest, and anything that is likely to impart spectacles to the ignorant and to stir their minds, such as literacy, is strongly opposed by them. The manager is also unable to deal with them roughly but has to use all his tact to keep them under control. It requires therefore great tact and patience in overcoming these difficulties.

Having dealt with the question of external organization, I shall now deal with internal organization, and first with regard to the appointment of teachers. It goes without saying that teachers in Adult Education classes are required to be men of some exceptional qualifications suited to the work in hand. But men so qualified and trained are not available for the present, and for a long time to come, experiments in Bombay will have to be carried on with the employment of ordinary teachers mainly recruited from the Municipal staff in their leisure hours, as the classes are generally held between 5 and 6 in the evening.

There is also the question of using the right kind of text-books, but such text-books specially suited to the adults are not available. Some Readers, advertised in the press, have not been found to be useful. But these and other kinds of Readers which are used for children have been introduced for experimental purposes, each sort in a particular class, and experience so far does not incline me in favour of any one of them in preference to the others.

It is clear that for workmen in Bombay, after due experimentation, suitable text-books will have to be compiled. This brings us to the question of the methods of teaching adults. Before however I describe the methods evolved by us so far, it would be pertinent to refer to another activity which was undertaken as part of the general scheme for the spread of literacy. "The uneducated man," says Prof. Zimmern, "is not he who cannot read or write or count or spell, but he who walks unseeing and unhearing, uncompanioned and unhappy, through the busy streets and glorious open spaces of life's infinite pilgrimage."

To open the minds of workmen, talks and easy lectures are organized on useful subjects, such as health and healthy habits, marriage and other ceremonies and the high expenses then incurred, our social customs, running into debts, the evils of drinking, talks on saints like Tukaram and Ramdas, talks on historical personages, easy lessons in geography, etc. Very often, advantage is taken of some contemporary event, such as the King's Silver Jubilee, and an amount of curious information is imparted in history, geography, etc.

Systematic studies of any subjects are not aimed at. All that is attempted is to move the minds of the workmen by giving some novel ideas, something curious that will make them think. At present, the organization being small, only one such talk is given once a week and hitherto only two centres have been tapped. No special expense has had to be incurred on this account so far. Sometimes the teachers themselves give the talks and sometimes outsiders are invited to deliver them. Each talk lasts for about 40 minutes and the average attendance varied from 30 to 40.

The effect of these talks is not immediately apparent. They work slowly and we may find some sediment deposited, some mind tissue grown active, after about two years if they are continued. These talks have great potentialities and my faith in them remains undimmed. They may also help to increase the strength of the regular literacy classes in course of time.

III

Let me now dwell on the methods of teaching which have been evolved through our experiments. When the class begins, the teacher starts with some little story, not so instructive as interesting. This story serves to fix the attention of the students on one thing, *i.e.*, the subject-matter of the story. It should be understood that the students are not only irregular in attendance but habitually unpunctual, and the story is the best possible method of engaging the students until a sufficient number arrive in the class.

The story is not to be merely narrated by the teacher in a dull fashion, but is to be built up by skilful gestures and humorous questioning, in order that the students in the class should not remain mere passive listeners, but may feel the pride of having co-operated in the building up of the story. Sometimes in place of the story, some conversation is opened on the day's topic, in the course of which some curious or useful information is imparted and paragraphs from newspapers are read out to the class.

The story or the conversation may take from 15 to 20 minutes and thereafter actual teaching

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of letters is attempted. Such letters only are taken as have some affinity in shape, and such points in the story are picked up as would establish connection between the story and the alphabets proposed to be taught during the lesson. Criticisms on the shape of the letters and their resemblance to some familiar objects are to be emphasized as aids to memory.

Our experience shows that haste in teaching letters leads to confusion and easy forgetting, and it does not seem advisable to teach more than three letters in any one of the lessons. No lesson should be of more than 45 minutes' duration and during the last five minutes at least, the teacher should revert to conversation on some interesting topic or on each student's experiences during the day, so that at the time of parting, the mind strained to some extent in the learning of the letters in the middle of the lesson, may again be relaxed and the students may go home with some little means of enjoyment.

The one distressing and almost invariable feature of every class is that, owing to the great irregularity of attendance, students in the same class are found at all stages of learning, and the teacher's task becomes increasingly difficult, as he is required to give personal attention to each of the students. One way to overcome this difficulty is to make each lesson an independent and self-contained one, so that it can be learnt even by a fresh entrant without the knowledge of the letters previously taught to the class. This, however, can succeed only to a limited extent, but the principle should be taken up for guidance in the framing of lessons.

A third point to be strictly observed is that in no cases and under no circumstances, should a student be held up to ridicule for inability to learn quickly or be rebuked even slightly if he has been absent for any day or days. Children are compelled to go to school, but adults come of their own free will. The desire to learn, once quickened, must be fostered by all means, and no injury should be done to it by word of mouth or even a nod of disapproval. The teacher should be kindness incarnate, a friend not only in need but even when no need exists.

These are a few points regarding methods which have been evolved. Certain other methods much advertised were tried, but on the whole, the methods described above seemed an improvement on all of them. The technique of these methods has yet to be worked out and presented in a course of regular lessons which would then form a Reader, to which may be appended instructions to teachers. All the same, while I do not underrate the importance of a particular technique, the teachers should not be bound down to them, but should be allowed sufficient freedom to adopt suitable modifications and put in their own details. Of all things, I hate mechanical imitation. It is lifeless; it kills the originality as also the enthusiasm of the teacher.

After all is said and done, the question of utmost importance as my experience has shown, is that of regularity of attendance. Here we find insuperable difficulties confronting us. Even in the best of classes the attendance is never more than 50 per cent. There are some people who place the greatest stress on the methods of teaching, but to my mind all efforts must be concentrated on increasing the regularity of attendance. The best methods of teaching may shorten the period of instruction by one-quarter but if the students do not attend regularly, these methods appeal to nobody.

The greatest need of the hour is patience. Quick results should not be expected and are never possible. Only after continuous and patient efforts for a sufficiently long period, will light begin to be seen. It is hoped that the experiences recorded here will form a stage in the direction of light.

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THE QUEST FOR BEAUTY

At Life's Oracle

By CYRIL MODAK, M.A.

The Question of the Pilgrim

Thousands of years ago men and women beheld beauty around them in the velvet verdure of the meadows and the crystal clearness of sylvan streams; in the burning blush of sunrise, the serene majesty of sunset, the grandeur of the star-bespangled heavens; in the enchantment of luxuriant springtime and the glorious bounty of autumn; in the wistful eyes of young lovers and the quenchless flame of mother-love. Their imagination was stronger than their reason. When they undertook the task of explanation they created mythical legends. In the *Mahabharata*, the Odyssey of the Hindus, there is a story of the birth of Beauty which for penetrating insight and symbolical significance is perhaps unrivalled in the mythological literature of the world. Once, so the story goes, both gods and demons fell to churning the Sea of Milk for the express purpose of obtaining *amrita* or the nectar of immortality. In the process of churning, the moon flew off to become a satellite of the earth and many a rich treasure was thrown up from the foaming deep. The churning did not cease. Presently, to the wonderment of gods and demons alike, from the swirling ocean there arose Lakshmi, goddess of Beauty and Prosperity, draped in the delicate folds of lotus-blooms, resplendent in her celestial loveliness. Thus did Vyasa, the celebrated poet of the *Mahabharata*, give poetic form to his intuition that Beauty is revealed in the process of seeking the draught of immortality. And he also proclaimed to the world that it is well with him who dwells in the house of Beauty, for Beauty is prosperity. *Shri* and *Lakshmi* are one. Hence, some sixteen centuries later in Greece, one of the greatest sages of the race concluded the *Phaedrus* with the prayer, "Give me beauty in the inner man; and may the outer and the inner man be at one." Socrates knew that the well-being and prosperity which he sought could not be secured apart from spiritual beauty.

"Why does man more than any other creature seem to be able to appreciate and interpret the beautiful in his environment?" asks the wandering pilgrim. This and allied questions have haunted man for many centuries since he first glimpsed in nature.

> The dreadful burning of the lonely God's
> Unuttered joy.

Man is a sort of amphibious creature, organic to the world, and yet sharing the insight needed to distinguish the *other* from the *self*, whereby alone judgment, evaluation, and interpretation become possible. Sensuously he is rooted to the world: intellectually he lives in another sphere. Facts of the objective world and experiences of the subjective world together become his clues. Neither is enough without the other. E. G. A. Holmes says,

> Vain the dream! Yet in the morning when the eastern
> skies are red,
> When the dew is on the meadows, when the lark soars
> up and sings . . .,
> Leaps up a sudden flame within me from the ashes pale
> and dead,
> And I see God's beauty burning through the veil of
> outward things.

Such testimonies cannot be relegated to the domain of 'idle dreams.' In the presence of certain phenomenal facts and external objects the intelligent being does experience a feeling that is not pleasure but more akin to exaltation, a transport of aching joy, and he exclaims, "A thing of beauty is a joy forever!" The experience partakes of the joy of discovery which has in it a twinge of pain; for, in the very act of discovery man desires to explore deeper, greater mysteries and know the Whole. The beautiful object, which causes the experience, is

> Like aught that for its grace may be
> Dear, and yet dearer for its mystery.

Is not this the most characteristic power of the beautiful, that it becomes a stimulus for an emotional as well as an intellectual and a conative response on the part of the human spectator? Through the windows of the senses the flute-call of Beauty reaches the inmost chambers of the heart and awakens the whole being. That is beautiful which heightens man's self-consciousness, making him intensely awake of his own supernatural inheritance, of his citizenship in that realm of profound silences and vast voids, where a voice says to him, "In

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Beauty thine own beauty thou hast found." The mood of exaltation produced by the beautiful seems meant to transport the individual beyond the distractions of the finite and particular, so that he may explore universal relationships, until at last he sees the least faint flicker of the Infinite. The poet testifies,

> When I from life's unrest had earned the grace
> Of utter ease besides a quiet stream;
> When all that was had mingled in a dream
> To eyes awakened out of time and place
> Then in the cup of one great moment's space
> Was crushed the living wine of things that seem;
> I drank the joy of very Beauty's gleam,
> And saw God's glory face to shining face.

The beautiful is purposive. The purpose of Beauty is to redeem the world. When desultory particulars and stray facts of the world-of-becoming, or the world-as-it-is, stand transfigured as parts necessary for the *ensemble* of the world-to-be, the world is redeemed. To this end the Beautiful draws man, eluding his grasp at every step, leading him to the Infinite, that is, to itself.

> It is the melody of all sweet music,
> In all fair forms it is the hidden grace;
> In all I love a something that escapes me,
> Flies my pursuit, and ever veils its face.

Man is not satisfied with the finite. Man rebels against the merely evanescent. Man cannot be content with hugging finite, fleeting pleasure. He longs to realize the Infinite. He seeks the beautiful primarily as a child seeks its mother, knowing by instinct that nothing else will satisfy, that nothing else will give him what he desires. He observes objects that have grace and proportion, listens to harmonious sounds, and feels an indescribable charm which he attributes to the effect of beauty on his heart. He learns to recognize the beautiful perceptually as that which manifests a perfection of form, colour, or harmony to delight his senses.

> A yearning to fulfil
> Desire of beauty, by vain reaching forth
> Of sense to hold and understand the vision
> Made by impassioned body.

In his imagination he pictures ideal configurations of form and rhythms of colour and sound, and when he discovers in the world of things that which corresponds faithfully to his ideal and completes its meaning by giving it objective actuality, he calls it beautiful. He learns to recognize the beautiful ideationally as that which supplies in the actual world the counterpart of his imaginative constructions of perfect form, colour, or harmony.

It is insufficient, inadequate, and unsatisfactory only to feel beauty through the senses and perceive the objective fulfilment of one's ideals of beauty. Man reflects on his observations. He endeavours to understand his relation with the myriad objects, impressions, and feelings of his aesthetic experience. He analyses, classifies, and works on experimental hypotheses until he has arrived at a generalization or a concept. This concept is like the powerful lens whereby his mind takes a snapshot of a panoramic field of related experience with all the particulars harmonized as in a picture. When this concept brings within his view a picture of that which thrills him to the core of his being, making his mind keenly awake and urging his will and desire to purposive creativity, he calls it the concept of beauty. For, man recognizes the beautiful conceptually as that which offers the most authoritative witness for the presence within his own nature of a response to that stimulus which exalts him emotionally, liberates him intellectually, and directs his conative activity. Reacting to this stimulus on the reflective level man forms a concept of the beautiful which meets the logical necessity of the total situation wherein he finds himself the conscious interpretor of the objective-subjective relationship. If man's reaction to the beautiful were limited to the perceptual level there would be no need for further inquiry, as it would be called an illusion. But an aesthetic experience arouses sensations and impressions which set the machinery of his mind in motion and he is obliged to form a concept of beauty. Can the potentiality of thought exceed the actuality of being? Or must we accept the ontological argument and hold that since man *must* think Beauty, Beauty must be?

To remain at the perceptual level is to leave one's deeper nature unsatisfied. It leads to Augustine's mood of contrition,

> "Too late loved I thee, O thou Beauty of ancient days, yet ever new: too late I loved thee."

To separate the conceptual from the perceptual is to forget that concepts without percepts are phantoms as percepts without concepts are masks. Elizabeth Barret Browning, though unusually cumbrous, aptly phrases it in *Aurora Leigh*,

> Without the spiritual, observe,
> The natural 's impossible,—no form,
> No motion: without sensuous, spiritual
> Is inappreciable,—no beauty or power:
> And in this twofold sphere the twofold man
> (For still the artist is intensely a man)
> Holds firmly by the natural, to reach
> The spiritual beyond it.

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TRAVELLERS IN THE NIGHT

By SITA DEVI

Synopsis of Previous Chapters

Satyasaran, the son of Shaktisaran, a millionaire, has fallen on evil days. With a small sum of money borrowed from his sister Saroja, he goes to Rangoon to seek his fortune. Here, on the first day, luck leads him to a narrow lane, where some people from the Madras Presidency are busy effecting the sale of a young girl named Kanakamma. Satyasaran, aghast at the sight, rescues the girl from the clutches of the villains and has to spend two hundred rupees over it. The girl is deeply grateful and falls in love with him. Satyasaran with the help of another Bengali gentleman makes arrangement for the girl to stay in a Bengali family as an Ayah. But after some days, Satyasaran has all his money stolen and is reduced to extreme difficulties. He is on the point of being turned out into the streets and starving to death when Kanakamma comes to his rescue, by selling herself to her former admirer and giving the money to Satyasaran. She goes away immediately afterwards and he loses all trace of her. After some enquiry, he learns that the girl has gone away to Bassein, with her purchaser. Satyasaran returns to India determined to make good and rescue the girl again. He takes service in Allahabad, and here falls in love with Tapati, a daughter of his employer Bireswar Babu. A marriage is arranged between them though the girl's mother is not much in favour of such a poor bridegroom.

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TAPATI'S mother did not seem much pleased with the news of her daughter's engagement, though she did not make a scene, as had been feared by her husband. She remained silent for a while with a gloomy face, and then said, "This son-in-law won't be a match for the other two. He has neither home nor relatives. He would be a dependant on us practically."

"What does it matter?" answered her husband. "Let him stay with us. We have got no son and the other daughters have become total strangers. They have not the right even to look at their parents, even if they die unattended, so high and mighty have they become. Do you want Tapati to follow in their wake? Then who is going to look after us in our old age?"

"You must not be so selfish," said the lady. "Let my daughters remain for ever in their husbands' houses. I don't mind if they don't look after us. We won't live for ever. Girls are born only to be given away to others."

"Such is women's intelligence," cried Bireswar Babu in anger. "Do you ever recollect that I spent nearly sixteen thousand rupees after each of your precious sons-in-law? And what have I got in return? They are rich, of course, but neither of them is a match for Satyasaran in culture, character or descent. Today he is poor, but had his father been alive, he could have kept five hundred such people as servants. And what do you mean by saying that we won't last for ever? My father lived up to ninety and my uncle is still alive. Must we go and live in the poor-house, for the comfort of our sons-in-law? Are not daughters children of their parents as well as sons? Have they no duty towards them?"

The old lady turned up her lips in scorn. "Now don't bother me with your words," she said. "Since you have settled everything between father and daughter, my words won't alter the situation. Who ever listens to me? I am like a figure of wood, to all intents and purposes. But we must arrange everything for the marriage. The boy has no relatives at all. I am bed-ridden and you are nearly blind. So you must write to our sons-in-law. They must come and look after everything."

"Oh indeed!" said Bireswar Babu. "As if everything would remain undone, unless your precious sons-in-law set their hands to it. Even a dead elephant is worth lacs, do you know that proverb, my dear? You will see how perfectly I shall manage, even if I don't see well. And you are mistaken about Satyasaran's family. His parents are dead, but he has got relatives enough in his native village. Our Akhil's wife is his own sister."

"I know that, but what good is she in this case?" asked his wife. "She is engrossed with her own illness. Besides she is in Switzerland. But if he has got other relatives, you must inform them. And if you don't want to write, I must write to my daughters and sons-in-law. It is a marriage after all, and they cannot be left out.

"Do as you please," said Bireswar, looking rather displeased. "You never knew the right from the wrong." With that he left the room.

Satyasaran had left his room, while Tapati was still sitting there. "Go to your mother, darling," Bireswar said to his daughter. The wise old man knew well enough that his wife would never be able to hold out against her

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youngest child for more than two or three minutes.

Tapati went and bowed down to her mother's feet. The old lady drew her into her arms and began to cry. Her weeping was enough to spread the news throughout the house. Kati, the maid-servant, brought out the conch-shell and began to blow on it vigorously. All the servants gathered before the bedroom door and began to clamour for "bakhsish." Satyasaran sat alone in his room and wondered what all this joyous clamour could mean.

Though he remained at home the whole of that day, he could not meet Tapati alone again. Her mother kept her busy all the time with numerous tasks. It looked as if Tapati was not the bride herself, but the manager for some one else's wedding.

Next morning, when Satyasaran entered the dining room, he found Tapati standing by the table, arranging the tea cups. Her father had not yet arrived. Satyasaran went and stood close to her, asking "Am I permitted to go to the shop today?"

Tapati blushed rose-red. "Have I said that you can't go to the shop except with my permission?" she said shyly. "You can go certainly if you are feeling well enough."

Satyasaran stroked her rosy cheek as he said, "I shall have to act with your permission for the rest of my life, so I should practise a bit of obedience in advance. But are you going to address me so formally, even now?"

"I cannot change entirely so soon," said Tapati. "It will come gradually."

Bireswar Babu was heard coming out of the bedroom. Satyasaran moved off to the other side of the table. Perhaps Tapati's parents might not like so much intimacy with their daughter before the marriage. Satyasaran had been brought up in conservative surroundings and had liked it hitherto. Bride and bride-groom never meet each other before marriage in orthodox society. But they were differently placed. Their marriage was not brought about by others. They had approached each other themselves, driven by the urge of their own hearts. So how could they keep the distance, sanctioned by orthodox etiquette? Tapati's parents might be displeased, if they came to know about Satyasaran's behaviour. Bireswar Babu might overlook it, but his wife would never do so. But still Satyasaran knew that he would never be able to control himself. Whenever he saw Tapati before him, his heart overflowed with joyous excitement like a river on full moon night.

Bireswar Babu came in and drew up a chair to the table. "Please make me a good cup of tea today, little mother," he said. "Are not you going to make my tea, even after you are married? Or, are you going to become a stranger like your sisters?"

Tapati looked at him with eyes full of wonder. Then she said, "Why, father, am I not going to stay here any longer?"

"I want you to stay, my darling," said Bireswar Babu. "If you two go away, my home would become crippled as well as my business. So I would like to hear what you have to say about future arrangements. What do you say, my dear boy? The decision lies with you. Are you willing to stay on?"

"Yes, sir," replied Satyasaran. "I have decided to stay on for the present. If ever I feel it necessary to change my plans, I shall let you know."

"It will never be necessary," said the old gentleman. "Don't you be afraid of that. All my property, including the shop, is my own. These are not hereditary, so no man has any right to say anything about these. I can leave them to anyone I choose. My sons-in-law would never dare to object to any arrangements regarding them. They have extorted their shares to the full from me."

Satyasaran began to feel extremely awkward. He did not know what to say. What made the old man think that he was speaking about money or property? What a shameful thing! He sincerely hoped that Tapati too had not made the same mistake. She would think him a most worldly-minded person in that case.

However, Bireswar Babu himself changed the topic and poor Satyasaran sighed with relief. "If you are feeling well today, my boy, you can look in at the shop once," he said. "You know what scoundrels the others are. You need not stay the whole day. Go after breakfast and come back at two or half past two. What do you say, my little mother?"

Tapati blushed hotly and remained silent. How silly of her father! Was she really Satyasaran's guardian, that he must not stir out without her permission?

"Yes, I will go to the shop," said Satyasaran in reply to Bireswar Babu's words.

He finished his tea, and went back to his own room. He felt extremely reluctant to leave Tapati's presence, but he was afraid of the old man's tongue. He might say something again which would be embarrassing to Satyasaran. So he thought it better to go away. He finished

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his breakfast and began to get ready to start for the shop. But Tapati's mother sent for him at this moment. That is rather good, thought Satyasaran. The unbroken silence on the part of the old lady had made him think that she had decided to ignore him till the moment of marriage.

He entered the old lady's bedroom and found her seated ready. She had already bathed and put on a sari of white silk with red borders. There was a silver dish by her side, full of rice and 'Durba' grass. A maid-servant was standing by with a conch-shell. As Satyasaran appeared before the door, Tapati's mother welcomed him, saying "Come in, my dear boy, come in. Today is an auspicious day, so I thought of blessing you now. Otherwise I could have sent for you yesterday, as you are in the same house. When I gave my other daughters in marriage the betrothals and blessings were performed with a good deal of ceremony. But this time we must do without any ceremony, as we have become old and incapacitated. I have written to all our relatives to come over at the time of marriage, as we must have a proper show then. You see how ill I am and in what a state the old man is. Who is to take charge of the arrangements? And your only sister too, is now away in Switzerland. Else she could have managed everything on your side."

As the old lady paused to take breath, Satyasaran bowed down to her feet in a hurry and thus finished his own part of the formalities. The lady blessed him with strict adherence to orthodox rites, by placing rice and 'Durba' grass on his head and placing two guineas in his hand. The maid-servant made the house ring with the sound of the conch-shell. The other servants rushed in to have a look at the ceremony. After this Satyasaran was allowed to go, and he proceeded straight to the shop. Tapati would be a great loser in every respect, he thought, as he was being driven there. Her other sisters must have received costly presents at the time of their betrothals. But Satyasaran had no relatives at hand that he might requisition them to come and bless Tapati formally. It would have been very convenient for him if his sister had been here at this time.

As he entered the shop, he found that the good news had travelled faster than himself. No body said anything to him, but their beaming faces clearly expressed their knowledge of it. They knew that luck had played into Satyasaran's hand. Only Lalmohan dared to approach him, and bowed to him with extra politeness. "I congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of all the employees," he said.

Satyasaran knew well enough that the congratulations were far from sincere. Still he had to smile and thank the fellow.

He did not remain long at the shop that day. As soon as the afternoon was gone, he began to feel extremely restless. He was getting quite undisciplined, he thought with regret, but he could not control himself for all that. He finished some of the work he had in hand somehow, and left the rest in Lalmohan's hand and left for home quite early. As soon as he had passed out of sight, the men began to laugh and cut jokes at his expense.

Arriving at home, Satyasaran went straight to his own room and flung himself on his bed. He had rushed back, frantic for a sight of Tapati, but where was she now? Perhaps she was in her own room. But Satyasaran had not yet earned the right to cross that sacred threshold. As it was, he was taking far too much liberty for a Hindu home. He did not dare to take more. How could he inform Tapati about his arrival? If she knew that he had come back, she would give him the chance, he so earnestly desired. He did not want tea at that hour, but he stood at his door and shouted for the servant Panhu, to bring him a cup of tea. Then he sat on his bed and looked expectantly at the door.

His wish was gratified at last. Tapati came and stood by his door, her face smiling and sweet. "I have put your tea in the dining room," she said.

Satyasaran got up at once and pulled Tapati into his arms. "Who asked you to make tea?" he asked.

"You did," said Tapati, laughingly shaking her head. "You know that Panhu never makes tea."

Satyasaran kissed her sweet face again and again, then let her go. How charming she looked, when she blushed! He gazed and gazed at her, yet was not satisfied.

"But the tea is getting cold," said Tapati shyly.

"Let it," said Satyasaran. "Much do I care about the tea."

"You are very naughty," said Tapati. "And I took so much trouble over it for nothing. The kitchen fire had gone out and I had to light the stove to heat the water." Satyasaran took up her pretty little hand and kissed it again. "Then of course I must take it, since you took so much trouble to prepare it. Let us go to the dining room."

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They entered the dining room and sat down. The tea was lukewarm by this time, but that did not seem to matter at all. Satyasaran drained the cup to the last drop, while talking to Tapati.

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A few days later, Gopal Chowdhuri wrote from Rangoon, in answer to Satyasaran's letter. The gentleman had gone to Bassein as he had promised. The address given by Kanakamma's uncle proved to be correct. He had found the girl living there. She was in good health she said, though she looked somewhat reduced. She was in no want of money. Gopal Babu had enquired of the neighbours, who said that the fat Madrasi treated her well. He never used violence on her, at least in public. Kanakamma had asked a lot of questions about Satyasaran. She wanted to know whether he had got a job and was well and whether he had any chance of returning to Burma in the near future. She also wanted to know whether Satyasaran remembered her.

Satyasaran sat like one turned to stone for a while, with the letter in his hand. He saw only endless darkness in front of him and not a ray of light. Even Tapati's face was lost in that horrible gloom.

Lalmohan was seated near him. He noticed Satyasaran's manner at once. Though he felt extremely curious, he curbed his eagerness and waited. But as Satyasaran said nothing, his curiosity got the better of him and he asked, "Is there any bad news, sir?"

Satyasaran came to himself and replied: "No, nothing bad." He did not want to divulge this secret to any one. He pocketed the letter, drew some papers before him and tried to concentrate on the work in front. Lalmohan went away, his curiosity unsatisfied. But he managed to note that the letter had arrived from Burma.

Satyasaran returned home late in the evening. These few days he had always left office much before his time on some excuse or other. Today he forced his reluctant mind to work on, and until he had finished all of his work, he did not budge from his seat.

The lights had been turned on in every room, when at last he returned. He crept into his room, unseen and turned off the light. He could not bear it any longer. But the room could not be totally darkened, as some amount of light from the streets filtered in through the shutters. It became full of mysterious shadows in that half light.

Tapati had become extremely impatient at his delay: she did not wait for his call but came and stood by the door. "Why are you lying down?" she asked anxiously. "Are not you going to have your tea?"

Satyasaran did not get up from his bed, even at her appearance. "I am feeling very tired," he said. "I won't have tea. I shall have my dinner after a while."

Tapati became even more anxious at the tired note in his voice and coming into the room, turned on the light. She approached the bed and asked, "What is the matter now? Are you feeling unwell again? Why did you stay so late at the shop?"

Satyasaran took her by the hand and drew her to him. "I shall never be well again, Tapati," he said. "I am equally ill in body and mind. You have still time to think over your decision, whether to accept such a burden for life or not."

Tapati stroked his forehead gently. "Why do you brood on such things?" she asked. "I am far more unhealthy than you are, and far more likely to prove a burden to you. Still I am not feeling at all afraid."

Satyasaran pressed her soft palm on his hot forehead and said, "Very well, I will not brood on this any longer. But never accuse me in future, my darling, that I cheated you about myself. I have no courage to confess to you, but whenever I have tried to do so, you have prevented me. Don't forget this."

Tapati pulled away her hand from his, and said, "Come outside with me. What is the use of sitting in the dark moping?"

Satyasaran followed Tapati to the drawing room. He tried to drive away the spectre of the past from his mind in her sweet company. He talked to her, he listened to her singing and sometimes gazed silently at her. He was a cheat, no doubt about it. But he could not confess it to Tapati. As the famine-stricken are not ashamed to steal, so Satyasaran was not ashamed to cheat and prevaricate. Tapati was now the only solace of his life. If he lost her, he would not live. So he must now bind her to himself by any means.

Next day he went to the shop and drew two hundred rupees as his salary. He went himself to the post office and sent a hundred and fifty rupees to Gopal Babu. He also wrote to the gentleman asking him to remit the money to Kanakamma. He also asked Gopal Babu to inform him now and then about the girl. He feared Lalmohan's prying eyes. So he wrote the letter also from the post office and not from the shop.

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He tried thus to soothe his troubled conscience. As if his debt to Kanakamma could ever be repaid with money! He had paid her back, but not a ray of comfort visited his sore heart. It became heavier instead at this attempt at self delusion.

Next day, while Satyasaran was sending out his soiled clothing to the washerman's he missed Gopal Chowdhuri's letter from his pocket. Perhaps he had mislaid it, he thought, and searched through every pocket of his other tunics. But he never found it. A nameless terror slowly began to pervade his mind. Had anyone taken it away intentionally? Who could do it and why should he do it? No one would gain very much by harming him. Still he felt extremely depressed. It was a small matter after all, but small incidents had led to great tragedies before this.

Meanwhile Bireswar Babu was quite busy, making arrangements for the approaching wedding. The next month was auspicious but beyond that stretched a long expanse of inauspicious time. So the wedding must be celebrated in course of the next month and preparations for the same must be pushed on. His wife was continually writing to her other daughters and sons-in-law, but it was doubtful whether they would be able to arrive much before the wedding. So the old lady had to manage everything as far as she could from her bed. If Tapati had been as well versed in worldly lore as her elder sisters, she could have helped her mother much at this juncture. But unfortunatey, she was quite different She could not even say definitely what kind of ornaments she liked most. About clothes she had more definite views. Her mother had decided to entrust Nikhil's wife Sarojini with the sole charge of having the ornaments made. The old lady had some faith in Sarojini's good taste. Tapati already possessed two large wardrobes full of rich clothing. This was her only luxury. So one or two costly Benares silks for the wedding and going away would be all that was necessary in that line. And what would be the use of buying rich dresses? The girl was not even going away from her father's house and she had no relatives on her husband's side who would criticise her trousseau. No utensils need be given, as she would not set up a separate home. Her father would of course insist on giving her some furniture. The bridegroom must be given as rich presents as the other sons-in-law had received. The old lady could have economised on this point, had her husband been amenable to reason, but he was totally devoid of this quality. If he ever suspected that Satyasaran had not been given as rich presents as the husbands of his other daughters, he would storm and rage and place his wife in an awkward position in the presence of everybody. So the old lady prudently forebore to try any economy in this direction. The bridegroom was not accepting any dowry, that in itself meant a saving of a few thousand rupees.

A cable had been sent to Saroja and Akhil, informing them about the marriage. They had cabled back their good wishes. It was uncertain whether they would be able to come over for the wedding. Bireswar Babu was waiting for a letter from the couple. If they held out some hopes of coming over, he was ready even to postpone the date of the marriage. In the meantime Bireswar Babu had discovered an uncle of Satyasaran's. The old man lived in his native village and he was a first cousin of Shaktisaran. Whatever else he possessed or did not, he possessed a name right enough. So the letter of invitation could be issued in his name and during the ceremony, he could act as the bridegroom's guardian. A few days before the wedding, Satyasaran would have to rent a separate house and remove there. It would never do to celebrate his wedding from his father-in-law's house. He must at least drive in state to the bride's house. The few hundred rupees that would be spent on these affairs, Bireswar Babu was quite willing to give to Satyasaran, if he would but accept it. But if the young man positively refused to accept the money, then he must be given some money from the shop, as advance salary. And some other relatives of his must be unearthed from somewhere. A bridegroom needed a party. Satyasaran had relatives enough in his village home. If they were given some money for the journey, none of them would refuse to come over, as Allahabad was a famous place of pilgrimage. Bireswar Babu decided to talk things over with Satyasaran one of these days.

The bride's parents were busy with such like thoughts. But about the state of the bride's mind, nobody knew anything, not even the bridegroom. She was reticent by nature, even while in the company of Satyasaran she did not talk much. Satyasaran too did not feel quite at ease when he tried to talk to her. He tried his best, but his heart upbraided him constantly. He would sit silent, holding Tapati by the hand and gazing at her face. He looked away resolutely from the past and he was afraid of looking forward to the future. He tried to live in the present and in the present only. There was

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none but Tapati in his life, there had been none and there would be none. He repeated this constantly to himself and tried to change a lie into a truth.

The arrangements for the wedding progressed steadily. Nikhil and Sarojini had written a congratulatory letter on receipt of the auspicious news. Nikhil was really and truly glad, but Sarojini's joy was put on for the most part. But she was sincerely glad on being entrusted with the charge of getting the jewels and ornaments for Tapati. She liked this task very much. It did not matter even if the jewels were not intended for her own self. She had written a very long letter to her venerable aunt. She wanted to know a thousand and one details. How many pieces of jewellery were there to be? How much would the gold ornaments weigh? How many pieces were to be made of pure gold and how many were to be set with jewels? Was there to be any enamelling? Which kind of stones would Tapati prefer, and so on. The old lady was duly impressed and Sarojini rose very much in her estimation. She had gathered together a good many catalogues from jewellers' shops and were pouring over them incessantly. She called Tapati now and then, but the girl could give her very little help in these matters.

A letter from Saroja arrived in due time. She had not been cured completely as yet. The doctors did not advise her to return. They wanted her to stay on at the sanatorium until her cure was complete, as it would be difficult for her to return if once she went away. She had sent six hundrtd rupees to Satyasaran for a wedding gift and four hundred rupees for Tapati.

Satyasaran felt rather depressed at first on receipt of this letter. His sister was the sole surviving member of his own family and she too could not be present at his wedding. Then he tried to comfort himself with the thought that this marriage was very much of their own making. Neither his family nor Tapati's had any share in it. So they had not much sympathy for the event. Satyasaran and Tapati, both of them, were somewhat aloof from the world in which they lived. So the world did not concern itself very much in their affairs.

But the money was very welcome. Even the simplest of weddings costs some money, and Satyasaran was very much relieved on being able to meet the expenses himself. It would have been awkward if he had to ask money of Bireswar Babu for this purpose. He should make some presents to Tapati on the day before the marriage, but he had not the slightest idea about what he was expected to give. He had no Bengali acquaintances in Allahabad, who could help him. So he too was obliged to fall back on Sarojini for help. He wrote to her asking for information on every point. She must let him know what kind of presents he had to make to his future bride and if possible she must buy the presents in Calcutta and send them over to him.

Sarojini indulged in a great deal of witticism in her reply. She promised to get all the necessary clothing and jewellery for Satyasaran. She wanted some intimate information about Tapati in order to get the things. She was ready even to buy the sweetmeats and curds, but how was she to send them to Allahabad?

Satyasaran had not expected such cordial help from her. He replied to her letter, thanking her profusely and informing her that he had sense enough at least to buy sweets and curds. He sent her seven hundred rupees for the purchase of clothes and ornaments. After this he began to believe that the marriage might really take place after all.

But on the same day, he received another letter from Rangoon, as soon as he arrived at the shop. He opened it and nearly fainted at its contents. Gopal Babu had informed him that he was in receipt of the money sent by Satyasaran. He had not sent it by money order to the girl for fear of its falling into the hands of the fat Madrasi. He had gone to Kalabasti instead, to enquire of the girl's aunt whether she or her husband was willing to proceed to Bassein with the money and hand it over personally to Kanakamma. The old woman had replied that Kanakamma was suffering from small-pox and neither she nor her husband would go near the wretched girl now for any sum of money. Gopal Babu did not know what to do, when he got this terrible news. After some thought he had sent all the money to a Bengali doctor of his acquaintance in Bassein, asking him to proceed to Kanakamma's house and treat her.

Satyasaran sat down and stared stupidly before him. After a while he got up and began to walk about the room. He did not know what he ought to do. What could he do for the afflicted girl from such a long distance? He could not go there. He could but send some more money for her.

He became startled at the state of his own mind. Was he reduced to such a depth of degradation that he could find cause for joy in

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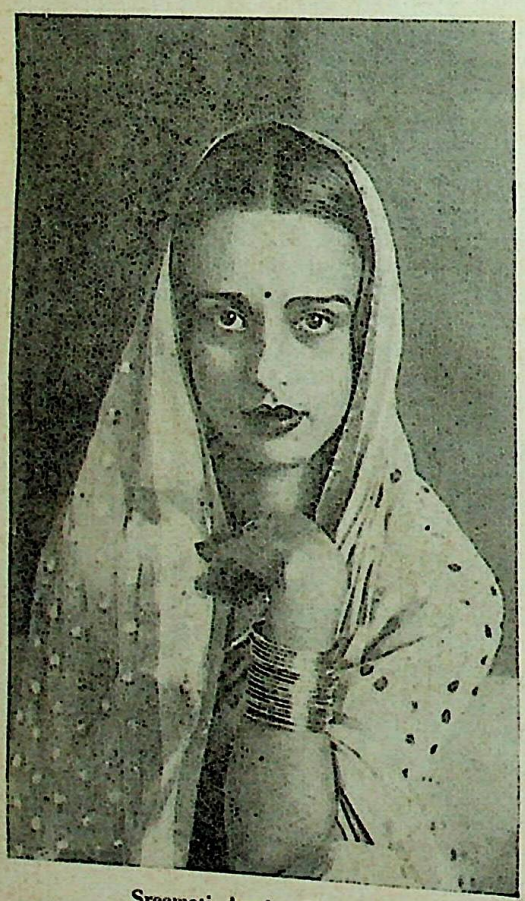
this terrible news? Some one seemed to whisper in his ear that the day of deliverance was at hand. But was this the only path, through which deliverance could come? Was he to rejoice because he had fallen below the standard of humanity? He had not the ability and power to pay back his debt. But he had hitherto repented of his short-comings. That had been his only expiation. But was that too going to be denied him? Was his new life going to begin just when he had touched the lowest depth of futility and disgrace?

(*To be continued*)

AMRITA SHER-GIL AND HER ART

By BARADA UKIL, F.R.S.A. (London)

During my visit to Simla in May last, curiosity led me one morning to "The Holme," a beautiful bungalow in Summer Hill, where a young lady artist of our country, Amrita Sher-Gil, has been working quietly but assiduously in her studio (specially built at the other end of the compound with all necessary arrangements) since she returned from Europe about a year and a half after completing her most successful academic career at the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* in Paris. I had come to know this talented young artist through four of her paintings exhibited at the All-India Art Exhibition which was held at the Hotel Imperial, New Delhi, last winter. Her pictures had at once struck me by their vigour, colour scheme and originality in the treatment of her subjects and ideas.



Sreemati Amrita Sher-Gil

I was ushered into her studio when she was busy at the time with her work. I was introduced to Amrita Sher-Gil, a delicately built almost girlish looking but extremely charming young lady. On one side of the studio stood the easel on which lay a newly begun canvas, a picture of a day-labourer, and at one corner I noticed among others another unfinished picture of a beggar woman which attracted my attention. Both the subjects appeared to me as epitomes of Indian misery. I saw a pathetic-looking young lanky fellow sitting at one end of the studio facing the wall and posing for her. (Amrita Sher-Gil prefers to work from model, which she finds helpful for giving expression to her ideas and 'ideals.') One day I found her busily engaged on the unfinished picture of the beggar woman, the model posing for her, leaning against the wall, with her two children. The whole scene evoked spontaneous sympathy at the wretchedness and the misery of the land. I could at once visualise the underlying psychological reason that had overpowered this highly gifted young artist to choose for her subjects only the sad and miserable aspects of Indian life. Amrita Sher-Gil is not only one of the most talented artists of our land but she is also an exceptionally cultured and highly educated young lady

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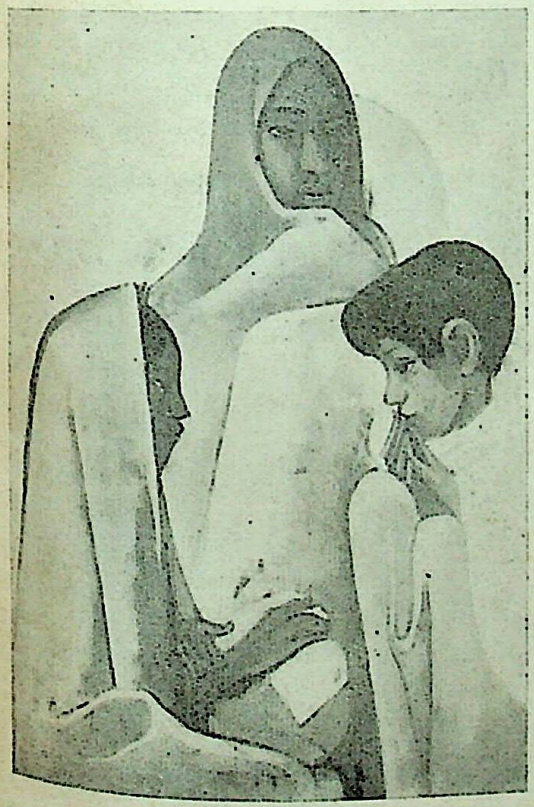
with a strong personality having very clear and definite views about Art in general and Indian Art in particular. Asked as to why she had chosen to depict only the sad and dark side of Indian life through her pictures, she replied, "I wish to be an interpreter of the atrocious physiological misery that abounds in our country and which has made a profund impression on me. Art, it is my conviction, must be connected with the soil if it is to be vital." On another occasion, during our discussions on Art, she told me that "Naturalism even at its best is only an empty formula, the faculty of copying more or less correctly the object before one. Real Art is Stylisation, the faculty for Creating, evolving new forms to correspond to one's conception of the essence, the inner meaning of one's subject." Surely, one who holds such definite views about life and work will one day give a lead in the field of Art of the country.

Born in 1913, of a noble and highly cultured family of the Punjab, Amrita Sher-Gil has manifested a natural aptitude for the art of painting from her very childhood. Her exceptional talent and natural inclination towards Art were responsible for her parents taking her to Europe to give her a proper training in the art of painting. She went to Paris early in 1929 with her parents and after she had studied for about three months under Pierre Vaillant at the Academy of the *Grand Chaumiere*, she competed for and gained admission to the



Beggars

Mother India

Ecole des Beaux Arts (a State Institution and only for students of very high academic merit). Amrita Sher-Gil was the first Indian to gain admission and to work under Prof. Lucien Simon in the Studio of the *Ecole des Beaux Arts*.

During the three years of her study in the *Ecole des Beaux Arts*, Amrita Sher-Gil won the first prizes for Portrait and Still-life competitions for three consecutive years,—a very rare and unique distinction for any art-student, particulary for a young Indian lady, who was hardly 20 years of age then.

At the Grand Salon (see. *Nationale des Beaux Arts*), 1932, Amrita Sher-Gil exhibited one picture, "Torso," for the first time, which at once attracted the attention and praise of many well-known art critics. The following year (1933) she exhibited a large composition, "Young Girls," which was declared to be the best picture of the year by the Jury and gained for her the "Associateship" of the Grand Salon, she being the youngest artist to gain this most coveted distinction that year and so far the only Indian (and probably the only Oriental) artist

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to achieve it. It was quite an exceptional case to be elected an Associate of this great Art Institution the second time one exhibited. She is the only artist also in the East to have the distinction of exhibiting her work at the *Salon des Tuilleries*, 1934, which is considered as the best institution for Exhibition of Modern Art in the world, where no artist, unless invited by the authorities to do so, can exhibit.

During the latter part of her stay in Paris, Amrita Sher-Gil had hired a studio and worked on her own until she came back to India in December, 1934. She deviated considerably from her rather academic style towards the last few months of her stay in Paris, as Academism had already ceased to interest her, and since then she has been working in her own studio at Simla evolving a new style which is more in conformity with the indigenous art of the country for giving expression to her ideas and 'ideals.' She is more interested in depicting the miserable and pathetic aspects of Indian life than anything else, as will be evinced by her painting, "The Beggars." Exceptional pictorial merit combined with vigour and acute realism characterised her work in Europe and these were responsible for the great distinction Amrita Sher-Gil achieved so early in life. But now (excepting in portraiture, where naturally she has to adhere to a more conventional style, her portraits are noted for their striking likenesses) and apart from their technical excellence and her masterly way of handling an alien medium, her pictures are noted for the individuality and originality that characterises the work of all great artists and which at the same time distinguishes the work of one from the other and goes to making the Art of a country varied and alive. She dislikes literary and descriptive painting. The significance of her work lies on the higher, the more abstract plane of line, colour and design. Amrita Sher-Gil is the only artist whom I have found employing a foreign medium boldly with confidence and great success in depicting Indian themes.

Of the pictures reproduced here, two ("Torso" and "Young Girls") are examples of her old academic style, which she has discarded since and other pictures reproduced here are illustrations of her present work. "The Villagers" was exhibited along with another at the Grand Salon in Paris this summer, where it was highly appreciated and admired and elicited the following statement from the art critic Gaston Derys—"her powerful and individual talent seems to have found its climate."

A SURVEY OF THE PRESENT CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF THE INDIAN STATES

By D. C. GUPTA, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law

In view of the proposed entry of the Indian States into the new scheme of federation, envisaged in the Government of India Act 1935, it may be interesting to discuss in this article, their status before they formally enter into the federal scheme by Instruments of Accession. Much water has flown down the Ganges since the Simon Commission, the Indian States Committee and the Round Table Conferences finished their labours and perhaps it is the proper time to look into the question of the Princes' status from a dispassionate angle.

The problem of the Indian Princes has perplexed many an astute statesman and jurist. It is argued that this complex problem does not admit of legal solution, for the question is primarily political. This theory has greatly enured to the benefit of the Government of India, which holds that the principles of law do not fully explain its position *vis-a-vis* the Indian Princes.

It is common knowledge that there have been many instances, within recent years, of intervention of the Government of India in the internal affairs of the Indian States and the policy underlying this intervention has caused grave anxiety in the minds of the Princes. One of the claims put forward by the Indian Princes and their supporters is, that the relationship between the Government of India and the Indian States belong to the sphere of International Law and so the said relationship should be conducted according to the well-established principles of International Jurisprudence. Behind this question, there lies a greater issue. For the Indian States claiming to be subjects,[1]

1. In International Law, there is a preponderance of opinion, that the states and not their heads are subjects

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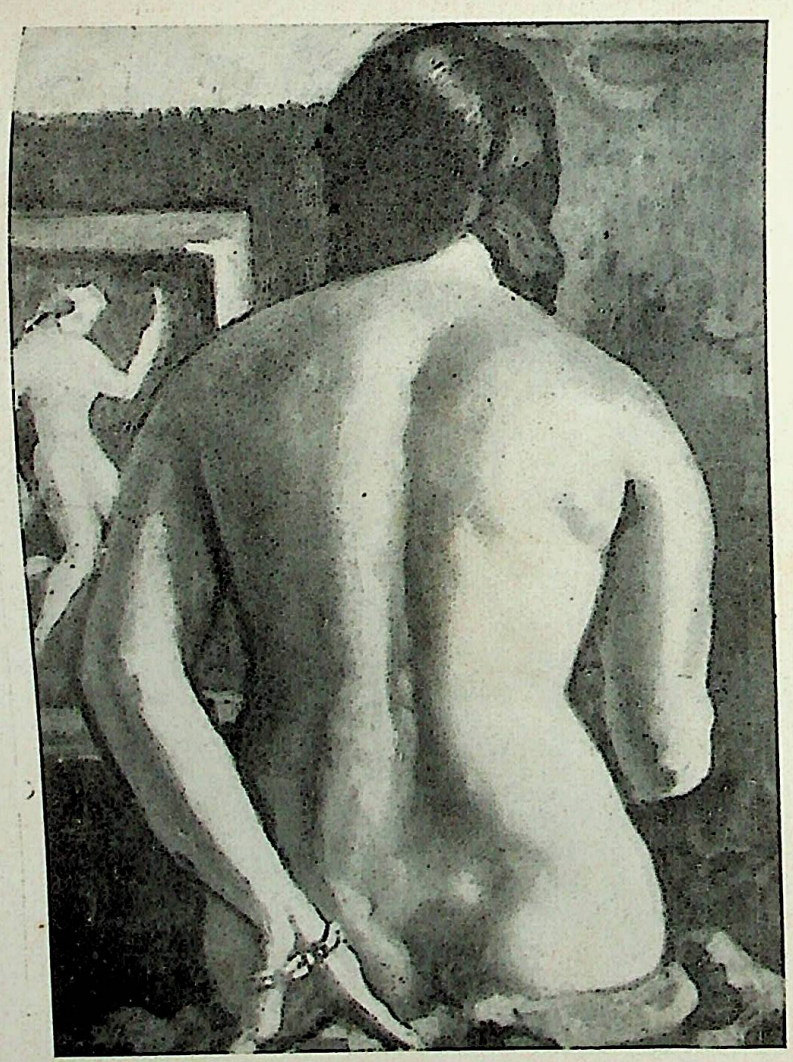

Torso

Young Girls

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The Villagers

Hill Women

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International Law asserts that they are sovereign states "except to the extent to which they themselves have divested themselves of that sovereignty." The Indian Princes once contended, that the various treaties of defensive and offensive alliance, non-aggression, mutual assistance and of recognition are nothing but international engagements, entered into voluntarily, by two sovereign powers, *e.g.*, the East India Company and Indian Princes. This was the basis of the plea, put forward by His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad when the Berar question was raised by him in his letter to the Viceroy. The observation of the Marquis of Wellesley,—the initiator of the policy of Subsidiary Alliance, which, as every student of History knows, very vitally affected the position of the Indian Chiefs,—that "in our relation with Mysore itself, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, we *copied to some extent*, the *procedure* of International Law," is also claimed to be an admission that International Law should regulate the relations between the Princes and the Government of India. But, if we carefully study the above declaration of the noble Marquis, we must admit, that he did not commit himself in unequivocal terms to apply the principles of International Law in the relation of the East India Company with the Indian States. What he admitted is that, such relationship was conducted on principles analogous to those of International Law and that in the procedural matters. He did not mean to apply the well-recognised principles of International Law in this relationship. In other words, in such matters as holding conferences, sending emissaries and envoys, the principles analogous to those of International Law, were to be followed, but even that to a limited extent. A declaration hedged by so many qualifications, does not really support the Princes' contention.

It is true that when the Indian Princes were fully sovereign and independent, the relations between them and the Government of India belonged to the sphere of International Law. The Joint Opinion of the Princes' counsels, headed by Sir Leslie Scott, K.C., and Mr. Wilfrid Greene, K.C. (both of them elevated to the bench of the Court of Appeal in 1935) supports this view. It says that

> "The Indian Princes were originally independent, each possessed full sovereignty and their relationship *inter se* and to the British Power in India was one, which an international lawyer would regard as governed by the rules of International Law. . . . And even when they came to transfer to the Crown those sovereign rights which, in the hands of the crown, constitute paramountcy, International Law still applied to the act of transfer. But from the moment onwards, the relationship between the States and the Crown as Paramount Power, ceased to be one of which International Law takes cognizance.

But the Indian States Committee, with Sir Harcourt Butler as its chairman, holds an uncompromising view on this point. It holds that even when the Indian States at first came into contact with the East India Company, they were not sovereign and did not belong to a "status which modern international lawyers would hold to be governed by the rules of International Law." The argument advanced by the Committee is that most of the Indian States were tributary or subordinate to either the great Moghul Emperors or to the Mahratta Confederacy. It is submitted that the learned members of the Committee misread the Indian History of the 18th century and they placed over-emphasis on the theoretical subjection of the Indian Princes to the puppet Emperors of Delhi and did not take stock of the realities of the situation. The sovereignty of the Moghuls, in the second half of the 18th century, had only the lukewarm support of some few thousands around the forts of Agra and Delhi, but had no sanction to enforce it. It was allowed to linger and languish only to serve the ends of the powerful Mahratta chiefs and Muslim nobles of Oudh and Hyderabad. Can any historian reasonably assert that the great Mahadji Sindhia, who was the virtual dictator of Northern India for some years, was not sovereign at Gwalior? Macaulay in giving a lurid penpicture of the conditions that led to the downfall of the mighty Moghul Empire wrote :

> Mahratta Captains reigned at Poona, at Gwalior, in Guzerat, in Berar and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore ceased to be freebooters. . . . Many provinces redeemed their harvest by the annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay the ignominious blackmail.

No less a judge than Lord Sewell,—perhaps the greatest of the English Prize Court judges —understood the illogicality of such a contention and he observed in the case of the Indian Chief (3C. Rob) that "though the sovereignty of the Moghuls is occasionally brought forward for purposes of policy, it hardly exists, otherwise than a phantom."[2]

of International Law. But there are some jurists, for instance, Heffter, who hold that the heads of the states too, are subjects of International Law. Westlake holds that individuals may be subjects of International Law. See Mavrommatis Case, Permanent Court of International Justice. Series A, No. 2.

2. Quoted in M. Ruthnaswamy's *The Relations between Indian States and the Government of India.*

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As regards the present position of the Indian States, there is, on the whole, a concensus of opinion that the Indian States, whatever might be their past status, are no longer international entities, though there are some who vehemently oppose the view that the Indian States have completely lost their international status.[3] Thus, Westlake observes that the governor-generalship of Lord Hastings extending from 1813 to 1823,

> may be singled out as the turning point in the course of shifting the affairs of India from an international to an imperial basis, although the course neither began with it not was completed by it. The isolation of the native states was the negation of an international society.[4]

But he admits that even after the change,

> "the forms and language, befitting international relations continued to be used in many cases after such relations had really ceased,"[5]

and he sums up the present position thus:

> ". . . . the native princes who acknowledge the imperial majesty of the United Kingdom have no international status."

But he agrees with Sir William Lee-Warner[6] that

> "the native states may still find some shelter under the shadow of International Law"

for

> "the same principles of natural justice, which underlie International Law must be applied to their relations, so far as they are similar to the relations dealt with, by that system and will lead to rules similar to that extent."

Moreover, Westlake, with great pains, propounds the theory that the Indian Princes and their treaties are, on the whole, safer under Constitutional Law than under International Law.[7]

Oppenheim maintains that in some exceptional cases vassal states may themselves be separate International Persons, but holds that the Indian States which are described by him as "vassal states of Great Britain" do not fall in this category. In the foot-note, it is remarked that "the rulers of these States cannot therefore claim the privileges which according to International Law are due to heads of states abroad."[8] Wheaton, too, says that the Indian Princes have no international status, in the true sense of the term, but are "considered separate political communities possessing independent civil, criminal and fiscal jurisdiction."[9]

If Lord Hastings's governor-generalship marked the period, as observed by Westlake, from which the relationship with the Indian States was conducted on an imperial basis, the suppression of the Manipur rebellion in 1891 was the occasion when His Majesty's Government in a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 21st August, 1891 (Government of India Gazette No. 1700 E), formally enunciated the rule that

> "the principles of International Law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India as representing the Queen-Empress on the one hand, and the native states under the suzerainty of Her Majesty on the other."

Commenting on this Resolution, Wheaton says that this declaration of His Majesty's Government may not be legally quite correct[10] but it is generally held by the publicists,—including those who hold that the States have "international existence,"[11]—that from a strict legal point of view, the Manipur Resolution is unimpeachable, for the relations between the State of Manipur and the British Government were regulated by treaties, and it is only where the provisions of the existing treaties are not applicable, that the principles of International Law, sanctified by due observance for years by the members of the Family of Nations, will apply.

Those who argue in support of the international status of the States, point out that the Indian Princes have the power of administering justice, both civil and criminal, and that according to their own local traditions and principles of jurisprudence; that King's writ does not run in their territories; that a fugitive from justice cannot be arrested in an Indian State without the consent of the Ruler; that an offender can only be extradited from a State in accordance with the terms entered into between the Government of India and the States concerned, and that these extradition treaties are generally drawn up in such a way as not to conflict with International Law; that His Majesty's dominions do not include the Indian States; that Acts of the British Parliament are not operative in the Indian States. They conclude that, though the Indian States are not

3. Sirdar D. K. Sen, *The Indian States, Their status, Rights and Obligations.*
4. Westlake, *Collected Papers on International Law*, p. 209.
5. *Ibid*, p. 213.
6. Lee-Warner, *The Native States of India.*
7. Westlake, *Collected Papers on International Law*, pp. 224-236.
8. Oppenheim, *International Law.* Vol. 1 (Peace) p. 185.
9. Wheaton, *Elements of International Law*, p. 69.
10. Wheaton, *Elements of International Law*, "whether this declaration (Manipur Resolution) is rigidly correct or is completely followed may perhaps be doubted."
11. Sirdar D. K. Sen, *The Indian States.*

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sovereign in the strict Austinian sense or full-sovereign in the accepted sense of the term in International Law, they are not altogether void of "international existence." Nay, they even quote the comments of Westlake—who holds, as we have seen, that the States have no international status—on the Manipur Resolution. Westlake, commenting on the notification of the Government of India about the Manipur affair observes :

"The only criticism to be made on that notification is that, it would have been more accurate to speak in it of International Law simply, than of the *principles* of International Law. If any distinction were intended between the two phrases, the former would suggest the body of rules, the latter the underlying considerations, among which are those of natural justice, which it was certainly not intended to exclude from the grounds of any policy, to be pursued in India."[12]

It is submitted that, the above illustrations really go for the sovereignty of the States and do not clearly prove the international status of the Princes. At best, some of the above instances cut both ways. As regards the observation of such a learned authority as Westlake, it may be pointed out that Westlake does not purport to give the Indian States international status nor even "international existence." He only emphasizes the need of applying the principles of "natural justice"—which Phillimore describes as the "principles of international justice"—in the relations of the British Government with the Indian States.

On the other hand, it may be pointed out that the subjects of the Indian States are, for all purposes of International Law, treated as British subjects, according to the terms of the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts. The Indian Princes, as pointed out by Lee-Warner, cannot contract any extradition treaty with other States, without the permission of the Government of India; they can have no direct intercourse with the consuls of foreign states, accredited to the Government of India and they cannot employ any foreigner without the permission of the Government of India. No doubt, India has got a place in the Assembly of the League of Nations, but the Indian States have no separate existence or recognition in the League and in the case of any conflict between the British Government and the Indian States, no international tribunal can be resorted to by the Princes, for the status of the Indian Princes in the British Commonwealth of Nations is a matter of Constitutional Law and thus belongs to the internal or inter-imperial polity of the British Empire,—an arrangement which the international Community of Nations will never take cognizance of.

The attainment of international status by a state, goes hand in hand with assumption of international responsibility. Though the courts in India and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council have acknowledged the sovereignty of the Indian States, they did not thereby intend to give them an international status. Eagleton in his admirable book *The Responsibility of States in International Law* says :

"While British courts have recognized the independence of certain Indian sovereigns, no third state would think of dealing with them, except through England, and they have no internaional status whatever. In the Adolph G. Studer Case before the American and British Claims Arbitration Tribunal, the award states :—'the British Government appears in this proceeding by virtue of its assumption of responsibility internationally for the Government of Johore under the provisions of a treaty made in 1885.'"

The assumption of responsibility by the British Government for peace, order and good government of the Indian States is due to its paramountcy in India. As already explained, how far the British Government is paramount in its realtion to the Indian States is a question of internal arrangement and municipal law, but the effect of this paramountcy or assumption of ultimate responsibility is not only municipal, but international. For, if a subject of Baroda or of Gwalior is aggrieved by denial of justice in Germany or in Spain, it is the British Government through its Ambassadors, which would endeavour to redress the grievance.

II

The question of the Princes' sovereignty *versus* the British Government's paramountcy is perplexing not only to laymen and jurists alike, but even to the Princes themselves. If they are sovereign, they are not independent. They are not independent even in the sense in which Egypt is independent after the British Declaration of 1922. Analogies are pitfalls. The Emperor of the newly-established state of Manchu-kuo is perhaps sovereign, but certainly not independent. Indeed, it is sometimes really difficult to draw a line of demarcation between non-sovereignty and sovereignty and as a happy compromise, it has been held in R. *versus* Jacobus Christian (Appellate Division, Supreme Court of South Africa, 1923) that sovereignty is divisible into external and internal sovereignty.[13]

12. Westlake, *Collected Papers*, pp. 625—626.

13. The British Year Book of International Law 1925; Journal of Comparative Legislation Third Series (1924); Mathews in Journal of Comparative Legislation VI (1924).

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"It is *external* with regard to the liberty of action outside its borders in the intercourse with other states, which a state enjoys. It is *internal* with regard to the liberty of action of a state inside its borders."

Thus a state may be sovereign, even if it has no freedom of action in external matters. Those who hold that sovereignty does not imply independence and that the latter is not a necessary attribute of a sovereign body agree with the principle of R. *versus* Christian. Of course, this dictum of the modern school is a far cry from the orthodox Austinian school[14] and the propounders of this theory were guided by stern facts of the modern world with its complex social and political organizations, many of which, similar in structure, are incapable of being grouped together in one class.

A series of judicial decisions, namely, Nabob of Carnatic *versus* East India Co. (2 ves, June 56), the Secretary of State *versus* Kamachee Bai Sahiba (1859, 13, Moo, P.C. 12; Keir-Lawson's Leading Cases), Mighell *versus* Sultan of Johore (L.R. 1894. 1. Q.B. 149), Statham *versus* Statham and Gaekwar of Baroda (L.R. 1912, 91), have acknowledged the sovereignty of the Indian Princes in varying degrees. But the main issue in at least two of them, was the validity of the plea of "Act of State" taken by the E. I. Company for its actions against the Indian Rulers.[15] The doctrine of Act of State is a political principle recognized by the English Constitutional Law which means that the Crown by its prerogative rights, may take or destroy any property belonging to others. The doctrine does not apply (*a*) with regard to the British subjects or friendly aliens, (*b*) in England.[16] The first two cases show, that the British Government can apply it against the Indian Rulers, for they are not British subjects but sovereign princes. It is a sad commentary on the sovereignty of the Indian Princes that, whereas they are not protected from the confiscatory measures of the British Government—for such measures are permitted against them by the doctrine of Act of State—owing to their sovereignty, their rights of sovereignty again do not deter the British Government from interfering even in their internal administration. But of course, the Indian Princes in their relations with their own subjects and with the outside world, can take the defence of "Act of State" in the same manner as the British Crown can take by its prerogative rights. (Chunilal *versus* Chaturbhuj 1931).[17] Moreover, too much emphasis should not be laid on the judicial decisions in the matter of determination of the status of a state, for it is a well-recognised principle of English constitutional law that the judiciary is to take judicial notice of the status of a state or its head, as declared by the Foreign Office of the British Government So, this matter is primarily a question of policy for the British Government.[18]

We have seen that the Indian Princes, when they first came in contact with the E. I. Company, did so on an equal footing, but gradually, with the operation of the treaties that they contracted with the Company, and their ramifications, the Princes lost to a great extent their freedom of action. Indeed, in most cases, the very treaty by which an Indian State came into contact with the E. I. Company, sowed the seeds of dominance of the latter over the former, eventually resulting in the "hegemony of the Company,"[19]—an expression more likely to confuse the relationship of the States with the E. I. Company than clear it. The origin of this dominance lies in the acknowledgment of the principle by the Princes, that their relations with the neighbouring States will be conducted according to the terms of their treaties with the E. I. Company or subject to latter's approval. But though the actual administration of the States and their internal sovereignty were guaranteed to the Princes, the Government of India or the British Crown, as the successor of the E. I. Company, took upon itself the ultimate responsibility for the good government of the States. The theory of hegemony was renounced, and the doctrine of paramountcy took its place. The principle of equality was thrown overboard. Lord Reading, in his famous letter to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, dated the 27th March, 1926, expressed the same view in unequivocal words :

"The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements but exists independently of them, and quite apart from its prerogatives in relation

14. *Cf.* "Sovereignty is a question of power (legal competence) and no human power (competence) is unlimited," per Holmes, J. in Western Maid, etc., 257. U. S. 432.

15. For a full discussion on "Act of State," see British Year Book of International Law, 1934.

16. Buron *v.* Denman (1848) 2 Ex. 167; Johnstone *v.* Pedlar (1921) A. C., Walker *v.* Baird (1892) A. C. 491.

17. Vesey-Fitzgerald in Journal of Comparative Legislation, 1934.

18. Mighell *v.* Sultan of Johore (1894) 1 Q. B. 149; Duff Development *v.* Kelatan Govt. (1924) A. C. 1794; Musmann *v.* Engelke (1928) 1 K. B.

19. Ruthnaswamy, *The Relations between the Indian States and the Government of India*, pp. 15-16.

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to foreign powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India."[20]

An attempt has been made in the Interpretation Act, 1889, to define the relationship between the British Crown and the Indian States. The Act desribes the Indian States as

"under suzerainty of Her Majesty, exercised through the Governor-General of India or through any Governor or other officer subordinate to the Governor-General of India."

This definition indicates a distinct change in the conception of the British Government as to its constitutional relation with the Princes. In an earlier definition, the Indian States were described as "the dominions of the Princes *in alliance* with Her Majesty."

Indeed, the earlier definition conforms more to the ideas of the Princes as to the tie that binds them with the British Government, than the later one. As the term "sovereignty" gives a mediaeval politico-religious flavour of the Holy Roman Empire days,[21] so in the term "suzerainty," there is a strong feudal association. Sir Charles Tupper, a well-known officer of the Political Department of the Government of India and one who had enough to do with the Indian Princes, observes in his book *Our Indian Protectorate* as follows:

"If the fiefs were isolated, so are the Native States. If the holders of the fiefs enjoyed immunity from the laws of any external power, so in general do the chiefs, exercising various degrees of internal sovereignty. Even in the methods, by which the system of protectorate was gradually formed, we see likeness to the process of feudalism."

As has been pointed out by many publicists, the similarities between the two systems are only superficial. Sir William Lee-Warner, when issuing the second edition of his book *The Protected Princes of India,* altered the title to *The Native States of India,* for, according to him, the relationship between the British Government and the Indian Princes is not feudal. Suzerainty implies that the vassal states owe their existence to the suzerain power. But can we say that the Indian Princes are the creations of the British Government? It is a truism to say, that the Indian Princes existed long before the rise of the British power in India and the very treaties, which fettered the independence of the Princes, did not anywhere mention that the Princes derived their title from the British Government.[22]

Now the question is, if the Indian Princes are not vassals or feudatories, but sovereign rulers, what degree of sovereignty they enjoy.

The word "souverain," in the middle ages, meant an authority which did not acknowledge any authority above itself. But the theory advocated by Bodin in the 16th, Hobbes in the 17th and Austin in the 19th century, yielded before the theory espoused by "the Federalist" and Calhoun, with the result that the divisibility of sovereignty came to be accepted as an established fact or reality. A factor which, in the opinion of Oppenheim, greatly influenced the conception of sovereignty in the 19th century was the distinction drawn between the sovereignty of the state and the sovereignty of the organ which exercises the powers of the state. The jurists of the 19th century attributed sovereignty also to the organs of the state though "this sovereignty of the organ is derived from the sovereignty of the state."

The discussion on theories of sovereignty, is of more than academic interest, when the question of the sovereignty of the Indian Princes is raised. The Princes may not have freedom of action in their external affairs,[23] but it is submitted that this attribute is not an essential ingredient of sovereignty, for in that case, Afghanistan was not a sovereign state, a few years ago, as her foreign relations were then under the control of the British Government.[24]

Even as regards internal sovereignty, all the Indian States do not belong to the same class. While some of them rule over thousands of square miles, others are masters of a few acres. Their powers, as stipulated in the treaties and *sanads,* likewise vary to an enormous extent. Those who belong to the highest class, have full powers of civil and criminal justice with a court of appeal discharging the functions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, as the highest tribunal in the States, or sometimes the Rulers reserve to themselves the final decisions. Some of them have their own stamps and coins. They maintain their own army of considerable fighting strength.

20. The contractual basis of Princes' sovereignty has not been discussed in this article.
21. W. I. Jennings. *The Law and the Constitution.*
22. Sirdar D. K. Sen, *The Indian States,* pp. 33-37.
23. The Dominions can have no "foreign" but "external" affairs to deal with. The affairs external to a Dominion may be internal to the Empire as a whole, and it is the latter which only may have foreign affairs to deal with. See J. H. Morgan, K.C., in "Dominion Status" (Rhodes Lecture 1929). Can the "external" affairs of a State be described as "foreign affairs" when the expression only means its dealings with Government of India and with other neighbouring States, with the permission of the Government of India, and the matters are not "foreign" to India as a whole?
24. Panikkar, *The Relations of Indian States with the Government of India.*

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The persons of the Princes are inviolable; one or two unfortunate examples to the contrary, and the peculiar circumstances attending them, all go to strengthen the principle of inviolability of the Princes' persons. The *ad hoc* commissions, appointed on occasions to try Indian Princes or inquire into their affairs, have in most cases behind them, not the sanction of Law but the sanction of sanction.

But, difficulty arises as to the scope of this internal sovereignty. Thus when Mulhar Rao Gackwar was deposed for maladministration (the charge of attempting to poison Colonel Phayre, Resident of Baroda, having not been proved) the Proclamation of the 19th April, 1875, announced that

"His Highness Mulhar Rao Gackwar is deposed from the *sovereignty* of Baroda State—and the sovereignty is conferred on his successor."

Evidently, the sovereignty mentioned above refers to internal sovereignty. But this internal sovereignty fades into a vanishing point, if the Government of India asserts the right of dictating the selection of high appointments of the States, "suggesting improvements" in the internal administration or issuing the Roman Bulls or Czarist ukases from Simla or Delhi, through the all-knowing Residents of the States, about men and matters which, even the most glowing imagination cannot place within the scope of the intervention of the Paramount Power, as stipulated by treaties. In fact, the principles and the methods of this intervention by the Government of India ridicule the very idea of sovereignty of the Princes and are basically opposed to the Princes' favourite theory of equality of Status with the Government of India. Mr. K. M. Panikkar rightly observes that the interference of the Government of India in the internal affairs of the States

"is comprehensive and pervading, it reduces to shadow the authority of the Ruler and it assumes, under the cover of indigenous agency, full sovereign rights, though obviously, this is directly contrary to treaty engagements."

Anyone who has closely watched the policy of the Government of India for the last ten years, will find enough instances in support of the above statement and even about eighty years ago, it was seen, that intervention was the settled policy with the Government of India. Mr. K. M. Panikkar quotes a passage from Sir George Campbell's book *Modern India*, published in 1852 that

"it must be admitted that in our intervention with the internal concerns of the native states, we do in practice go much beyond the letter of original stipulations. . . . Whatever the original stipulation, there is in fact almost no state, with the internal affairs of which, we have not something to do. There is no uniform system and it is almost impossible to give any definite explanation of what things we do meddle with, and what we do not."

How very true it is in 1936, what was true in 1852!

III

The British policy towards the Indian States have been described in a "hackneyed image" as an "iron hand in a velvet glove."[25] Closely connected with the theory of the internal sovereignty of the Princes, is the now-famous doctrine of paramountcy, thanks to the keen public interest evinced by Lord Reading's letter to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The doctrine of paramountcy, as enunciated by Lord Reading, does not admit of any limitation on the authority of the Paramount Power. On this point, there is a sharp difference of opinion between the learned counsels of the Princes and the Indian States Committee, popularly known as the Butler Committee. The former holds that the rights of paramountcy can only be exercised with regard to the foreign relations and external and internal security of a State, which has ceded those rights to the Paramount Power by agreements. In other words, paramountcy is a matter of agreement and is not by itself a source of rights, for if it be so,

"there would be no limit, save the discretion of the Paramount Power, to the interference with the sovereignty of the protected states by the Paramount Power."

But the Butler Report observes, that the paramountcy of the British Government is not based on or limited by any agreement. It is not merely contractual. The relationship between the Paramount Power and the States, the Report emphasizes, "is a living, growing relationship, shaped by circumstances and policy" and the aid of Westlake has been invoked in labelling it as "a mixture of history, theory and modern fact" or in other words, as declared in the pronouncement of the Government of India in 1877, the paramountcy

"is a thing of gradual growth . . . established partly by conquest, partly by treaty and partly by usage."

In Lord Reading's letter, the same note vibrates. What has been couched in a sonorous phraseology by the Butler Committee, has been succinctly put by the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, when he declared that the

25. Nicholson, *Scraps of Paper*. pp. 111 *et seq.*

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sovereignty of the British Crown "is not based only upon treaties and engagements but exists independently of it," with the result that

"the varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the Rulers enjoy, are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility."

Thus, it is evident, that the Viceroy in the enunciation of a strong policy did not save the Princes' *amour propre*.

But it must be noted that this theory of paramountcy, with its penetrating effect, is not altogether a novel one. It perhaps originated with Lord Canning, the first Viceroy of India. It is paradoxical to note that while Lord Dalhousie, the promulgator of the Doctrine of Lapse, denied such paramountcy to the British Government or to the Government of India, "Clemency" Canning advocated it. Lord Dalhousie in his letter to General Fraser, Resident of Hyderabad, emphatically repudiated the claim of paramountcy of the British Government to meddle in the internal administration of the States. He wrote :

"I recognize no mission confided to the British Government, which imposes on it the obligation or can confer on it the right of deciding authoritatively on the existence of independent Native Sovereignties, and of arbitrarily setting them aside, whenever their administration may not accord with its own views and although their acts in no way affect the interests or security of itself or its allies. Still less, can I recognize any such property in the acknowledged supremacy of the British Government in India as can justify its rulers in disregarding the positive obligations of international contracts in order to obtrude on Native Princes and their people, a system of subversive interferences, which is unwelcome alike to people and Prince."

But Lord Canning, while he formally repudiated the Doctrine of Lapse, spoke of the right of the British Government "to visit a State with the highest penalties, even confiscation in the event of disloyalty or flagrant breach of engagements." Further, he declared in forceful rhetoric

"that the territories under the sovereignty of the Crown, became at once as important and as integral a part as territories under its direct domination. Together they form one direct care and a political system, which the Moghuls had not completed and the Mahrattas never contemplated, is now an established fact of history."[26]

It is difficult to see, on what facts, theory and law, the above declaration was based, except that Lord Canning mistinterpreted the effect of the transfer of the Government of India from John Company to Queen Victoria. The assumption of the governance of India by Queen Victoria did not materially affect the treaty-relations between the Superior Power and the States; nor did it confer any new rights on the former. The Proclamation of the Queen was quite emphatic on this point. How then, the Princes can be, by a unilateral declaration, brought down to the position of feudatories,[27] enjoying the remnants of their ancient rights and privileges by the grace of the British Government!

26. Quoted in "*The British Crown and the Indian States*," published under the authority of the Directorate of the Chamber of Princes.

27. But the Coronation Message of King Edward VII described the Indian Princes as "my beloved feudatories."

A NOTE ON VANGA AND VANGALA

By Prof. NAGENDRANARAYAN CHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D.

Vanga (Bengal) is without any doubt identical with the Tibetan word, '*bans*,' meaning 'marshy and moist.' Vanga was marshy and moist in the early period of Bengal history. In the Anguttara-nikaya we find the mention of *Vanga* only once (I. 213) in the list of sixteen kingdoms; everywhere else, there is the mention of *Vamsa* in place of *Vanga* (IV. 252, 256, 260). '*Vamsa*' is the literal pronunciation of the Tibetan word, '*bans*,' though its real pronunciation is *ban*. From '*ban*' *Vanya* is easily obtainable.

Vangala (Bengal) is undoubtedly from *Vangalam* found in the Tirumalai Rock Inscription of Rajendra-Chola I. The first part of the word, '*Vangalam*' is from Tib. '*bans*,' 'marshy and moist,' from which *Vanga* itself was derived and the second part of the word, Dravidian *alam*, is a verbal derivative from the root *al*, meaning 'to possess,' 'to use,' etc. Therefore *Vangalam* means the 'marshy and moist region.' *Cf.* Malayalam [Dravidian '*mala*' 'a mountain' + *y* (inserted to prevent hiatus + *alam* meaning the 'mountain region.] An inhabitant of Vangala is called *Vangali* (*Vangala* + *i*)—*Cf.* Nepali, Vihari, etc.

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CIVIL AVIATION AS A CAREER FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

By A. C. MITRA

Employment

Civil Aviation is on the ground floor of a new industry. Aviation is a young man's industry where he can earn real money. The President of the biggest airline in the world is only 35 years old. Most famous pilots are in their early thirties or even younger. There are plenty of opportunities to forge ahead. This industry wants properly trained and qualified men. The aircraft industry still is in a stage of development and there is a very interesting field.

However, just as in other forms of business and in other vocations and professions, one should be very careful in choosing the occupation suited to the individual's inclinations, abilities and other qualifications. The prospects of advancement and the wage scale should be carefully studied before a definite decision is made.

Civil Aviation requires hundreds of men on the ground—designers, draughtsmen, mathematicians, managers, inspectors, metallurgists, erectors and others in the factories where aeroplanes and engines are built. In the commercial airlines, aerodrome and traffic managers, office staffs, ground engineers and operators of auxiliary land transport are required, in addition to pilots, navigators, wireless officers, and stewards who form the aeroplane crew. Government officials are employed at the Government-owned aerodromes as traffic control officers and on other duties connected with aerodrome operation. Similar posts are available at aerodromes under private management.

There is opportunity for Indian students, but it involves a lengthy course of training for the performance of highly skilled work. Students of average intelligence are able to pick up the work without much difficulty. As I have mentioned before, there are different positions in the field of aeronautics and different types of training and experience. Education will lead to the higher positions if the individual possesses the qualifications and necessary training. But as India is in the stage of infancy in this industry it requires only the important ones.

Aircraft Apprenticeships

Most of the British aeroplane manufacturers have apprentice schemes. But different firms have different schemes of training. Generally they have got 3 years courses during the apprenticeship. Students pass through every department of the work. Sometimes a premium is demanded, which is generally returned as wages, and sometimes no premium is required. The premium varies from £50 to £250. For particulars of apprentice schemes applicataion should be made to individual firms, such as Messrs. A. V. Roe and Co., Ltd., Newton Heath, Manchester, 10, Westland Aicraft Works, Yoevil.

Ground Engineers

Aeroplanes and aeroplane engines are now a specialized profession. There are five categories of Ground Engineers Licences. They are

A. Inspection of aircraft before flight.
B. Inspection of aircraft after overhaul.
C. Inspection of aero engines before flight.
D. Inspection of aero engines after overhaul.
X. All other duties which the Air Ministry requires to be performed by a licensed Ground Engineer.

Candidates for the Air Ministry examinations for Ground Engineers must not be under 21 years of age. Syllabuses of the examinations can be obtained from the Secretary (D.A.I.), Air Ministry, London. Certificate must be renewed every twelve months. The training is afforded by several Institutions in Great Britain, chief of which are

College of Aeronautical Engineering, Chelsea,
De Havilland Technical School (Hatfield),
Air Service Training, Hamble, Southampton.

Many of the flying Clubs and schools as well as many aircraft manufacturers also offer instruction in Ground Engineering. Duties and responsibilities of Ground Engineers are heavy and the wages are not always good.

Commercial Flying

With the advance of the size of the air lines the standard of "B" Licence (Commercial) pilot is becoming higher and his responsibilities heavier. The first essential requirement is absolute physical fitness and the medical examination is very strict. The fee for this examination is 3 guineas. The commercial pilot must have a Second-Class Air Navigator's certificate in

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addition to his pilot's licence. No pilot is allowed to take "B" piloting duties before he reaches 19 years of age. He must know Theory of Flight, Construction, Assembly and running repairs of aeroplanes and aero engines, map reading, use of the compass, meteorology, rules for Air Traffic and International Air Legislation, etc., and this year he will be required to produce a certificate that he has satisfactorily passed the course in Blind Flying before his "B" licence is issued.

"B" Licence is valid for 6 months and a medical re-examination is a qualification for renewal. There is also some demand for First Class Air Navigators and Wireless officers for certain duties. Generally a navigator or wireless officer becomes a second pilot. Imperial Airways Ltd. require their air officers to hold Ground Engineers Licences in addition to their flying licences.

The examination for first and second class Air Navigators certificates are held by the Air Ministry. The wireless officer must hold the Post Master General's certificate.

Rules and regulations about the commercial Air Pilots, Air Navigators and Air Wireless officers can be obtained by writing to the Secretary, Air Ministry.

Aerodrome Superintendents

Imperial Airways Ltd. have a scheme under which selected young men of good education are trained as Aerodrome Superintendents, but Indian students are selected by the Director of Civil Aviation in India and they are trained in England with Imperial Airways.

Besides these, there are some typical important positions in the aeronautical industry in the western countries, especially in U. S. A., where civil aviation is much developed. These are as follows :

Flying Operations

Pilot..Scheduled mail, passengers and express and aerial taxi service, sightseeing, aerial surveying and photography, crop dusting and other miscellaneous operations.

Ground Operations :

- Operation managers
- Airline despatcher
- Traffic Agent
- Maintenance Superintendent
- Engine Mechanic
- Aeroplane mechanic
- Parachute Rigger
- Radio mechanic
- Radio engineers and operator
- Instrument repair man
- Airport Manager
- Airport Engineer
- Airport Ground man
- Instructor, Ground subject
- Airways Positions . . .
  - Mechanician airways keepers
  - Weather observers
  - Traffic supervisors and
  - Radio operators.

Manufacturing :

- Executive
- Aeronautical Engineer
- Test Pilot
- Salesman and demonstrator
- Draftsman
- Aeroplane factory inspectors.
- Skilled worker . . .
  - Welder
  - Woodworker
  - Sheet metal worker
  - Mechanist
  - Assembly man
- Helper in one of above trades.

Business Phase :

- Aerial Photography and Surveying
- Aircraft sales and distribution
- Aerial advertisement and promotion
- Airport management and development
- Accessories specialists
- Insurance Expert
- Factory and office executives.
- Lighting specialists.

Women in Aviation

In Europe, the question has been asked, "What does aviation offer to women," or, "Is there any opportunity for women in this new field?" There is no doubt that women can and will take an active part in the development of aviation. Up to this time flying by women has been largely for sport and pleasure, though in some cases women have found responsible positions in the commercial phase of aeronautics. You can judge perhaps by glancing at some of the positions filled by women up to the present time.

- Pilots (engaging in miscellaneous activities)
- Flying Instructors (instructing women students)
- Saleswomen at aviation schools
- Airport Operators
- Airport Manageress and Assistants
- Airport hostesses
- Miscellaneous airport positions
- Airline Traffic representatives and managers
- Hostesses on airliners
- Air travel advisers (Travel agencies)
- Aircraft saleswomen
- Accessory saleswomen
- Aeronautical promoters
- Aerial Advisers
- Interior decorators (Cabin interiors)
- Factory workers (chiefly sewing of fabric covering on aircraft)

Conclusion

Flying is exhilarating. One comes down with the same tonic feeling as that induced by a

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glass of champagne. This is due to the accelerated action of the heart produced by the slightly quickened breathing required to respirate in thinner air and sometimes by reduced atmospheric pressure on the body. So all those who fly should possess sound lungs and a sound heart. All successful pilots must have robust health and must possess a high standard of physique. Of course, this does not mean that he must have tremendous muscular development, but it means that heart, lungs, ears, eyes, nose, throat, muscles, and nervous reflexes must all be normal and healthy. The civil air pilot must possess a perfect nervous system. He must be fit from tip to toe and must bear all conditions of weathers. He must present a smart appearance, have a pleasant personality that appeals to his passengers, to whom he is like the captain of a passenger ship and must have sound commonsense and not excessive humour.

The private pilot requires a few physical and mental qualities. He should have good eyesight, if need be with glasses. He can select the type of machine which he will fly. He can choose the weather and his flying is a sport and pleasure. There is no age limit, there is only the limit of good health. Captain Norman Macmillan, M.C., A.F.C., Deputy Master of the Guild of Air Pilots, War Ace, Flying Instructor, Test Pilot, says :

"I would say that any one who is fit to travel can fly under normal conditions. For flying above 3,000 ft. heart and lungs should be unimpaired. For any but the private sporting pilot exceptional physique is essential. A natural love of the air akin to the better understood love of the sea, normal mentality, a sense of humour and just a dash of the spirit of the old buccaneer make up the recipe for the really good pilot."

Those who are interested in aeronautics, with an intention eventually to enter the field actively, will profit by keeping in close touch with aeronautical events and keeping well posted in the advance of the industry. These may be done through newspapers, aeronautical periodicals and other publications containing aeronautical news. The subject is one of rapid changes and of many new developments.

"WISDOM AND WASTE IN THE PUNJAB VILLAGE"

(A Review)

I

It is very seldom indeed that an official makes such a valuable use of his opportunities as has been done by Mr. Darling as Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab. In three important books—*The Punjab Peasant in Debt and Prosperity*; *Rusticus Loquitur of the Old Light and the New in the Punjab*, and *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village**—Mr. Darling has made an objective study of the rural life in the Punjab whose value it is not possible to exaggerate. There is hardly any aspect of the life of the peasant which has escaped Mr. Darling's attention and he has brought to his task such deep understanding and sympathy which are truly remarkable especially when it is remembered that he is a foreigner and a member of the Indian Civil Service. It is true that Mr. Darling has his misgivings about the introduction of democracy in India and he has been at pains to show the ignorance of the peasant in political affairs and the harm that Civil Disobedience has, in his opinion, done to the country. He has also failed to take into account that the answers to his political questions may have been deliberately given to convey a particular impression to such a high official of the Government as the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. But in spite of this it must be stated that Mr. Darling has displayed no communal or class bias. He has held the scales even and has shown a remarkable catholicity of spirit and language. He has also displayed great courage and statesmanship in criticizing official policies and in making suggestions and recommendations for improving conditions in the villages. Students of Economics, Politics and Sociology and practical statesmen, reformers and administrators should all be grateful to Mr. Darling for his valuable studies of rural life and for the scientific and constructive manner in which he has discussed the problem of the uplift of the rural people in this country in general and in the Punjab in particular.

* "Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village": *By M. L. Darling. Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 8.*

II

Wisdom and Waste concentrates attention on certain aspects of village life in the Punjab, such as the position of the village servant, the domestic life of the village woman, the influence of the Army and the School upon the peasant, the tendency of the peasant to hoard and his partiality in certain areas for feud and faction, the operation of Panchayats new and old and the effects of the Depression upon the peasant in the Punjab in general and in the Canal Colonies in particular.

The method used by Mr. Darling in this book is to give the narrative of his journey from one part of the province to another, done on horse-back in his capacity as Registrar of Co-operative Societies. The chief advantage of the diary form used is the human touch given to facts and the sense of reality that is conveyed thereby—and its main defects are repetition and length that are inevitably involved in the process. Mr. Darling has minimized the drawbacks by adding a Part at the end wherein he has discussed in three excellent chapters the special problems on which he has concentrated attention in the book.

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III

In *Wisdom and Waste* Mr. Darling has portrayed in a masterly style the change that has gradually come over the country-side in the Punjab and also the quick, unfortunate effects produced by the great economic depression. Education, contact with the town and the world outside through the Army and the Lorry and the increase in the standard of living have brought about important changes especially in the position and life of the woman in rural society. She is better dressed and less worked than before—although her lot is still very hard in the south-east—where "her life is one of almost unmitigated drudgery." The relation between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is undergoing an inevitable change. The authority of the mother-in-law is everywhere decreasing with the growth of education and the rise in the age of marriage and the position, treatment and importance of the daughter-in-law are decidedly improving. In a few cases things have gone so far as to almost reverse the former position.

A new relationship is also gradually arising between the husband and the wife. There are signs of the coming equality between the two and the husband treating the wife as a comrade and companion. It will still take a long time to establish the relationship on this new basis but a very promising beginning has been made. "The Sikhs lead in this." But everywhere there are certain improvements that are noticed—beating the wife and the practice of infanticide have almost altogether disappeared. Polygamy and polyandry are becoming rare. Purdah is fast disappearing except among Rajputs—both Muslim and Hindu—and among a few other Muslims who are rising in the economic scale and who adopt it as an index of their new position.

The problem of the improved status of the woman is closely bound up with that of female education. There is at present great disparity between boys and girls in respect of education—only 2% of the girls of school age go to school while the figure is 8% in the case of boys. However, the attitude towards giving education to girls is fortunately undergoing a rapid change and parents are now anxious to send them to school. In this also the Sikhs lead but the Muslims are very backward. Mr. Darling discusses the various obstacles, social and financial, in the way of the education of girls as well as of boys and quotes the example of Russia to show as to what can be accomplished in this direction in a short period. "Russia has come to regard illiteracy as a disease and has set herself to remove it, at whatever cost, in the shortest possible space of time." But in India the mentality of the people and government is different and Mr. Darling deplores it on account of the fact that the solution of so many of the rural problems depends on the spread of education.

In regard to morality and domestic happiness in the Punjab village, Mr. Darling's general conclusion is "On the whole the village morals are sound and the general level of domestic happiness is high." "It is only in parts of the south-west that there seems to be any general laxity and these are areas where the landlord is at his worst and the people have been demoralized by their poverty."

IV

Mr. Darling has very ably discussed the problem of maintaining a decent standard of living is rural areas. He is of opinion that the time has come to think seriously of birth control. "The fall in prices has lowered the standard of living and doubled the burden of debt. And this coincides with the addition, in ten years, of 34,000,000 to India's population. Even if prices rise, no standard of living could long hold its own against such a swarming of new lives. And there is much more at stake than the standard of living. It is estimated that every year about 200,000 mothers die in child-birth. Is it surprising that in these summer times the new voice begins to be heard?" And Mr. Darling quotes a friend who knows the country well between the Beas and the Sutlej that 'even the ignorant and the illiterate have begun to realize the necessity for some sort of check.' In this connection as well Mr. Darling turns to Russia for a lesson.

He writes:

"Here a lesson may perhaps be learnt from Russia. There too, a vast peasant population is increasing fast—in 1930, there were 20,000,000 more than in 1924—and apparently women, 'no longer want to bear as many children as in old days.' But they are not being left without guidance. 'Medical Commissions' on their rounds discuss the matter with them, information is freely given at 'all clinics and consultation centres,' and abortion is legalized. This brings me to my one and only recommendation. The whole question, which is primarily one for the medical expert, should be carefully considered by a committee of experienced doctors, some of whom should be women, and a policy formulated; so that those who are working for the welfare of the village woman may know what advice to give the peasant on this most difficult or vital question. At present all is darkness."

V

The economic depression has greatly affected the whole system of village economy. The fall in agricultural prices has been phenomenal—a great deal more than in the prices of other commodities. This has upset the whole gamut of economic relationships—those between the landlord and the tenant, the zamindar and the village 'servants,' the landowner and the Government and the peasant and the money-lender. The problem of readjustment has been very difficult especially in the last case. Both the peasant and the money-lender have suffered greatly; but in some ways the position of the money-lender is worse. This is how it was stated to Mr. Darling by a money-lender himself:

"Speaking of the difficulties of the present times he said truly enough: 'If the zamindars [farmers] do not repay, it is on account of their poverty. And what can we do when they do not repay? We cannot take their land, we cannot take their cattle, neither their ploughs nor their food. There is nothing from which we can recover. Even their jewellery is sold.' When I asked him whether zamindar and money-lender get on well together, he became very eloquent: 'If we do not have ties (*ta'aluqat*) with them; if we do not have sympathy (*muhabbat*), if we do not have agreement, if we displease them, how can we live? They quickly get hot: then they take out their knives and slit our throats . . . If we anger them and go out into the "jangal," how can we be sure that we shall come back? And if we do not come back, who will know where to find us? They are many, we are few, they are ignorant, we are intelligent (*samujhdar*). We *must* be friends with them." And remarks Mr. Darling: "One thinks of the thirty-four money-lenders murdered this year, and understands."

VI

It is neither necessary nor practical to discuss here the various aspects of the problem of village readjustment and reconstruction as dealt with by Mr. Darling in *Wisdom and Waste*. It is sufficient to indicate briefly

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his main proposals and recommendations with the background of his thoughts, if possible. Writes Mr. Darling:

"The example of Russia is of particular moment, for in many ways its conditions resemble India's, and whatever one's political views, one must admit that an immense effort is being made, greater than any in history, to improve the conditions of life for over 100 million peasants. Whether the effort will succeed or fail is not yet clear, but meanwhile it is a challenge to all Governments that have to deal with the problem of ignorance, poverty and waste on a large scale to bestir themselves to the utmost. In saying this I intend no advocacy of Russian method and peace. No true co-operator will approve the strong element of compulsion so ruthlessly applied by the U. S. S. R. to those who would take a line of their own; nor will anyone who knows the peasant, or human nature, believe too readily that men can be reformed in the mass by five year plans. What India needs is, firstly, a twenty-five year plan, backed by men who have studied the village and are prepared to 'bring forth fruit with patience'; and secondly, a steady flow of money to finance the plan."

Mr. Darling proposes to finance his plan of rural reconstruction in two ways: (1) Through taxation of the peasant for the special purpose of village reconstruction and the proceeds of which must be spent by a special Board "on which every important village interest, peasant as well as landlord, should be represented." In this connection the levying of a small cess on all wheat, cotton, oilseeds and gram despatched by rail from a Punjab market and a tax of 1 or 2 per cent on the export of gold are recommended. (2) By raising reconstruction loans.

Mr. Darling has also indicated the objects on which money raised in the ways just mentioned should be spent —on consolidation of holdings; agricultural research; co-operative moment; education; village sanitation; etc.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Adventures of Indian Philosophy in America"

THE comment published in the April issue of your magazine by Mr. Wright in connection with my article "Adventures of Indian Philosophy in America" did not at all touch the larger question. Mr. Wright was not at all interested in the important public issue raised in my article—the issue of Indian evangelism in this country in its practical and conceptual bearing. He, instead, directed his remarks from the standpoint of a certain movement and its Hindu leader, with whom he is connected. He is one of the secretaries or advance agents I referred to in my article. His comments bear the stamp of animosities held against me by that leader. This situation has been actively present since I severed all connection with that movement. I left them (and entirely of my own volition) because I knew them inside and out and felt that I could not be lined up with their policies, methods, emphasis (public and private practices. That was seven years ago. If others think everything is all right with them, it is their business.

But the issue is not a movement or a man. It is a mass of attitudes and expectations that hangs like an atmosphere in this country over Hindu teachers. Any intelligent reader knows that in my article I did not "criticize all swamis." It was evident from my article that I expected more from some swamis, and this was because I, and others too, thought well of them on the whole, e.g., Ramkrishna Mission swamis. Further, it is not simply what philosophy swamis preach but what part of it the masses here can and do take, and who are to teach philosophy, that should enter into the consideration of the policies and safeguards of Indian evangelism in this country.

But instead of helping clarity of thinking there are many swamis and yogis who by dishing out "liberation" for so many dollars befog the whole issue. The public should be cautioned about them and their practices should be exposed. To ask for a "membership fee" in a church is one thing, and it is another thing to charge for one course after another, making the future one look more alluring than the past one, until $75 or $85 of cold cash is cleverly extracted within a month from the bewildered public. There is a heaven-and-earth difference between running a religious organization on a business basis and making a business out of religion.

Yes, they have done some good. But this doubtful good does in no way palliate the infinite, positive harm that has resulted from their conduct and their policies. Rousing the emotions of people and attempting to feed their spiritual hunger by ballyhoo and a sort of spiritual circus is worse than a sin. It certainly is no credit to any country—least to India. Religion without a cultural approach defeats its own purpose. My article did not hit philosophy but its misuse and vulgarization.

It is true that a meagre handful of distinguished persons have taken a side interest in this sort of Hindu preaching, but it should be remembered that Americans on the whole are inexperienced in such matters, and since they are "good sports" and quite willing to try anything once and pay for it, and since the intricacies and unscrupulousness of the clever, self-styled enlightened ones are not for exhibit to these distinguished persons, that sort of interest is hardly to be wondered at.

To come to the personal charges. I have never known Mr. Wright. In his recent comment he mentioned my charging $25 for "magnetic cultural classes." That name "magnetic culture" is the home brew of his own organization. I have never charged any money for any teaching or classes in my life. The charge of $25.00 that was collected from my classes at their place (which is by no means a million dollar temple) was fixed and collected by its leader. In my own organization contribution was optional. That principle was definitely laid down and followed, and was not only known to our members but also to officers of the largest universities, clubs and institutions of Los Angeles who were on the board of the International Fellowship which I used to direct. It can be seen in writing too, in the Cultural World Magazine, which I edited for several years. As for collecting large sums of money from women, apparently using undue pressure, it is too maliciously untrue to need any comment.

When I was connected with the above-mentioned movement before I started my own organization I did my share of work but was never heard or consulted about financial policies.

I am honoured and glad to accept the responsibility of a household life and to pursue my scientific work along with deeper and larger interests.

I am glad also that I have at last been able to throw away the swamiship which the leader of that movement imposed upon me for his purposes.

B. K. BACCHI

This controversy is closed so far as *The Modern Review* is concerned.— Editor, *M. R.*

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RAMMOHUN ROY

His Possible Influence on American Thought with Special Emphasis upon Periodicals

By ELSA ADRIENNE MOORE, M.A.

[One of the most remarkable results of the interest created about Rammohun Roy by his Centenary celebrations in 1933 was the adoption by Miss Moore, a young American lady, of the above subject for the thesis to be submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University, for her M.A. degree in "the Department of English and Comparative Literature." For preparing her thesis she made explorations into all the principal libraries of America, studied the catalogues of many of the important libraries of Europe, and made out a most exhaustive bibliography of all available literature concerning Rammohun Roy. Her thesis, which eventually secured for her the M.A. degree, consisted of the essay, printed below, and the bibliography, occasionally referred to in her footnotes, which, however, we have to omit.—EDITOR, *M. R.*]

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this essay is to show the possible influence of Rammohun Roy in the United States between the years 1816 and 1836 or 1840. The method used in developing the subject places emphasis on the Bibliography rather than on the Essay portion of this Thesis, and the nature of the material discovered pertaining to the subject dictated the form that this Essay has assumed.

The material at hand divides itself into certain general groups:

1. Original articles dealing with Rammohun Roy in American periodicals and newspapers; articles or quotations concerning Roy reprinted from foreign publications in American periodicals and newspapers; and articles on Roy appearing in foreign publications which were presented to the American reading public through the presence of these publications in the United States.
2. Correspondence between Rammohun Roy and Americans.
3. Letters to America concerning Rammohun Roy from those who knew him either in India or in England.
4. The published works of Rammohun Roy, that is, books, tracts, and pamphlets, either imported from India or England, or republished in America from the foreign editions, or originally compiled in the United States.
5. Possible access of the American public to the above listed material, between the years 1816 and 1836 or 1840.

Because it is impossible actually to prove that Rammohun Roy had a direct influence on the course of American thought and literature, and because I am nevertheless convinced that he was one of the original stimuli to an interest in Orientalism in the United States, I have resorted to the method of quantitative presentation of bibliographical and statistical material rather than offer a predominantly literary treatment, which, at best, would be merely a presentation of personal surmises, and therefore scholastically inferior to a method that permits the student to reach the same conclusion by the same method that I used. I have felt impelled to list not only material directly bearing on Rammohun Roy, but also certain important data which I gathered in my effort to show that this Roy material was available to the American public between the years mentioned.

The subject dealt with in this Thesis has apparently been untouched heretofore,[1] thus necessitating a tremendous amount of preliminary groundwork. From this I have culled valuable information which I herewith present in detail. This Essay may be considered almost in the nature of a chart that will become useful for reference as a basis for further research.

During his lifetime Rammohun Roy was probably more esteemed by the Occidental than by the Oriental world. Today, however, the situation has been reversed. Now, practically unknown in the Occident, he is being acclaimed as "the Father of Modern India" in the Orient. He stands forth as the author of most of the reform movements of present-day India.[2] The

1. Arthur Christy in his *The Orient in American Transcendentalism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, gives, pp. 65-66, 338-340, the only mention of Roy that I have found which connects Roy with literary America. The suggestion here is based on slight evidence and not on intensive research on the subject.

2. Rammohun Roy fostered such reform movements as (*a*) the abolition of *suttee*, (*b*) fairness in jury selection and recognition of native worth politically and intellectually, (*c*) freedom of the Press, (*d*) fair taxation, (*e*) women's rights, (*f*) reform of property and inheritance laws, (*g*) religious purification, including the

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year 1933 marked the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Rammohun Roy. In India, this anniversary was commemorated by a great celebration in which many of the prominent reformers and intellectual leaders of India, as well as outstanding foreigners, including American Unitarians, participated. The homage that was offered to Roy's memory clearly shows the magnitude and power of the man. Is it too much to presume that his influence—during the most active part of his lifetime, when he was generally known to the reading public of America and became (during the 1820's) almost a household word in New England—was one of the possible causes of a new cycle of thought in America, and that this new cycle helped to usher in Transcendentalism?[3] For it is clear that Rammohun Roy's achievements were not unknown to at least the leading spirit of the so-called "Transcendental group"[4] —Ralph Waldo Emerson.

A letter from Ralph Waldo Emerson to his aunt Mary Moody Emerson, quoted by James E. Cabot in his *Memoir of Emerson*,[5] offered the first clue in the investigation of the topic. This led to the discovery that considerable material concerning Rammohun Roy was accessible to the American public during the period which immediately preceded the Transcendental era of American literature. In view of the fact that Rammohun Roy was the first, or at least the first important contact of America with India,[6] the question which naturally arises is this: To what extent might Rammohun Roy have been the cause of American interest in Orientalism?

An Estimate of Rammohun Roy

Before discussing the influence of Rammohun Roy in the United States, it is necessary to realize who he was and to appreciate his place in the world of Hindu thought and culture.[7]

abolition of idolatry, etc., (*h*) the abolition of the caste system.

3. Some twenty-five American publications containing comments on Rammohun Roy between the years 1818 and 1840 are listed in the "Bibliography" of this Essay. *The Christian Register* (Boston, founded in 1821) alone contained over one hundred references between 1821 and 1830; most of these were articles of some length, serveral running into as many as eight columns, and about fifteen were front page articles. By reason of their extensive circulation (as will be evident from the section entitled "Access to Periodical Material" of my "Bibliography"), these twenty-five publications collectively carried word of Roy to many parts of the United States. New England, however, and particularly Boston, was the place of most intensive concentration of such material; for, of the twenty-five publications, about half were published in Boston, and another fourth either in Rhode Island or Connecticut or in some Massachusetts city other than Boston. Familiarity with Roy was further augmented by the prevalence of foreign, particularly of British, publications containing discussions of him and his work. These publications either circulated freely, or were subscribed to through book-sellers, or were accessible through libraries. (A further demonstration of the extensiveness of knowledge of Roy in America is given in my Bibliography of periodicals—American, English. Indian and French,—containing articles on Roy between 1816 and 1840).

4. Clarence L. F. Gohdis in his *Periodicals of American Transcendentalism*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1931, p. 9, lists the following as comprising the Transcendental group "in the narrowest sense," that is, "only those who were actually regarded by their contemporaries as such":—William Ellery Channing, W. H. Channing, R. W. Emerson, Bronson Alcott, F. H. Hedge, James Freeman Clark, W. H. Furness, John S. Dwight, C. P. Cranch, Elizabeth Peabody, and possibly Margaret Fuller.

5. New York and Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1887, 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. 89, 91.

6. A publication entitled *Asiatic Researches* is to be found listed in the early catalogues of nearly all the major American libraries between 1800 and 1820. This London periodical, founded, in 1790, was published until 1811. Its passages contained contributions from the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. The publication, however, seems to have been historical in purpose, and to have dealt rather with the physical than with the spiritual aspects of India. It is certain that it was in no way even suggestive of the type of interest that Rammohun Roy was to create either in England or in America.

The only other apparent source that might have created American interest in the Orient before the advent of Rammohun Roy was the Oriental Tale which appeared from time to time in various American periodicals. These stories seem so Westernized, however, that their Oriental features appear to be mainly superficial. Certainly no deep penetration into the philosophy of the Orient was to be had from them, and whatever interest in the Orient they may have aroused was probably in the field of fancy rather than fact.

7. The main biographies of Rammohun Roy are:
Sandford Arnot: Biography and Autobiography of Rammohun Roy, *Athenaeum* (Magazine) No. 310, (October 5, 1833), pp. 666-668.
Montgomery Robert Martin: Biography of Rammohun Roy, *Court Journal*, Vol. V., (October, 1833), p. 578.
Lant Carpenter: *A Review of the Labours, Opinions, and Character of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, London. Rowland, Hunter, Simpkin and Marshall, 1833.—Bristol, Browne and Reid, 1833. (140 pp.)
Mary Carpenter: *The Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, London, Trubner, 1866. (254 pp.) 2nd edition, London E. T. Whitfield, 1875. (xiv+178 pp.).—Calcutta, R. C. Lepage and Company, 1886 (?)—Calcutta, Rammohun Roy Library, 1915. (xi+255 pp.)
[F(riedrich)] Max Muller: "Raja Rammohun Roy," in *Biographical Essays*, London and New York, Scribners, 1884.—London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1884. (390 pp.) Pp. 1-48.
Jogendra Chunder Ghose: Biographical Introduction to the *English Works of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, 1885-87. 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. 1-30.
Sophia Dobson Collet: *The Life and Letters of*

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To Rammohun Roy must be assigned a place among the heroes of India.

With an energy which set at naught the formidable resistance he encountered from the slaves of bigotry—with a perseverance which was unwearing—with a moral courage which triumphed over persecution—with a benevolence which was not exclusive but catholic—with a religious aspiration which was fervid and impassioned but not impulsive and fanatical—he laboured, according to the light and knowledge he enjoyed, to liberate the Hindu mind from the tyranny of superstition, and to inoculate it with the elevating principles of a more rational faith.[8]

In fact, Rammohun Roy has deservedly been called the "Father of Modern India."

Born in 1772, in Western Bengal, Rammohun Roy was descended from Brahmin stock of the most ancient lineage. This background is best described in his own words:

My ancestors were Brahmins of a high order, and, from time immemorial, were devoted to the religious duties of their race, down to my fifth progenitor, who about one hundred and forty years ago gave up spiritual exercises for worldly pursuits and aggrandisement. His descendants ever since followed this example, and according to the usual fate of courtiers, with various success, sometimes rising to honour and sometimes falling; sometimes rich and sometimes poor; sometimes excelling in success, sometimes miserable through disappointment. But my maternal ancestors, being of the sacerdotal order by profession as well as by birth, and of a family than which none holds a higher rank in that profession, have up to the present day uniformly adhered to a life of religious observances and devotion, preferring peace and tranquility of mind to the excitements of ambition and all the allurements of worldly grandeur.[9]

Rammohun Roy's education was in keeping with his Brahmin background. After several years of home training under the usual *gurumahashay* or teacher, he was sent to Patna about 1780 to study Arabic. He was already conversant with Bengali and Persian, the latter being the court language of the day. It was at Patna that Roy first became interested in monotheism in the form of Mohammedanism. After Patna, there was Benares, the Indian Oxford, with its Sanskrit scholars. There he absorbed the mythical and philosophic past of Hindu philosophy. These two contacts caused Roy to take a definite stand against polytheism, which he came later to believe was a perversion of the Vedanta, and caused him to lean away from pantheism toward theism. At fourteen, the rebellious youth dared to defy the teachings of his father, and probably because of the conflict that resulted from such a stand, left the parental household to travel. His travels were apparently quite extensive. Indeed, Sandford Arnot, his secretary in England, claimed, after the death of the Rajah, that he had visited even Tibet during this period, and narrowly escaped with his life after accusing the Lamas of perverting the teachings of Buddha. The actual itinerary is unrecorded by Roy, but he did return home with an enlarged mental horizon.

Because Roy's eldest son was not born until seven years after the Rajah's return from his travels, Miss Collet does not believe that Roy began family life on his own account until about 1800, but spent the intervening years probably in Benares to take advantage of "the facilities afforded by that sacred city for the study of Sanskrit."[10] But even when home life was resumed, it does not seem to have lasted very long. Undoubtedly the conflict of ideas within the man made any orthodox situation uncomfortable for him. This period, ending about 1804 with the publication at Murshidabad (where he had removed after the death of his father) of his first literary achievement, *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin*, was decidedly one of turbulent transition and great mental unrest.

Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin, or *A Gift to Monotheists* was a theological tract in Persian, the main contention of which was that people attach too much importance to particular forms of religion and forget that falsehood is common to all religions, since all are dependent on fallible human teachers for interpretation. "The fact is that habit and training make individuals blind and deaf notwithstanding their having

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Rammohun Roy, London, Harold Collet, 1900.—The same, edited by H. C. Sarkar, with a short biography of Miss Collet, B. M. Press, Calcutta, 1913 (lxxxiv+280 pp.)—H. C. Sarkar's Edition reprinted at the Classic Press, Calcutta, 1930. (lxxx+263 pp.) (This is the edition referred to throughout this Essay).—London, Unitarian Society, 1914. 260 pp.

Dina Nath Ganguli: "A Sketch of the Life of Raja Rammohun Roy" and other Essays in the Memorial Edition of *Translation of Several Principal Books, Passages and Texts of the Veds, etc. Calcutta*, Society for the Resuscitation of Indian Literature, 1903. Pp. ix-lxxxvi.

Ramananda Chatterjee: *Rammohun Roy and Modern India*, Calcutta, 1918.

Manilal C. Parekh: *Rajarshi Rammohun Roy*, Rajkot, Kathiawad. M. C. Parekh, 1927. (287 pp.)

Amal Home: Editor, *Rammohun Roy, the Man and His Work*, Centenary Publicity Booklet No. I., Calcutta, Satis C. Chakravarti, 1933. (161 pp.)

Upendra Nath Ball: *Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, U. Ray and Sons, 1933. (345 pp.)

A more complete list of books dealing with Rammohun Roy is given in my "General Bibliography" and "Periodical Bibliography."

The Biography by Miss Collet and that by Mr. Ball were officially recommended to me by the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee, Calcutta, and sent to me for use in this study.

8. *Calcutta Review*, 1845.
9. *Autobiography*, p. 1.
10. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 8.

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eyes and ears." This first document set forth one of the main ideas to which Rammohun Roy held fast throughout his life, that is, an opposition to prophets and religions.

> He was a firm believer in direct revelation. Any interference with the relations between man and his Maker by the interposition of a mediator was considered an infringement of this principle.[11]

By 1801, Rammohun Roy was proficient in English and had begun to make English contacts. These included a connection with Fort William College, a position with a Mr. Thomas Woodford, and finally, service in the East India Company under Mr. John Digby, who became his lifelong friend.[12] But despite his unselfish efforts in behalf of Roy, Mr. Digby was unable to destroy the stigma that kept the Indian native in servitude and denied Roy his proper advancement in the Company. Roy finally left the East India Company in disgust, but remained at Rangpur, where he had removed with Mr. Digby.[13] The departure of Mr. Digby for England made Roy decide to move to Calcutta, a change further motivated by the dislike he had incurred from the orthodox natives.

Rammohun Roy's arrival in Calcutta marks the actual beginning of his public life. He was forty-two years of age, mature, and well prepared for the great work that lay before him—the task of arousing India from her state of lethargy and making her conscious of her dormant powers.[14]

> The learned Brahmans in those days paid more attention to the study of Nyaya and Smritis, and their position depended upon their knowledge in those subjects. But they were so ignorant of their original authority, the Vedas, that most of them did not know the meaning of the *Mantras* (prayers) they repeated thrice a day. The rich had nothing to do with learning; most of them could not spell the words, not to say of using them correctly. They thought it was sufficient if they could write letters and keep the accounts for their worldly purpose.[15]

Rammohun Roy felt that such a degraded situation in which ignorance produced polytheism, *suttee*, and other customs repugnant to an intelligent man with enlightened religious conceptions, could be corrected only by education. This he determined to bring about by establishing schools, by instigating discussion, and by circulating literature written either by himself or by those in sympathy with him. All this he did at his own expense.

In Calcutta, where his fame preceded him, Rammohun Roy found both objectors and sympathizers. The latter he organized into an informal discussion group called the Atmiya Sabha. More numerous than his friends, however, were his opponents who were frequently so annoyed by his boldness that his life was more than once in danger.

Rammohun Roy's translation of the sacred scriptures from Sanskrit into Bengali was one of his first steps toward awakening India. These translations were important religiously and philosophically, but they also marked the beginning of Bengali literature. In them Roy continually pointed out that polytheism was merely a perversion of the pure texts which were originally monotheistic :

> Most earnestly do I pray that the whole may, sooner or later, prove efficient in producing on the minds of Hindus in general, a conviction of the rationality of believing in and adoring the Supreme Being only.[16]

The orthodox Hindus were alarmed, but the Christian missionaries hailed the reform, although they were uncertain whether to class Rammohun Roy as part Christian or pure Hindu. In 1816, the first notices of this great man began to appear in the Western world in the *Periodical Account of the Baptist Missionary Society* and the *Missionary Register*, both London publications. From these sources one learns that Roy had at this time about five hundred followers, and that two attempts had already been made on his life. About this same year the *Monthly Repository of Theology*, an English Unitarian publication, popular among American Unitarians and subscribed to by Harvard University, also began to recognize Rammohun Roy, while the *Christian Reformer* of 1818 showed extreme enthusiasm in its publication of a letter concerning Roy written by the Reverend Thomas Belsham.[17]

As the natural outcome of his writings, Rammohun Roy was drawn into religious controversies. In the *Madras Courier* of 1816 appeared a letter dated December 25, signed by Sankara Sastri. Sastri felt that Roy's translations would be detrimental rather than helpful to the average Hindu who was unfit to understand the words of the sacred works. This and other charges made in the letter Rammohun Roy answered by his *Defence of Hindoo*

11. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 23.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-28.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-33.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
16. *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, edited by J. C. Ghose, Calcutta, 1835-87. "Introduction to the Ishopanishad", pp. 86, 87.
17. Thomas Belsham, Introduced to William Root's Letter about Rammohun Roy, *Christian Reformer*, Vol. IV, p. 2 (1818).

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Theism in Reply to an Attack of an Advocate for Idolatry at Madras (1817), in which his shrewdness of argument demolished his opponent. The essay entitled *A Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Vedas* also appeared in 1817. The *Apology,* in answer to which this essay was written, was full of abuse, but Roy replied in his usual dignified manner.

Meanwhile, both in England and France Rammohun Roy was fast becoming a celebrity. He was introduced to French thought through the efforts of M. D'Acosta, editor of the *Calcutta Times,* who had sent certain pamphlets by Roy, along with comments on him, to Abbe Gregoire. Abbe Gregoire, a former bishop of Blois, became interested and wrote a tract about Roy, which appeared both in the *Monthly Repository* (in English translation) and in the *Chronique Religieuse.*[18] Also important in making the name of Rammohun Roy known in Europe was the *Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt to England,* in the years 1817 and 1818 by Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence, [later, Earl of Munster,] published in London in 1819.[19] This work contained one of the first graphic descriptions of Roy to be presented to the Western world.

Once Rammohun Roy had become an active religious reformer, it was simple for him to broaden his field to include social reform. In India, the practice of *suttee*—as great a bolt on the nation as idolatry—was on the increase. Roy's own hatred for the custom had an emotional as well as an intellectual basis, his own sister-in-law having been a victim to *suttee.*[20] Roy began his campaign against the rite in 1818, but it was not abolished until ten years later, since the English officials, because of fear, continually avoided the issue until the arrival of Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General.[21] It was with the help of Roy's arguments, which had destroyed the contention of the orthodox Hindu that *suttee* was based on fundamental Vedic authority, that the new Governor was finally able to abolish the practice.[22]

In 1820, Rammohun Roy became involved in a controversy which made his name a household word in nearly every Unitarian family in England and America, and caused him to become front page news in many American newspapers and periodicals. He had presumed to criticize the Trinitarian interpretation of Christianity, and thus became the central point in a Unitarian-Trinitarian controversy that raged on two continents. The Unitarians came to his rescue, and the Baptists, his former friends, led the opposition.

Roy's first connection with the controversy resulted from his publication, in 1820, of a small tract entitled *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists.*[23] This pamphlet, published at the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta, was the result of Roy's interest in Christianity; he wanted to give his countrymen the benefit of his own research in the Biblical texts that he had studied in Hebrew and Greek.[24] His original intentions were anything but controversial. The "Introduction" of this little tract is so revealing that it seems desirable to present it here almost in entirety :

> A conviction in the mind of its total ignorance of the nature and of the specific attributes of the Godhead, and a sence of doubt respecting the real essence of the soul, give rise to feelings of great dissatisfaction with our limited powers, as well as with all human acquirements which fail to inform us on these interesting points.
>
> But the idea of God, continues the "Introduction," makes existence more agreeable. This God idea is derived from tradition or from "an attentive survey of nature." The "latter," though more or less common to all religions, is especially noticeable in Christianity, wherein it is an "essential characteristic."
>
> Amongst these opinions (that is, opinions of Christian authors), the most prevalent seems to be that no one is justly entitled to the appellation of Christian who does not believe in the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, as well as in the divine nature of God, the Father of all created beings. Many allow a much greater latitude to the term Christian, and consider it as comprehending all who acknowledge the Bible to contain the revealed will of God, however they may differ from others in their interpretations of particular passages of Scripture. . . . I confine my attention at present to the task of laying before my fellow-creatures the words of Christ, with a translation from the English into Sanscrit, and the language of Bengal.[25] I feel pursuaded that by separating from the other matters contained in the New Testa-

18. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy,* p. 31.
19. London, J. Murray, 1819. Reviewed and quoted from in the *Christian Register, Quarterly Review, Literary Gazette, Monthly Repository, Spirit of the Pilgrims,* and other periodicals. My "General Bibliography" gives more detailed references.
20. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy,* pp. 82-87; S. D. Collet, *op. cit.,* 49.
21. S. D. Collet, *op. cit.,* pp. 49-54; U. N. Ball, *op. cit.,* pp. 87-105.
22. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy,* pp. 99-104.
23. (iv+82 pp.)
24. U. N. Ball, *op. cit.,* p. 105; S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy,* p. 105.
25. These purposed translations into Sanskrit and Bengali were never achieved, the project being sidetracked by the religious controversy into which Roy was plunged.

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ment the moral precepts found in that book, these will be more likely to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men. . . . For historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of freethinkers and anti-Christians, especially miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the native of Asia, and consequently would be apt at best to carry little weight with them. On the contrary, moral doctrines, tending evidently to the maintenance of the peace and harmony of mankind . . . are beyond the reach of metaphysical perversion, and intelligible alike to the learned and to the unlearned. This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of God, who . . . . . has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies . . of nature, and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to themselves and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form.

Rammohun Roy's whole attitude is exposed in this "Introduction." It is evident, first of all, that he considered the Christian God to be the same as his own, the same God that is worshipped in all religions. The thing that interested him in Christianity was its moral aspect; to him the "essential characteristic of the Christian religion" was its ideal humanity, its tendency to promote "the peace and harmony of mankind at large."[26] Roy was certainly not a Christian in the orthodox sense. He was not "converted"; he had merely become intellectually appreciative. His was the view that is beginning to take hold of the twentieth century, but it is quite evident why such a comment precipitated a controversy in his day when Christianity was strongly "fundamentalistic" and sectarian.

Led by the Baptists, who made the monthly *Friend of India* their mouthpiece, Rammohun Roy's opponents immediately launched their attack against him. The Reverend Deocar Schmidt went so far as to say that Roy would injure the cause of Christianity.[27] Roy was deeply hurt.[28] It was certain that he had a more intelligent view of Christianity, and probably a better understanding of that religion, than did the active missionaries in India, all of whom were rigid in their views and unable to adapt themselves to the needs of the Indians with their thousands of years of religious background. Roy quickly replied to these attacks with *An Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus,"* and signed the tract "A Friend of Truth."[29] His opponents had called him a "heathen," a name synonymous in his mind with "idolater."[30] In this tract he hotly defended *his* Christianity. He further defended the principle on which his selection of "*Precepts*" had been made, and pointed out the unsatisfactory results of missionary efforts in India, which caused Christianity rather to be mocked than to be respected. The missionaries, said Roy, were teaching doctrines that the natives were unprepared to receive :

> They have been so incautious and inconsiderate in their attempts to enlighten the natives of India, as to address the instructions to them in the same way as if they were reasoning with persons brought up in a Christian country, with those dogmatical notions imbibed from their infancy.

Dr. Marshman replied to Rammohun Roy with certain "Remarks" which appeared in the *Friend of India* in May, 1820. In this article he apologized for the use of the term "heathen," but stated that he refused to call "Christian" any one who did not accept "the Divinity and Atonement of Jesus Christ, and the Divine Authority of the whole of the Holy Scriptures." Some months later, Dr. Marshman further emphasized his opposing opinions in an article published in the quarterly *Friend of India*.[31] It was in answer to this essay that Rammohun Roy wrote his *Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus,"* which was published in 1821.[32]

In this second "*Appeal*" Roy stated that in his "*Precepts*" he had omitted "the mention of the miracles performed by Jesus, without meaning to express doubts of their authenticity, or intending to slight them by such an omission," but because "nothing but the sublimity of the Precepts of Jesus had at first drawn his attention towards Christianity and excited his veneration for the author of this religion without aid from miraculous relations." He labelled himself as a promulgator of Christianity and an opponent of polytheism. Trinitarianism he classed with polytheism. "The 'Precepts of Jesus,' which no other religion can equal or surpass, do not," insisted Roy, "depend on the metaphysical arguments and mysteries with which they have been associated."[33]

The controversy in which Roy was involved had by now dwindled to two points of contention : first, whether or not the "Precepts" alone are sufficient to guide one to peace and happiness, and, second, whether God is unitarian

26. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 57.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
29. Calcutta, 1820. (20 pp.)
30. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*. p. 110.
31. No. 1 (September, 1820).
32. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1821. (173 pp.)
33. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 64.

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or trinitarian. These two points were in turn reduced to one—Trinitarianism *versus* Unitarianism. In this form the controversy reached white heat in both England and America. The argument, thus centered in one point, stirred Rammohun Roy profoundly, for unity in the Godhead was one of his deepest convictions.

The theological discussion was at this time further brought into prominence by the conversion to Unitarianism of a certain William Adam. William Adam and William Yates, both Baptist missionaries, were working jointly with Rammohun Roy on the translation of the Gospels into Bengali. After a disagreement over interpretation, Yates withdrew, but Adam, as a result of his contact with Roy, was converted to Unitarianism.[34] This caused great commotion and also much bitterness. The Unitarians at once became enthusiastic about foreign mission work, and William Adam, after forming a Unitarian Committee definitely connected with the American and English branches, established a Unitarian Chapel in Calcutta. Rammohun Roy assisted in every manner possible in these Unitarian activities : he supported the chapel, established a Unitarian Press, and published literature,—all at his own expense. And as a result of this connection he opened correspondence with several Unitarian leaders in both America and England.[35]

In December, 1821, Dr. Marshman's criticism of the *Second Appeal* caused Roy again to take up his pen. This time a 256 octavo page treatise appeared to answer the article in the *Friend of India*. It was entitled *Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus,"* and was published in January, 1823.[36]

At the same time that Rammohun Roy was giving his interpretation of Christianity to the people of a Christian world and claiming to be one of them, he was also defending the devout Hindu in the pages of the *Brahmunical Magazine*, a publication established by him under the pen name "Shivuprasad Surma." Though this duality might make it seem that Roy was contradicting himself, it was, in reality, the sign of a deep understanding on his part of what is best in all religions. Roy had started his new publication when the *Sumachar Durpan*, a Baptist Bengali paper, had refused to print his reply to an article which claimed that the Vedanta was pantheistical rather than monotheistical. Roy printed his reply in his own paper, the *Brahmunical Magazine*, which he later used to give expression to his arguments against Trinitarianism and his opinions on other issues.[37]

After the publication of his *Final Appeal* in 1823, Roy suggested the publication of a monthly magazine for Biblical criticism.

> "If any one of missionary gentlemen for himself and in behalf of his fellow-labourers would send any essay in defence of their distinctive tenets, Rammohun would publish the same at his own expense."[38]

This publication did not materialize, but a new controversy did come into being as a result of the suggestion. This time the antagonist was a certain doctor, R. Tytler, who challenged Rammohun Roy to public or private debates. Roy refused the offer, as it had not come from a responsible clergyman. So the controversy was argued out through a series of letters published in the *Bengal Hurkaru* during the latter part of April, May, and part of June, 1823. Tytler's arguments, based mainly on prejudices and emotional conclusions, were easily demolished by Roy's clear ideas. Then, with the gradual withdrawal of Dr. Tytler, the whole matter finally came to an end. The letters were published in 1823 at the Bengal Hurkaru Press, and entitled, *A Vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity as the Common Basis of Hindooism and Christianity, against the Schismatic Attacks of R. Tytler, Esq., M.D.*, by Ram Doss.[39]

About this time appeared Rammohun Roy's *Dialogue between a Missionary and Three Chinese Converts* (1823), the purpose of which was to show "that the impression produced on Chinese minds by the teaching of three gods who are one God and one of whom died is bewildering and ridiculous."[40]

(To be concluded.)

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34. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 130-131.
35. Details are given in the section entitled "Private Sources of Information Concerning Rammohun Roy," in my "Bibliography."
36. Calcutta, Dhurmtollah, Unitarian Press, January 30, 1823.
37. The *Brahmunical Magazine* had four known issues, Nos. I, II, and III appearing in 1821, and No. IV in 1823.
38. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 77.
39. This pamphlet was reprinted *verbatim* by the *Salem Courier*, Salem, Massachusetts, some time in 1828.
40. S. D. Collet's *Raja Rammohun Roy* p. 79.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

INDIA AS A FEDERATION: *By K. V. Punnaiah M.A. (Hons.). Published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras.*

Mr. K. V. Punnaiah begins his book with the usual panegyrical flourish, common enough among certain Indians, and announces that England has "unified the country," "brought to us western ideas of liberty" and welded the nation together by a "bureaucratic system of administration." It is a tremendous grease bath for the English rulers. Mr. Punnaiah, who is a teacher of history at the Andhra University, should have avoided increasing the amount of bunk in the world.

After chanting a litany of English rule, he gets down to the main business on hand: How has the federal form of government been brought about? What are its powers and functions? What are some of its unusual features? How is it likely to work in the years ahead?

The author asserts that the Indian federation is a curious piece of political architecture, unlike that of any other existing in the world. The London officials who framed the new Constitution for India have tried to make it as painless as possible, but it is proven to be a bitter dose. India has been given only the form of self-government without the substance—or, to appropriate the expression of President Jawaharlal Nehru of the Indian National Congress, India has now only a "charter of slavery."

The immediate urge behind the federation, it is rightly pointed out, is the necessity of using the autocratic Indian princes to curb the spread of rising democracy and also of supporting the Mohammedans, a selfish minority, to thwart the will of the majority. Indeed, Mr. Punnaiah suggests that the federation has been specially designed to undermine democratic nationalism and tighten the iron grip of England. He suggests that under this charming arrangement, the old imperialist policy can be counted upon to go on as usual: divide and rule. Such is the federation plotted out to make 350 million humans go through life with Hitler goose-steps. Protagonists of absolutism, princes of privilege and exploiters of the poor need fear none. Ultimately, it is hinted, the Simon-Hoare reforms (Government of India Act, 1935) will surely fail as did the deceased Minto-Morley and Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

It is a fault in Mr. Punnaiah's book that he discusses the whole subject without any noticeable reference to the deliberations of the Indian National Congress. He does not cite even a single Congress publication in his bibliography. Apparently he has not heard of any. Where does he live?

He claims for the English character "inherent goodness"—yes, inherent! Rather a sweeping statement to make for a history teacher, isn't it?

Throughout the book the author refers to all Indian political leaders, including Tej Bahadur Sapru, whom he compares favourably with the great Tallevrand, as "politicians." But he has dubbed the meanest shyster of British politicians, even those of them who are little better than anthropoids, as "statesmen."

Even so, the book as a whole is sound in its fundamental interpretation. Mr. Punnaiah shows mastery of the complicated materials. In spite of its definite limitations, the slim little volume will be useful to anyone who wishes to know the workings of the new-fangled political machinery launched under the federation.

SUDHINDRA BOSE

THE SCIENCE OF DREAMS: *By W. B. Crow, D.Sc., Ph.D., Head of the Dept. of Biology, Technical College, Huddersfield. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Pages 42.*

The author is a Doctor of Science and Philosophy and a Biologist and a Theosophist at the same time. He has given us an exposition of the theosophical doctrine of dreams and has examined it in the light of psycho-analytical researches. According to the author, the theosophical theory has emerged victorious. There is a mystic plate at the beginning of the book showing how the astral body passes out of the "door way" when the physical body sleeps. The author believes that the liver is the dream organ *par excellence*. The physical, astral and mental bodies all contribute to the dream life. Although the scientific mind might fight shy of many of the doctrines put forth by Dr. Crow, the book will, no doubt, be of interest to the theosophists.

DREAMS: *By C. W. Leadbeater. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Price Re. 1.*

In the preface the author writes that the book is mainly written for students of theosophy. The book is interesting and pleasant reading. An attempt has been made to put a scientific garb on the theosophical teachings. The author incidentally discusses the conditions of sleep.

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He is a believer in prophetic dreams. He has tried to explain experimental dreams from the theosophical standpoint.

CLAIRVOYANCE: *By C. W. Leadbeater. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Price Rs. 2.*

The present volume is the fifth edition of the author's book, which was originally written in 1899. This book also is mainly addressed to theosophists. On page 139 the author writes "it is better far to err on the side of healthy scepticism than of overcredulity; and it is an admirable rule never to hunt about for an occult explanation of anything when a plain and obvious physical one is available". This excellent principle however, I am afraid, has been violated many times by the author himself. The author has failed to take advantage of the contributions of modern psychology to occultism. The book will certainly be read with pleasure by those readers for whom it is mainly intended.

G. Bose

LIGHTS ON YOGA: *By Sri Aurobindo. The Arya Publishing House, 63, College Street, Calcutta. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1-4 only.*

"These are extracts from letters written by Sri Aurobindo to his disciples in answer to their queries;" so we are told by the Publishers. We should not, therefore, expect here a comprehensive exposition of *Yoga*, either as a philosopher or as a practice. But the following points deserve notice:

(i) This *Yoga* "has a different purpose from others" and is a most difficult—and for many, impossible —*Yoga*. (p. 3).

(ii) The *Sadhana* of this *Yoga* does not proceed through any set mental teaching, 'but by aspiration, by a self-concentration inwards and upwards.' (p. 4).

There are four section in the book. The first defines 'the goal'; in the second, we have an account of the 'planes and parts of the being'; the third explains 'surrender and opening'; and the fourth speaks of 'work'.

The *yoga* discussed here is always spoken of as '*our yoga*' or '*this yoga*,' in order to distinguish it from other systems of *yoga*, such, perhaps, as that of Patanjali. Though a novelty is thus claimed for it, it is not altogether divorced from ancient concepts and terminology. Not only are old philosophic ideas utilised, but even physiological concepts like those of *chakras* (centres) form the basis of this *yoga* (p. 23).

Among the new conception introduced, we find 'overmind' and 'supermind'.

"The Overmind is the passage through which one passes from Mind to Supermind" (p. 41). And "Supermind is between the Sacchidananda and the lower creation" (p. 42). "Sacchidananda is the one with a triple aspect" (p. 43). Alongside of these we have the ideas of the 'Illumined' and 'the Higher Mind'.

Like all profound truths, 'this yoga' also is not for the man in the street. And the "guidance" of the *guru* is essential in such matters (p. 76). Besides, there are 'powers undivine in their nature'—'powers of darkness' (p. 77), which put obstacles in the way of our understanding them. Hence there is bound to be much here that is obscure to the lay mind. Unlike the *yoga* of Patanjali, it is not put into the form of *sutras* and developed by means of *bhasyas* or commentaries. We have only extracts from letters. And these can best be understood if and when read with fuller exposition of the subject. But we need not depend on books alone; the ideas have come to life in the forceful personality of a living teacher.

MAHARSHI DEVENDRA NATH TAGORE: *By K. Kaliana Swami, B.A., B.L. To be had from the author, Shantikutir, Cocanada, Collectorate P. O.*

This is a brief but excellent account of a great life and a great movement. The profound spiritual importance of the Brahmo Samaj and of the earnest and devoted endeavours of its founders and leaders for the uplift of Hindu Society, do not appear to have received adequate recognition at the hands of those who kept away from the movement but were not altogether unbenefited by it. If, however, the history of nineteenth Century Hinduism ever comes to be written, the good that men like Devendranath have done to the Hindu world, will not be forgotten.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

PILGRIMAGE TO GREATER INDIA: *By Swami Sadananda. Published by the author. Pp. iv+45 and 12 plates.*

The book contains the impressions of the monk's travels in Indo-China, Malay and Indonesia. It chiefly deals with the temples and religious monuments of the countries visited, and of which there are several good illustrations. The style is simple, while the narration is in a spirit of devoted admiration.

Sudhir Ch. Laha

REVISION OF OTTAWA: A STUDY IN APPLIED ECONOMICS: *By D. Ghosh, M.A., (Cantab.), Reader in Economics, University of Bombay. The Book Company, Calcutta, 1936. Pages 93. Price Rs. 2.*

The three years of the currency of the Ottawa Agreement have been productive of a new series of discussions on Imperial Preference and its effects on India. Mr. Ghosh has been one of those who have taken part in these discussions from the inception of the Agreement, and his cool criticism has been remarkably effective in building up opinion against the government policy. The present work examines in the light of available statistics, the effects of the agreement on our export and import trade and contains a searching examination of India's position in world trade during the last three years.

One of the merits of Mr. Ghosh's writing is his moderation. He is nowhere guilty of overstating his case, and he freely admits that there are cases where the present state of knowledge can lead to no conclusion at all. It is this fairness that adds weight to all that he says. Even those who refuse to accept Mr. Ghosh's "commonsense method" of calculating the loss from the Agreement, will at least admit that a *definitely favourable* conclusion about the effects of the Ottawa Agreement is impossible. And, it is perhaps only this that Mr. Ghosh wants to prove.

It is worth noting that he holds that in the limited recovery Indian trade has seen recently, "the major roles were played not by the Ottawa Agreement, but by other, wider and more fundamental forces which affected the trade of the whole world." A discussion of the implications of this statement is not possible here; but, it is perhaps enough to say that every page of this small book abounds in scholarship and penetrating judgment, and that these pages logically lead up to the conclusion that India cannot do without bi-lateral treaties with non-empire countries.

Bhabatosh Datta

THE SANKHYA CATECHISM. *Complied by Srimad Vivekaprakasa Brahmacari. Kapila Math, Madhupur. Price 2s. Re 1-6.*

The cattchism under review is an excellent exposition of the Sankhya principles. Provided he gets familiar with

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the special technical terms used by the author in translating the fundamental concepts, even a layman will be able to gain some insight into the intricacies of the subject. Many may not agree, however, as to the suitability of the terms employed in the attempt to render into English the concepts of the Sankhya system. The task is admittedly a difficult one. It would have been better perhaps if the original Sanskrit terms were preserved in the text and a glossary, giving detailed exposition, of the terms were appended at the end.

Considering the gravity of the task undertaken, the author has acquitted himself creditably. The price is cheap and the book deserves to have a wide circulation.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE: *By J. M. Somasundaram, B.A., B.L. Madras, 1935. Pages viii + 89 and 25 plates. Solden & Co., Madras S. E. 1935.*

The book contains a detailed description of the Sri Brihadisvara temple of Tanjore. A mass of historical information has also been given with regard to the temple and the city of Tanjore and its successive rulers.

We hope it will prove helpful to the numerous visitors who are annually attracted to this ancient centre of South Indian Culture.

IVAN ILYCH AND HADJI MURAD: *By Leo Tolstoy. The World's Classics. Oxford University Press. Pp. xiv+411+16.*

This book contains seven stories by Tolstoy, namely, The Death of Ivan Ilych, Master and Man, A Talk among Leisured People, Walk in the Light while there is Light, Memoirs of a Madman, Hadji Murad and Fedor Kuzmich. In many of these stories Tolstoy introduces death as a very important factor in human life; and also depicts how, in its presence, the human soul is sometimes uplifted so as to be filled with the love of man, which is the same as the love of God. As such, these stories have something serious to tell and to teach the reader; but in artistic excellence too, a story like Hadji Murad can hardly be surpassed.

Tolstoy appears in this book not merely in the fulness of his wisdom, but also in the greatness of his power as a literary artist.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

INDUSTRY YEAR BOOK AND DIRECTORY 1936: *Industry Publishers Limited, Keshub Bhavan, 22, R. G. Kar Road, Calcutta. Rs. 5.*

The publishers are doing a service to the country by bringing out this Year Book and Directory 'to record the industrial and commercial activities of this vast country and to unfold the huge potentialities of the internal trade centres which generally go neglected.' This 1936 edition, besides the 'mass of up-to-date information bearing on trade, commerce and markets,' contains several recent 'Labour and Commercial Laws.' The publishers do not claim every information collected in the book to be correct. A perfect publication, free from inaccuracies, is only possible when attempts made by the publishers are supplemented by the willing co-operation of all who are in a position to supply correct information. One can only hope that such co-operation will not be lacking for such a useful Indian publication.

THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY (1936 Annual): *By M. P. Gandhi, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-4.*

In 1934 Mr. Gandhi published his comprehensive monograph, *The Indian Sugar Industry: Its past, Present and Future* and in 1935 he published his first *Annual* and the book under review is the second. It starts with a useful and reliable compilation of statistics showing the industry 'at a glance (1936)'. Then the author deals with a detail review of the industry during the year 1935-36 in the first part, while in the second part we find a careful examination, from the Indian point of view, of the present problems as well as the future prospects of the industry. Mr. Gandhi pleads that 'it is the duty of the Government to carry the policy of protection to the logical conclusion' and he is confident that this will place the industry in a position which shall be 'pride to India, of envy to the world, at no distant date.' The appendix gives a detailed list of sugar mills (vacuum pan) in India for the year. The *Annual* is a highly interesting, informative and useful study. How much Bengal feels the want of such a devoted student for her industry of jute.

BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

ROBERT THE BRUCE: *By Eric Linklater. Peter Davies, Ltd. London. 1934. 5s. net.*

About six hundred years ago in a far off corner of the world, a demand was made for freedom, made with a largeness of vision and breadth of outlook which endears it to all men and in all times. Bruce's life (the later, not the earlier, and the transformation is well explained) still retains its charm not only because it is full of adventures but also because it was the central fact that dominated Scotland in its momentous struggle for freedom. Mr. Linklater tells his story with sufficient detail, but he never forgets the main issue: although a well-documented book and written with enthusiasm, though the style is remarkable for restraint.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY'S MONOGRAPH NO. 6. *Published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1935.*

The present monograph has seven papers,—four on Muslim and three on Hindu topics. The Biral Inscription of Sayfuddin Firoz Shah, dated 880 A. H. is a new one. This and all the other papers on Muslim coin and inscriptions are by Prof. S. Sharaf-ud-Din, M.A., B.L. Mr. Sarasi Kumar Saraswati, M.A., has contributed two papers—one. a note on the Baigram copperplate. and the other on Mahalakshmi. There are four plates which are satisfactorily produced.

RAMES BASU

SASTRIC THEISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICE: *By Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan. Cloth-bound, Re. 1.8. Brahma Mission Press, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

This is a book unique of its kind and contains the quintessence of the philosophy and practice of the higher theistic religion as taught in the universally accepted Hindu scriptures, namely, the *Prasthanatraya*, or the three Vedantic institutes, the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgita and the Brahmasutras. It is an English translation, with some additions and alterations, of the author's Bengali book, *Sastriya Brahmavada-o-Brahmasadhana*, written at the instance of the Maharaja of Pithapuram and published in the year 1933. The English rendering, also, has been made at the request of the Maharaja and the proofs have been looked over by Brahmarshi Dr. Sir Venkataratnam.

It is a most precious volume and will, we hope, be of invaluable help alike to religious devotees and to earnest students of the philosophy and practice of higher theism.

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The masterly sweep of the author's massive intellect, his synthetic genius, keen spiritual insight and profoundly religious and devotional nature, combined with perspicuity of expression and the author's characteristic lucidity of exposition, have made the book a most attractive, elevating and enjoyable reading. Those who hunger and thirst for God-realization and God-communion, will find in it ample food not only for serious reflection but also for actual assimilation in their own life and conduct.

SRISCHANDRA VEDANTABHUSHAN, BHAGAVATRATNA

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ASTADHYAYI. *By J. S. Pawate M.A., LL.B. Published by the author from his residence in Harpanhalli Lane in Hubli.*

The author of this booklet has discussed the authorship of the *Dhatupatha* and the *Ganapatha* and has pointed out the various instances of inconsistencies and irregularities noticed by him in Panini's system of grammar, *e.g.*, the absence of uniformity in the use of technical terms, irregularity in the use of cases in the words in a number of *sutras*, the occasional abrupt and inexplicable appearance of a *sutra* in the midst of a regular group and so on and so forth. He has sought to explain these irregularities by a surmise supported by profuse arguments that the grammatical system going by the name of Panini is a heterogenous one being composed of parts belonging to different authors. The thesis that the learned author wants to make out is, to use his own words, that "Panini got handed down to him . . . a book of Sutras which conformed to the Paribhasas now found in the Astadhyayi with the *Dhatupatha* and *Ganapatha* as companion volumes. . . . The book of Sutras, Panini found, was incomplete and inadequate as a manual of Sanskrit grammar. So he proceeded to enlarge it mainly by incorporating into it Sutras borrowed from grammatical works belonging to schools of grammar other than his own . . . and by framing . . . fresh Sutras of his own and adding them to it" (p. 114). The conclusions expressed in so definite terms are apparently startling but they deserve to be examined calmly and critically. The Astadhyayi along with the exegetical literature on it requires to be thoroughly investigated in the lines indicated by the author. And it must be admitted that very useful spade work has been made by Mr. Pawate in this direction.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

KAM-VIJNAN : *By Sj. Dina Nath Vyas. Edited by Sj. Dularey Lal Bhargava. Published by Ganga Granthagar, Lucknow. Double Crown 16. Pages 180. Price Re. 1-8.*

During the last few years there has been a spate of worthless books in Indian vernaculars on sexual subjects. The book under review is an addition to it. Sex is a very important, though delicate subject and it should be handled with greatest care and after years of prolonged study and observation. Before attempting to write on this subject, one should equip oneself with a fair knowledge of Anatomy, Physiology, Zoology, Sociology and Psychology and should have a wide experience of human nature. It is apparent that neither the author nor the editor can claim acquaintance with any of these subjects. Still they have rushed in where wiser men would fear to tread. All the stock in trade of the author consists of a few secondclass English books, and even these he has not been able to assimilate and adapt for Indian requirements. In dealing with the problem of racial admixture he talks about the Negroes and Europeans. The quotations from *Manu Smriti* are given in English! It would have been better if the author had devoted his energies to some other subject, which he may be knowing well. Unless some medical scholar devotes his life to the study of this subject and produces some authoritative work on it, quacks will continue to exploit the credulity of the public.

B. M. VARMA

SANSKRIT

DASOPANISHADS WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SRI UPANISHAD-BRAHMA-YOGIN. VOLUME I: *Edited by the Pandits of the Adyar Library under the supervision of Prof. C. Kunhan Raja M.A., D.Phil (Oxon.). Published for the Adyar Library (Theosophical Society).*

The handsome volume under review contains a popular edition of eight of the ten principal Upanishads with the commentary of one whose commentaries on the minor Upanishads have already been published by the same organization in similar beautiful and attractive volumes. 'The remaining two Upanishads, Chandogya and Brihadaranyaka, will,' it is announced, 'appear as the next volume in the series.' The plan followed in the present volume is the same as that in other Upanishadic publications of the Adyar Library. A number of variant readings have been noted in the case of three of the Upanishads and their commentaries, *e.g.*, Isa, Kena and Katha, but it is not possible to ascertain the value and importance of these readings, for the sources of these are not known as no account of the MSS. collated for the edition has been given. The indexes of proper names as well as of important words constitute an important and useful feature of the present volume as of similar other volumes forming the series of Upanishadic publications of the Adyar Library.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

KANNADA

BUDDHA : *By Mr. C. K. Venkataramiah, M.A., LL.B. Double Crown 16. Pp. 250-X. Price Rs. 1-8. Paper bound. Copies can be had of Sathyasodhana Pustak Bhandar. Fort, Bangalore City.*

Mr. Venkataramiah is a well-known Kannada writer. He has shown his talents in different fields. The book under review is the biography of Lord Buddha one of the greatest men and preachers the world has ever produced. In order of the Man and His work the author has given a glimpse of the conditions and atmosphere in which Buddha was born. Mr. Venkataramiah believes in doing a thing thoroughly. He has prepared this biography after a critical study of numerous works on the subject. The book covers the main episodes of Buddha's life. The spread of Buddhism and its Religious and Cultural Expansion are reserved for a future book. The volume is illustrated with four beautiful plates and also a map of North India of the period. The printing and get up are excellent.

TURAI : *By Mr. C. K. Venkataramiah, M.A., LL.B. Double Crown 16. Pp. VIII-154 Price Rupee One. Copies to be had of Sathyasodhana Pustak Bhandar, Fort, Bangalore City.*

It is a collection of seven short stories. The author is remarkably successful in depicting middle class Kannada Family-life. He has developed a style of his own. Though the scenes are often placed two or three decades back they have a freshness of their own. They

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also make the reader conscious of the changes that have come during the last two decades. His humorous touches make the story more enjoyable.

A. NARAYANASWAMY AIYER

TELUGU

KAKATIYASAMCHIKA: *Edited by M. Rama Rao, M.A., B.Ed. Published by Andhretihasa-samshodhaka-mandali, Rajamahendravaram, 1935. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a collection of twenty-four papers written in Telugu by different scholars on the history of the Kakatiyas, their war against the Muhammedans, their patronage of literature, etc. The papers give fairly full information on all these matters, and the volume may therefore be well described as a 'manual of the history of the Kakatiyas and their time.' The work is embellished with many illustrations of temples and other sculptures, and with an appendix in which are reproduced the texts of thirty-nine important inscriptions. The publication is a timely one, and we can unhesitatingly recommend it to all students of Kakatiya history.

TELINGANA SASANAMULA, SAMPUTAMU 1: *Published by Lakshmana-raya Parishodhaka Mandali, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1935. Price Rs. 4 and 2-8.*

This volume contains the text (in Telugu characters) of 123 inscriptions found in Telingana, *i.e.*, in the Telugu districts of H. E. H., the Nizam's Dominion. Fifty-three of them, written mostly in Telugu, belong to the reign of the Kakatiyas, and forty-two, written mostly in Kannada, to the reign of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani; the remaining inscriptions belong to the reign of miscellaneous chiefs and rulers . .

It is the object of the Lakshmana-raya Parishodhaka Mandali to bring to light and publish the numerous inscriptions that are found in Telingana. The volume under review is the first fruit of their labours; and the Mandali deserve the thanks of all persons interested in historical research for their labour in this connection. We wish their enterprise all success and hope that other volumes containing the texts of other inscriptions will be published by them soon.

The editing of the Kannada inscriptions leaves much to be desired; and we would suggest to the Mandali that they should secure the assistance of a competent Kannada scholar when editing inscriptions written in that language.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

GUZERATI

PRACHIN BHARATVARSHA. PART II: *By Dr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah, Baroda. Published by Shashikant and Co., Raopura, Baroda. Pages 412 + 11 + 15 + 16 + 8. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 7-8 (1936).*

The first part of this remarkable work—remarkable because of a man of medicine delving deep into the ancient history of India—has already been noticed. This substantial volume of fine pages deals with numismatics —old coins *i.e.*, coins current in ancient India. In addition, the period covered by the Maurya dynasty and the onslaughts of foreigners—Yavanas—have been handled with the precision of a scientist. The indexes are very useful and furnish a key to the varied contents of the volume.

ANKH ANE CHASHMA: *By Dr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah. Published as above. Cloth bound. Pages 130. Price annas 10.*

Dr. Shah's little volume on "Eye and Spectacles" is crammed with information relating to the structure of the eye, eye ailments and the help given by glasses. Shashikant and Co. are manufacturers of spectacles and therefore in a position to speak in details about the subject.

KABARASTAN, PART I: *By M. Published by the Phulchhab Karyalaya. Ranpur, Kathiawad. Thick card board. Pages 192. Price Re. 1-8 (1936).*

In the form of a novel, the writer has described the various phases of the Civil Disobedience movement, when the youth of the country shed their old garments and assumed new ones. The old garments have been buried for ever in the grave-yard (Kabarstan) of the past. It is a spirited production.

SANJIVANI: *By Sopan. Ppblished by I. M. Dave of the Anjali Granthmala, Denso Hall, Karachi. Pages 362 Cloth bound. Price Rs. 2 (1936).*

The cessation of the Civil Disobedience movement brought its own problems, so far as the home and domestic life of those who took part in it was concerned. The duty of the released youngman towards his parents his wife, his friends has turned out to be a great obstacle in the conduct of his life on lines laid down by him for serving India. Should he ignore the family debt and not help his father to repay it? or should he live a comfortable life and leave the members of his family to their fate? This problem and other similar ones have been discussed here in the form of a story of forty-nine chapters. The foreword by Mr. Narhari D. Parikh puts the whole story in a nutshell. The language used is easy and simple, a greatly attractive feature.

1. GITA MANTHAN: *By Kishorlal G. Mashruwala. Published by the Prasthan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pages 478. Rc. 1-4 (1935).*

2. BHAGVAD GITA KI SAMALOCHNA: *Translated by Zowji Jhina Master. Printed at the Jay Swadeshi Press. Ranpur, Kathiawad. Cloth bound. Pages 278. Price Rs. 2 (1936).*

The close study of the Gita has always attracted the best minds of Gujarat from very old times. The first book, the Churning of the Gita is a very thoughtful essay, and the writer has tried to extract from the holy discourse the great secret it carries and the sound advice it gives to the world, good for all time to come. The second work is remarkable for the fact that it is from the pen of a Khoja (Mahomedan) gentleman. It is the translation of a Bengali book by Mahatma Soham Swami and a very good translation. Mr. Master had the advantage of having resided for a very long time at Benares and thus imbibing the spirit of Hinduism, and implementing it by residing later at his native place, Gadhada, in Kathiawad, the seat of Saint Swaminarayan. He has very fully caught the trend of the observations of the Mahatma, and reproduced them faithfully.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND: *By M. M. Dholakia B.A., B.T. Published by Mohanlal D. Mehta, Rajkot Cloth bound. Pages 508. Price Rc. 1-12 (1935).*

This book on the history of England is divided into seven sections and a supplement describes its constitution. It has been written for the use of students and should prove useful.

KAVYA KALGI: *By Manu H. Dave. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pages 96. Price Re. 1 (1935).*

Mr. Dave has published ninety-one of his poems based on "Realism" as he says in his preface, a preface which betrays marks of various study of Gujarati poetry. The poems are pleasant to be read and show that the writer's ability will improve with time.

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FORAM, WANES 6 to 9 : *By Shardaprasad Varma, with a Foreword by Jyotindra H. Dave, M.A. Published by the Yugantar Karyalaya, Surat. Cloth bound. Pages 228. Price Re. 1-8.*

Thirty-six "Lives of Great Men" who were Indians (and one European, Mr. Forlus) and who have benefited India in various directions are given here in chatty and attractive style, such as would interest children. It is a novel idea, successfully carried out.

1. ADARSHA GREHASTHASHRAMS : *Published by "Sant Bal" and written by Muni Shri Sowbhagya Chandraji, printed at the Surjyaprakasha Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pages 280. Price annas ten (1935).*

2. DASH VAIKALIK SUTRA : *Published as above, written as above. Thick card board. Pages 163. Price annas four (1935).*

Both these books are written mainly for the followers of Mahavir and necessarily look at things from their point of view. The first one however contains many aspects which would benefit non-Jains also. The second is the translation of a well-known Sutra with notes and comments.

SHRI SHUKA RAMBHA AKHYAN : *By Rao Saheb Purushottam Jogibhai Bhatt, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Cambay. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pages 62. Price .annas twelve (1936).*

Mr. Bhatt is a practised hand at verse composition, and a student of Sanskrit as his previous works show. In this poem, he takes Shukmuni as his ideal of Brahmacharya, which he does not use in its ordinary sense of celibacy, or abstention from women but in a wider sense, *i.e.*, conduct answering to Vedic ideal. He paints a pleasant picture of the old times when there have been no infant marriages, and where students studied in Gurukuls away from inhabited places.

SATYAMAYA JIVAN : *By Kishorlal G. Mashruvala. Published by the Prasthan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pages 210. Price annas ten (1935).*

An essay based on Morley's Compromise, and written in his best style by Mr. Mashruvala, a serious young thinker of Mahatma Gandhi's school, it is seen to guide many to the Life steeped in Truth. Many problems of this complicated subject have been lucidly served by him in this book.

KUMAR SAMBHAV: *By Nagandas Amarji Pandya, B.A. Wadhwan. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press. Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pages 126. Price Re. 1 (1936).*

Kalidas's Mahakavya, Kumar is translated into *Samasholak* by Mr. Pandya. Fortunately he has given footnotes to explain difficult words and phrases, otherwise it would have been difficult to follow his translation, so full of Sanskrit words (of necessity) it is. Mr. Pathak's Foreword is very instructive.

AHMEDABAD MUNICIPALITY CENTENARY MEMORIAL VOLUME : *Edited by P. K. Desai, Administrative officer, Municipal School Board, Ahmedabad and Hiralal T. Parekh, Assistant Secretary, Gujarat Vernacular Society. Printed at the Prajabandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Cloth bound. Pages 172. With maps. Price Re. 1 (1935).*

Every thing relating to the past and present municipal activities of Ahmedabad, the great capital city of Gujarat is to be found here. It was a happy idea of that body to have its work thus focussed into one place. It is an inspiring record of work done in spite of great difficulties. The photo-blocks of its Show-men and Show-places are numerous and occuny nearly one-third of the bulk of the book. The maps are very helpful.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ENGLISH

PILGRIM'S STAFF : *By Ram B. Motwani, Price Rupee One.*

THE HIMALAYAN HOME OF THE ARYANS : *By Aryasomayajulu Somayajulu, Price annas five.*

PHRASES AND IDIOMS FROM SHAKESPEARE : *By Brahmeswar Bhattacheryya (Book Company), Price Rupees Two.*

RAI RADHA CHARAN PAL BAHADUR IN MEMORIUM

THE SHORT SKETCH OF HINDU SOCIETY, ANCIENT AND MODERN : *By Radhika Lal Tarafdar Price annas six.*

WOMEN IN HINDU SOCIETY, ANCIENT AND MODERN : *By Radhika Lal Tarafdar. Price annas six.*

AMRITANUBHAVA OR ELIXIR OF LIFE : *By Anant Vishnu Khasnis, Price Two.*

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN CHINA : *Publishers : Chinese Workers Correspondence, Shanghai, Peiping Price Twenty Cents.*

FIVE HYMNS TO SRI ARUNACHALA : *Price Annas Four.*

THE CALL OF VASANTHA : *By M. A. Masilamani*

BANJO NOTES : *By Akinchan Das-gupta.*

WHAT IS WRONG WITH BOMBAY UNIVERSITY ? *By S. G. Warty, Price Rupee One.*

GUZARATI

EIGHT BOOKS OF MALHARJI : (*Manek Lal Jamnadas*). *At various Prices.*

GITA SUBHASHITAM : *By M. N. Patel. Price Re. 1.*

MANUFACTURE OF SOAP : *By "Shams." Price Rs. 2.*

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF PUSTAKALAYA PRAVRETTI : (*Boroda*) *Price Rs. 2.*

PRAKASH : *By P. Bakshi, (Sayaji Bal Jnan Mala) Price annas six.*

MOUNT ABU : *By A. M. Kantavala. Price annas six.*

ZAKAL NAN MOTI : *By Ratilal Chhaya. Price*

RAM PRASADI : *By T. P. Mehta. Price*

VIR COLLEGE KUMAR : *By J. Shelat. Price annas twelve.*

UNNATI NO MARGA, A BOOK ON COW PROTECTION : *By C. G. Joshi. Price Rs. 2.*

VIJAYA MANTRA : *N. N. Shah. Price Rs. 2-4.*

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA : *By C. M. Doctor. Price Re. 1-8.*

INSAN MITA DUNGA : *By K. Shridharani. Price annas six.*

DRISHTI PARIVARTAN, PART I : *By V. K. Vaidya. Price Re. 1-8.*

DEEN CHARYA : *By B. G. Vaidya. Price Re. 1-8.*

SUKH NO SAKSHATKAR : *By Sant Bal. Price annas one and six pies.*

JIVAN PRAKASH : *By Sarodi. Price Re. 1-0-6.*

ATHDALAN HAIYAN : *By A. Khalil. Price Re. 3-8.*

MRITYU NAN MOHMAN : (Already Reviewed 1st & 2nd Edition).

VIVAH SANGIT : *By B. K. Shukla. Price annas four.*

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BHUPENDRA NATH BASU AND THE INDIAN REFORMS

By the late Sir CHARU CHUNDER GHOSE

[Found among the late Sir Charu Chunder Ghose's papers and contributed to *The Modern Review* by his son Mr. Rabindra Chunder Ghose, Bar-at-law.]

I had the privilege of knowing the late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu for nearly 40 years. In my infancy he became acquainted with my father and the two soon became very great friends. In this way as I grew up I used to see him very often at our place and the deceased extended to me his confidence. In the early nineties I regarded him as a most enthusiastic worker in the cause of the Indian National Congress under the guidance of the late Mr. A. O. Hume, who was the general Secretary of the Congress of those days. His collaborators were many distinguished men who are no longer in the land of the living but whose memories are still green. I refer to the late Mr. Charu Chandra Mitter of Allahabad, the late Mr. Girija Bhusan Mookherji, who was one of the earliest of the Premchand Roychand Scholars, the late Pundit Ajodhya Nath of Allahabad, the late Mr. R. N. Mudholkar of Amraoti, the late Mr. D. A. Kharaj of Bombay, the late Mr. Chiplunkar of Poona, the late Mr. G. Subramania Iyer of Madras and, last but not the least, the late Mr. J. Ghosal. In the work of the Congress the late Mr. Basu never spared himself and his time was always at the disposal of the country, and in the rooms of the Indian Association his voice was heard frequently alike at general meetings and in committees. In those days Mr. Basu did yeoman's service in assisting the late Mr. J. Ghosal in organizing the service for sending correct telegraphic reports to the English press of current Indian events and in dissipating the mischief that was created weekly by the late Mr. J. C. McGregor, who was the Calcutta Correspondent of the *London Times*. Mr. J. C. McGregor, who was a barrister by profession, was the holder of an important office in the High Court, namely, the Official Receivership. It is said that Sir Comer Petheram, who was then the Chief Justice, did not at all like the idea of one of his officials being connected with a newspaper and that on one important occasion, when a particularly distorted account of the Calcutta event was telegraphed to the *London Times*, the Chief Justice expressed the view that Mr. McGregor would have to make up his mind which master he would like to serve, the High Court or the *London Times*. At any rate, it is certain that Mr. McGregor's connection with the *Times* came to an end shortly thereafter.

Lord Lansdowne was then the Viceroy and his Law Member, the late Sir Andrew Scoble, on the advice of the late Mr. B. M. Malabari, introduced into the then Imperial Legislative Council the famous Age of Consent Bill. Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, who had recently retired from the High Court after a long and distinguished career, voiced the popular opposition and the controversy over the Bill raged far and wide. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which was then a weekly newspaper, came out suddenly as a daily and day by day reports came in from the muffasil indicative of the strength of the popular opposition to the Age of Consent Bill. *The Indian Mirror* was almost the only English edited newspaper which lent support to Government in that crisis. The view taken by the *Indian Mirror*, which was edited by the late Rai Bahadur Narendra Nath Sen, found support among men like the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose. It was at the latter's house that meetings were convened for taking effective measures to convince Lord Lansdowne's Government that the intellectuals were by no means wholly opposed to the view taken by the Government. It was at the suggestion of the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose that Mr. Basu drew up the famous memorial in support of the idea of raising the age of consent from 10 to 12. That memorial was referred to by Lord Lansdowne in the Imperial Legislative Council in terms of the highest praise and it evoked from the late Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookherji, who was the editor of the *Reis and Raiyat* and who was a no mean authority in these matters, very warm commendation.

Mr. Basu found time in the midst of an expanding practice as a Solicitor of the Calcutta High Court to engage in civic work, and during the chairmanship of officers like the late Mr. Harry Lee, the late Mr. W. R. Bright, the late Mr. J. G. Ritchie and the late Mr. R. T. Greer, he did magnificent work as a member of the old Calcutta Corporation. Sir Alexander MacKenzie became Lieut.-Governor of Bengal in

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the winter of 1895 and he early seized the occasion to lecture the Municipal Commissioners of Calcutta on their alleged neglect of an effective conservancy service in Calcutta. He described the Commissioners as a set of place-hunters who were engaged in immolating the then Health Officer, Dr. Simpson (later Sir William Simpson of the King's College, London). The story of the resignation of 28 Commissioners of the Calcutta Corporation as a protest against Sir Alexander MacKenzie's remarks on the occasion of the opening of the Palmer's Bridge Outfall Work is well known and I will therefore content myself by merely alluding to it. Mr. Basu felt keenly the officialization, as it was then termed, of the Old Calcutta Corporation, but his friend and colleague the late Mr. Nalin Behari Sircar, C.I.E., rejoined the Calcutta Corporation after an absence of a little over two years and Sir James Bourdillon who was officiating as Lieut.-Governor of Bengal after the death of Sir John Woodburn, seized the occasion of Mr. Nalin Behari Sircar's return to the Corporation for preaching a homily on the need of capable Indians of his stamp being on the Corporation. It is said that Sir James Bourdillon wrote a personal letter to the late Mr. Basu requesting him to follow the example of Mr. Sircar, but Mr. Basu preferred to stand aside from the Corporation along with the veteran Mr. Kali Nath Mitter, C.I.E.

The years between 1899 and 1905 were eventful and Mr. Basu took his full share in the public activities in his province and in his city. The selection of the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as President of the Indian National Congress of 1906 was in a measure due to Mr. Basu's advice. As a matter of fact, Mr. Basu with the help of the late Mr. W .C. Bonnerjee, the late Sir William Wedderburn and the late Mr. A. O. Hume was able to induce the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to leave his quiet retreat in Anerly in the suburbs of London and to come out when he was nearing 80 to preside over the deliberations of the Congress in India. That year's Congress marked a parting of the ways. The Swaraj flag was unfurled at that memorable gathering and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji gave an articulate expression to the aspiration of the Indians for self-government. The old Congress with its veteran leaders, some of whom had been present at the birth of the Congress, practically came to an end with the session of 1906. It was followed by the disastrous session of 1907 in Surat, where Mr. Tilak and his following came into violent conflict with the older leaders like the late Sir Pherozshah Mehta, the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose and the late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu. The story of the Surat Congress will be found in the enthralling pages of Mr. Natesan's book, but it does not mention the quiet influence which was exercised by late Mr. Basu. In this he received consistent help from the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose and the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea and it was shortly by the efforts of the late Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Mr. Basu that the Congress came back for a time to its old moorings in 1908, when the meeting in Madras was presided over by the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose. Mr. Gokhale had already risen to fame and the Morley-Minto reforms were on the *tapis*. Mr. Basu's weekly lines to the late Sir William Wedderburn, extracts of which are to be found in Mr. Ratcliffe's excellent biography of Sir Wiliam Wedderburn, enabled Sir William to press the Indian point of view on Lord Morley, and years ago I heard from Sir William that Lord Morley expressed to him the view that if it was a matter of dealing with Indians of the type of the late Mr. Basu, it would be very easy to frame a constitution which would satisfy the India of his day.

I have not referred thus far to Mr. Basu's work on the Senate of the Calcutta University, nor to his work as one of the most determined opponents of the Partition of Bengal. He believed with the intensity of religious conviction that the Partition of Bengal should not be for all time a settled fact, as Lord Morley on a famous occasion described it, and he seized the occasion of his first visit to England in 1911 to press upon Lord Crewe, the then Secretary of State for India, the necessity of placating the agitators. Mr. Gokhale once said that if there was no peace in Bengal there would be no peace in India. Lord Crewe was firmly impressed with the necessity of rectifying the Partition of Bengal and he early pressed the view on Lord Hardinge's attention. Mr. Basu always claimed that a large measure of the credit for the undoing of the partition was due to him. Whether subsequent events have proved that credit was due to him or that he lacked in political imagination, is probably an open question, but be that as it may, the two visits of Mr. Basu, one in 1911 and the second in 1914 to England, very considerably widened his mental horizon and brought him into contact with many well-known people in England. When the war broke out, Mr. Basu was away from London, but he wrote a letter to the *Times* saying that during the period of the war the clash and

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din of political controversy in India would be hushed and Indians and Britishers alike would be found rallying to the side of the Crown. That letter made an impression wide and deep all over England and his services as a pamphleteer were utilized by the Victoria League, on the governing body of which were distinguished men like Mr. Asquith and Prof. Gilbert Murray. Mr. Basu had become acquainted with Mr. Montagu in 1911 and also during Mr. Montagu's visit to India on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar, and Mr. Montagu had very early formed the highest estimate of Mr. Basu's capabilities. In 1917, when the Imperial Conference was held in London Lord Sinha was selected as the Indian representative. Mr. Austen Chamberlain was then Secretary of State for India. He had before him at the time the famous memorandum of 19 members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council demanding a substantial constitutional advance; Mr. Chamberlain had before him also Lord Sinha's epoch-making speech in the Congress in 1915, wherein he demanded the enunciation of a definite policy for India; Mr. Chamberlain had before him Sir Thomas Holderness's famous minute on Lord Sinha's presidential address in which he said that it would be necessary to proclaim a policy for India; Mr. Chamberlain had before him Lord Chelmsford's despatch embodying the conclusions of his Government on the memorandum of these 19 members of the Legislative Council, and it is said that Mr. Chamberlain seized the occasion of Lord Sinha's visit to England for the purpose of obtaining a mental picture, true and accurate, of the entire scene before he placed before the Cabinet his considered views on the proposals sent to him by Lord Chelmsford's Government. It will not be disclosing a secret if I were to relate now that Mr. Chamberlain at first did not favour the idea of a pronouncement of a policy, such as was eventually made in August, 1917. Mr. Chamberlain's idea then was to induce the Cabinet to sanction progressive reforms in India sufficient unto the day and not to launch upon a proclamation of policy. Lord Sinha impressed Mr. Chamberlain with a changing Indian scene and in this his efforts were well seconded by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Meston. Three prolonged interviews Mr. Chamberlain had and at the end of the third interview it is said that Mr. Chamberlain was firmly convinced that a proclamation of policy was essential and could not be further delayed. Dr. Annie Besant had started her Home Rule League and the air was thick with the ideas of self-determination and responsible government. Mr. Chamberlain was hopeful that he would be able to induce the Cabinet, which included men like Lord Meston, to sanction the proclamation of a policy but obviously it would take time. Meanwhile, he was most anxious to strengthen the Indian element in the India Council and applied to Lord Sinha for the names of capable Indians whom he might invite to sit as members of his Council. The name that was suggested by Lord Sinha was that of the late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, and after consultation with Lord Chelmsford's Government Mr. Basu was appointed in June, 1917, as a Member of the Council of State for India. Before, however, Mr. Basu could take his seat on the Secretary of State's Council, Mr. Chamberlain resigned the Secretaryship of State for India over the agitation following the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on the Mesopotamian War. The muddle in Mesopotamia was not of Mr. Chamberlain's making but he felt that after the rebuke that had been administered by the Royal Commissioners it was not consistent with his sense of honour to retain the position of the Secretary of State for India. When, however, he quitted the office, Mr. Chamberlain expressed his regret that he had not been able to claim Mr. Basu as one of his colleagues in the India Office. Mr. Montagu succeeded Mr. Chamberlain. The declaration of policy that was finally sanctioned on the 20th August, 1917, had been already drafted by Mr. Chamberlain and passed by the Cabinet, which included Lord Curzon, before Mr. Montagu entered the portals of the India Office as Secretary of State for India. This fact is often forgotten and it is too readily assumed that Mr. Montagu was responsible for the drafting of the proclamation of the policy which was made in August, 1917. Mr. Montagu's letters to Mr. Basu when he and Mr. Basu were associated together reveal an amount of his confidence in the latter which those who have not seen them will not be able to appreciate. Mr. Basu enjoyed the complete confidence of Mr. Montagu. In the enunciation, in the framing of the constitution for India and in the exercise of patronage by the Secretary of State, Mr. Basu had a very great share and he became early known in the inner circle of the Government of India as the power behind the throne. When Mr. Montagu left the India Office, Anglo-India was no doubt jubilant, but Mr. Basu felt that the period of reform had come to an end and the age of reaction was to commence. Mr.

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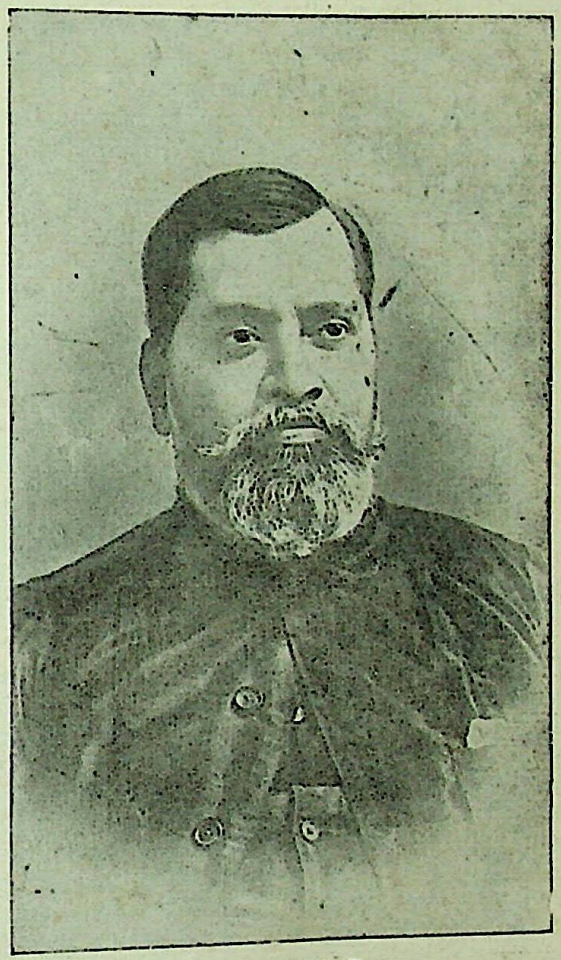
Montagu's final letter of farewell to Mr. Basu is almost a classic in itself. I trust some day Mr. Montagu's letters to Mr. Basu will be given to the public and the public will then be able to appraise at its proper worth the really magnificent services rendered by Mr. Basu to India during the time he was a member of the Secretary of State's Council. Lord Peel after a time extended a large measure of his confidence to Mr. Basu but the atmosphere at the India Office was different. The permanent officials like Sir Malcolm Seton spoke a different language and although the atmosphere was cheerless and far from being encouraging Mr. Basu felt that it was his duty to stay on as long as he could. Lord Peel nominated Mr. Basu as one of India's representatives at the Labour Congress at Geneva in 1922. Mr. Basu was then in indifferent health, but it is on record that Sir Montagu Barton, who was at the head of the British Delegation, thought so highly of Mr. Basu that he said that it would be a very great disappointment if Mr. Basu were unable for reasons of health to take an active part in the public discussion in the Labour Congress. Mr. Basu yielded to Sir Malcolm's wishes and spoke at the Labour Congress. The Belgian and the French representatives were perfectly amazed at the eloquence displayed by Mr. Basu. Needless to add that the British Delegation headed by Sir Montagu Barton offered a warm congratulation to him.

Mr. Basu returned to India shortly thereafter to take up his work as a member of the Lee Commission. Those who know the inner history of the Lee Commission will readily acknowledge that Mr. Basu did all that was humanly possible for him to do for India sitting as a member of the Lee Commission. Compromise is the essence of practical politics and while Mr. Basu never despaired of obtaining eventually self-government for India, he was of opinion that in the present stage of India, it was necessary to carry on the permanent civil service of India. Mr. Basu was chiefly responsible for the nomination of Sir D. M. Dalal as High Commissioner for India and if he lived for a few days more it would have been a source of regret to him to hear of Sir Dadiva's resignation.

This imperfect tribute has become already too long and must be brought to a close. I have no space to dwell on his sweet nature, on his charming smile and on the manner in which he always stood by his friends. Bengal became poorer by his loss and it will be many days before she sees again the man of his type, of his sagacity, of his sweet reasonableness, of his perfect sympathy with the young and of his charming disposition. When Mr. Basu was



Bhupendra Nath Basu

appointed as member of the Secretary of State's Council the *Statesman* said that it was a translation from Greer Park to Whitehall. He adorned his place in Whitehall and served under two Secretaries of State. He was on terms of personal intimacy with almost all the heads of the India Office and it is on record that in the famous council hall at the India Office many a time waverers have come to his side and publicly acknowledged their indebtedness to him. It was Mr. Basu's lasting regret that it had not been possible for him to proceed to England and serve under Lord Olivier, whom he had known for a number of years and who, he thought, needed trained Indian advice before final conclusions were reached either on the matter of the report of the Lee Commission or

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on the question of a further constitutional advance. Lord Olivier and Mr. Basu corresponded very frequently and there can be no doubt that had Lord Olivier remained at the India Office he would have paid due regard to the views expounded by the late Mr. Basu.

The Senate of the University of Calcutta lost a very distinguished Vice-Chancellor by the resignation of Mr. Basu. Had Mr. Basu been able to hold the office of Vice-Chancellorship for a longer period he would have organized the unwieldly Post-Graduate Department so as to make it immune from public criticism. But although Mr. Basu had to resign the Vice-Chancellorship, it was a matter of exceeding joy to him a few days before his death, to know that His Excellency the Chancellor had nominated Mr. Justice Greaves, who has a great reputation among many Europeans and Indians alike, to succeed him in the Vice-Chancellorship. Sir Ewart Greaves had a long interview early in August, 1924 with the late Mr. Basu. It was not then dreamt that Mr. Basu's days on this earth were numbered and he would die next month. May his soul rest in peace!

ACTIVITIES OF THE GUJARATI HINDU STRI MANDAL

By A SOCIAL WORKER

The idea of starting an institution for the general welfare of Gujarati Hindu women in the city of Bombay was first conceived by Mr. Bhawanidas Narandas Motiwala. Mr. Motiwala consulted the late Mr. Gordhanram Madhavram Tripathi, the great Gujarati litterateur and Seth Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh and arranged to convene a preliminary meeting of prominent Gujarati Hindu citizens of Bombay on 18th July, 1903. At this meeting, it was agreed to found in Bombay, an institution for the benefit of Gujarati Hindu women as an experiment for one year. On 7th September, 1903, a public meeting of Gujarati Hindu women was called and there the proposed new institution was formally founded under the name of "The Gujarati Hindu Stri Mandal". At this meeting, Mrs. Jamnabai Nagindas Sakkai, an elderly lady of the well-known family of Seth Tapidas Varajdas, was unanimously elected to be the first President of the Mandal. Mrs. Sakkai continued to occupy this post till her death in the year 1916, and rendered yeoman's service to the cause of Gujarati womanhood.

The aims and objects of the Gujarati Hindu Stri Mandal are to bring about closer social intercourse between women of all sections of the Gujarati Hindu community, to impart to them physical and mental education and to devise other means for raising their social, economic, moral and political status without offending the religious feelings of any section of the community. The ideal cherished by the Mandal is to make attempts for emancipating Indian women in such a way that, preserving the traditions of their motherland regarding their sphere of work, they may educate themselves and their daughters and may also give their legitimate share lovingly for movements started for the regeneration of Indians so that, discharging their domestic duties in a peaceful manner, they may prove to be ideal women in their own country.

When the Mandal was founded in 1903, there were only 100 members. The present number of members of the Mandal is 3,420.

The Mandal's splendid work has been applauded by prominent ladies and gentlemen.

In the year 1928 the Mandal celebrated its Silver Jubilee. At that time the Mandal was very fortunate in securing large donations amounting to nearly a lakh of rupees.

The success which the Mandal has achieved is due to its authorities following a cautious moderate policy regarding important social problems in connection with the welfare of Gujarati Hindu women, to their heartily co-

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operating with the two sincere life workers, Sjt. Bhawanidas Narandas Motiwala, B.A., LL.B., and Sjt. Keshawlal Bhikhabhai Maniar, and also to the active help of whole-hearted workers of the type of Sjt. Himatlal Ganeshji Anjaria, M.A., LL.B., Sjt. Jaykrishna Nagardas Varma, Bar-at-Law, and a few others. Another secret of its success is to be found in the Mandal having secured as its first President Mrs. Jamnabai Sakkai, and also in having secured for its second President a model lady in the person of Lady Luxmibai Jagmohandas, who has been elected again and again as the President of the Mandal for a continuous period of 20 years after the death of Mrs. Sakkai in 1916. Lady Luxmibai has all along followed in the footsteps of the late Mrs. Sakkai, and, though not keeping good health since a long time, has always looked after the interest of the Mandal with deep maternal affection. It was Lady Luxmibai who promised to give a munificent donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Mandal during its Silver Jubilee, a sum which has not been exceeded by any other philanthropist in the list of donations for the Mandal in its history for the last 33 years. Here one cannot forget to mention one other reason of the Mandal's popularity and that is the invaluable honorary services rendered by Mrs. Rasikmany B. Desai, Mrs. Manglabehen M. F. Premchand and Mrs. Kusumgauri M. Munshi, three of the Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Mandal.

Mr. Bhawanidas Narandas Motiwala
Founder of Mandal

The Mandal's present activities are of a multifarious character. It would not be out of place to give below a list of these activities and in a little detail deal separately with some of them. The Mandal's educational activities comprise the following items :

Home Classes; Stri Vidyalaya; Industrial Home; Visits to musuems, caves, exhibitions and to other important places in Bombay and its suburbs; Free Cinema Shows; Public Lectures on instructive subjects; Essay Competitions; Monthly Patrika; Shri Jamnabai Sakkai Free Library; Free Reading Room; Free Travelling Library; Sir Jagmohandas Children's Library; Physical Education; Publication of useful Gujarati Literature; Elocution Competition; and Gujarati Literature Study Competition.

The Mandal's miscellaneous activities consist of the following items :

Holding of Art Exhibitions; Volunteer Corps; Concerts and Dramatic Performances; Co-operation with sister institutions; Kanya Mandal; Celebration of birth or death

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The Mandal's Library has in all 3,000 books. Every year nearly 2,000 ladies take advantage of our library. A Free Reading Room is also maintained as a part of the library.

Hon. Librarians

Free Travelling Library

Since last year, the Mandal has started this new activity. Travelling Library cupboards are prepared and in each cupboard nearly 50 books are kept. 14 Centres in the City and 4 Centres in the suburbs of Ghatkopar, Andheri, Santacruz, and Villeparle have been opened.

Sir Jagmohandas Varjiwandas Children's Library

This Library is a new venture on the part of the Mandal. It is the outcome of a suggestion made by Lady Krishnagauri Chimanlal Setalwad in her speech at the public meeting held for expressing the Mandal's sorrow at the death of Sir Jagmohandas Varjiwandas. At present Gujarati authors are wide awake to their duties in writing useful books for the juvenile population of the province. The Mandal authorities have therefore set apart a sum of Rs. 2,000 for the maintenance of this Library. Children of ages ranging from 5 to 15, whether they are children of the members of the Mandal or not, are allowed to become members of this Library on their paying an annual fee of annas 4 only. This Library has at present 500 books. For this Library, the Mandal subscribes to 4 special monthly magazines for children.

Public Lectures

Every month about 2 public lectures for the benefit of women of all communities are arranged in the Mandal's Hall. Occasionally, the Mandal takes advantage of the presence of prominent men and women in the city by requesting them to deliver lectures before the members of the Mandal.

Cinema Shows

Every year the Managing Committee of the Mandal arranges to show instructive Cinema films to all its members.

Physical Education

The Managing Committee of the Mandal considers this item of education to be very important. It has therefore made physical education compulsory among the pupils of the Vidyalaya, though want of sufficient funds and want of proper place has handicapped the Committee in maintaining these activities to the full. For several years, physical education has remained the chief feature of the Vidyalaya activities.

Publication of useful Gujarati Literature

The Mandal authorities get the best essays printed and get them distributed free among its members. Every year, the Mandal invites well-known literary persons of Gujarat, Cutch or Kathiawar to offer to the members some written words of advice. These are printed in pamphlet form and presented to all the members in the first month of the Hindu year.

The Mandal's Organ

A periodical named *Gunsundari*, incorporating the Mandal's earlier journal, *The Stri Hitopdesha*, records the activities of the Mandal. It has been serving as the Mandal's organ. Besides, a monthly bulletin is being issued since September, 1935, to publish the Mandal's monthly programme and give the details of the Mandal's affairs from month to

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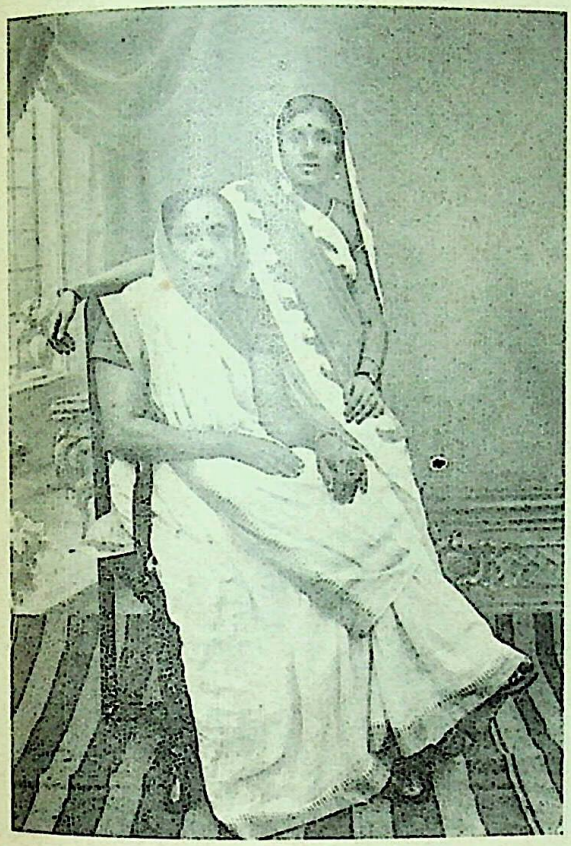
month. It is given free to all the members of the Mandal but from non-members an annual subscription of annas 12 is charged.



Editors of Mandal's Monthly Organ

Socials

With a view to cultivate social contact, the Mandal holds two important social gatherings every year. The Managing Committee of the Mandal is obliged to hold two such gatherings of all the three thousand members. As a rule, the expenses of these functions are borne by the members themselves by their raising a separate fund. At these functions, an interesting and instructive variety entertainment programme is gone through. Prominent lady sympathisers of sister communities are invited as guests at these gatherings. All the members of the Mandal highly appreciate these annual functions and avail themselves of them in very large numbers. Another social gathering, technically known as "Navratri-na-Garba," is held on one of the 9 days held very sacred among Hindus. This function is known as "Garba Party." At the close of every such gathering, all the Participants receive light refreshments, and every adult lady a German silver vessel or brass vessel and every girl, a smaller vessel. Presents given on these occasions are known as "Lahnis." Occasionally, the participants get presents of books either from the Mandal or from members or sympathisers of the Mandal. These festive functions have proved very popular amongst the members.

Lilavati R. Bora
Lady Superintendent of Industrial Home

Co-operation with Public Institutions

The Mandal whole-heartedly co-operates with public institutions like educational conferences, social conferences, etc. As opportunity presents itself, it renders all possible help to various useful associations and public functions, whether they be for the benefit of women or of men or of both. Further, the Mandal is always alert in holding public meetings under its own auspices and also under the joint auspices of several ladies' institution of the city, specially for safeguarding the civic, social and political interests of women of all communities.

Relief Work

In times of famine, flood and fire and also on other calamitous occasions, when monetary

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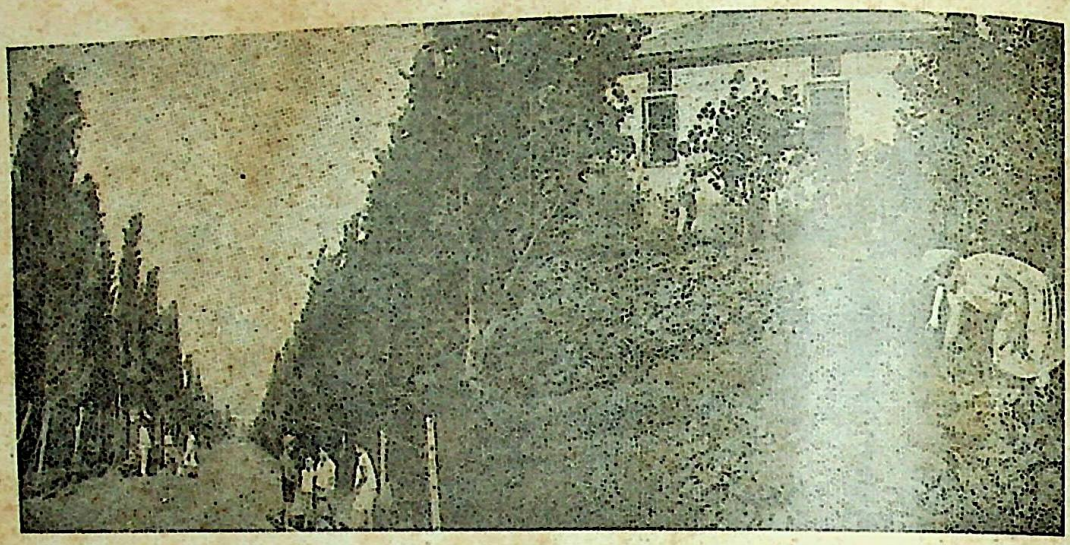

Kfar Yecheskiel, Keren Hayesed Settlement in the Jordan Valley

NATIONAL HOMES FOR JEWS

I

In the last (August) number of *The Modern Review*, pages 233-235, the Arab, Jewish and British views of the settlement of Jews in Palestine were given within a brief compass. In the present article some statements and facts relating to the same subject are compiled from American Jewish and non-Jewish sources.

Writing on "The Rebirth of Palestine" in *The Christian Register* of Boston, Rabbi Louis I. Newman says :

The people of Israel in the First Hebrew Commonwealth created the so-called Old Testament; in the Second Hebrew Commonwealth, they brought into being the New Testament. The Third Hebrew Commonwealth is now in process of being built, and it may well be that a new spiritual message will go forth from Zion for the enlightenment and enrichment of mankind. Israel has taught that man does not live by bread alone, and it is in terms of the spirit that Zion is being restored. Yet the Jewish people would not be a soul without a body; it wishes an abode for the *Shekinah*, or the Indwelling Presence of God.

Zion was the holy hill of ancient Jerusalem. It stands for the Hebrew theocracy. Zionists are those who advocate the colonization of Palestine by modern Jews.

Rabbi Newman gives the history of the dispersion of the Jews and of the Zionist movement in the following paragraph :

In the year 70 the Second Hebrew Commonwealth was destroyed by the Romans, and in 132 the heroic rebellion of Bar Kokhbah and Akiba was ruthlessly suppressed. For nearly nineteen hundred years the Jewish people has been scattered throughout the world without a national center, yearning in prayer and poem for the return to Zion. When in 1791, the French Jewish community was emancipated, the Jewish people began to gather strength for collective action on behalf of their own welfare. During the nineteenth century Pinsker's "Auto-Emancipation" and Hess's "Rome and Jerusalem" prepared the way for the great effort of Theodor Herzl. Herzl, after writing "Der Judenstaat," summoned the first World Jewish Congress in 1879, at Basel, thereby inaugurating a new technique and method of dealing with Jewish problems. Misunderstood and reviled, the Zionist movement made steady progress until, in 1917, it was given international status by the so-called Balfour Declaration, promising British support to the establishment of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine. Great Britain was given the Mandate over Palestine, responsible to the League of Nations, and the mighty work of rebuilding Palestine received new impetus.

The Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, was to the effect that

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The material achievements of Jews in Palestine are thus described :

Since 1918 over 300,000 Jewish pioneers and settlers have come to Palestine. They have achieved a veritable miracle in the fields of agriculture, industry, commerce, and other departments of effort, related to the modernization of a backward country. They have drained marshes, built colonies, created cities on the site of sand dunes,

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Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem

The Wailing Wall and General View of Jerusalem

Courtesy : *Asia*

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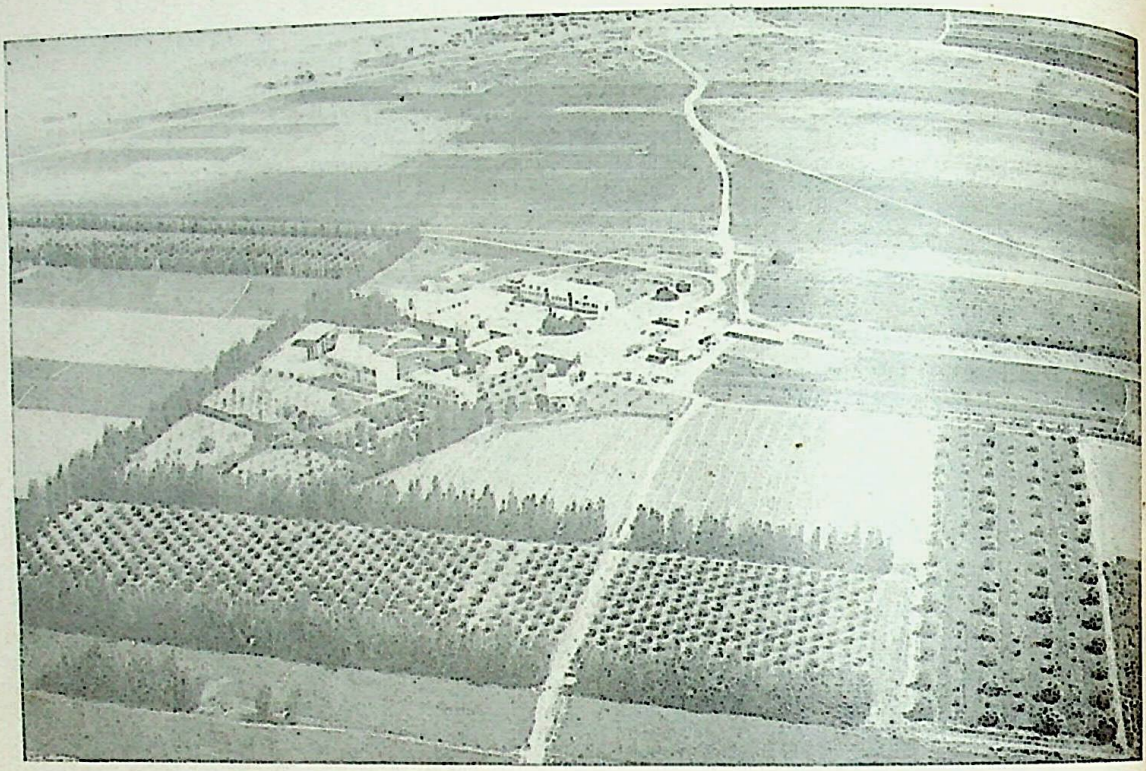
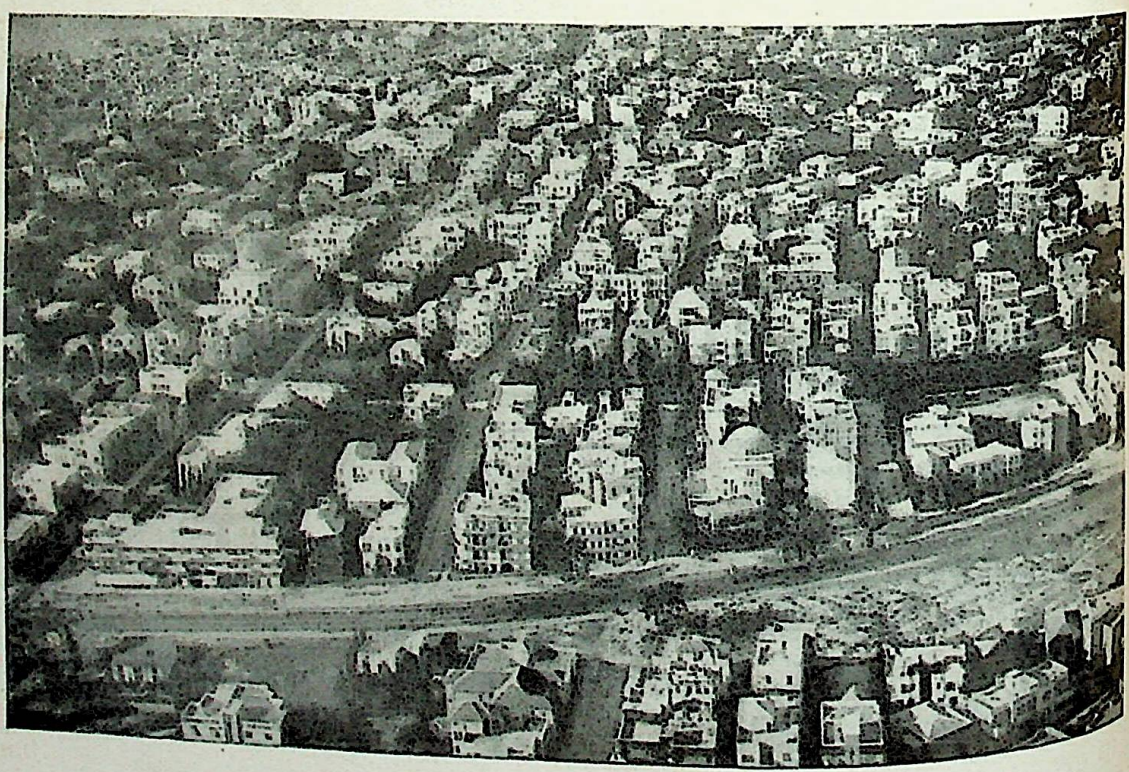


The Jewish Settlement at Dagania



The City of Tel Aviv

Courtesy : *Asia*

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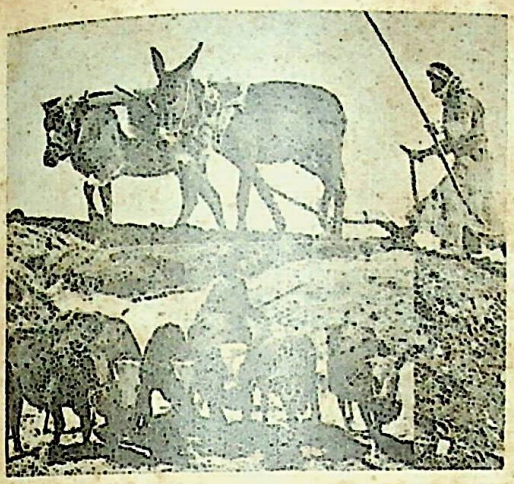
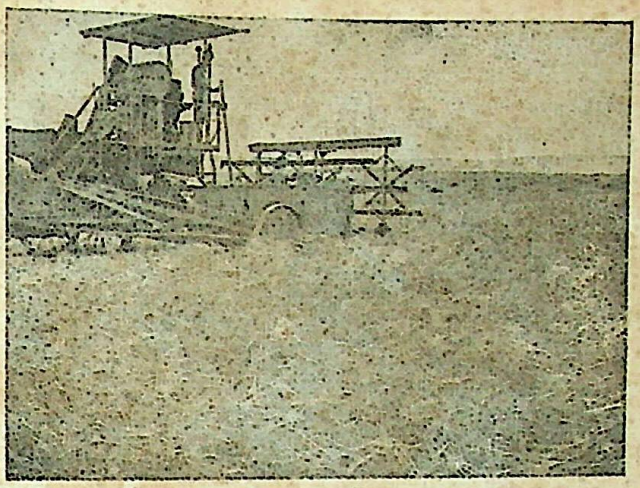


Arab fellaheen working their fields in a primitive manner



Combine Machine in operation, Emek Jezreel

introduced modern hygiene and medicine, harnessed the Jordan River, drawn mineral products out of the Dead Sea, developed citriculture in amazing fashion, and, in general, have transformed Palestine into a land habitable by Westerners, seeking the comforts of modern life.

Their cultural and other achievements have also been mentioned :

The Hebrew University has been erected on Mount Scopus, and, while yet in its infancy, is a powerful influence for good in the Near East. The Hebrew language has undergone a remarkable revival, and is now the common speech of the *Yishub*, or the Jewish Settlement. With the help of the Mandatory Power, Haifa has become an important seaport and air-base, from which oil, pumped many hundreds of miles across the Desert from Mosul, is shipped to foreign ports. Tel Aviv is an all-Jewish city of over 135,000 inhabitants, and is the center of great activity in the arts, dramatics, sports and other cultural interests. The Maccabiad, an annual sport event, and the Levant Fair, are symbols of Tel Aviv's cosmopolitan quality.

How many persons can Palestine accommodate? The answer is :

While Palestine is a small country, geographically speaking, it can accommodate four times its present population of 1,300,000, and with the opening of Transjordania, can become one of the most hospitable and promising regions of the world, supporting a population, in the centuries to come, of many millions.

That shows that hundreds of thousands of more Jews can settle in Palestine without ousting a single Arab.

The Rabbi has also answered the question, why do Jews wish to resettle Palestine?

The answer is to be found in the fact that love for Zion is a dominant impulse in the Jewish national character, and throughout the millennia Israel has not forgotten Jerusalem. Ever since the year 70 Jews have prayed for the Return; in modern times, however, they have worked for it in the arena of international statesmanship. Another answer resides in the resolution of Jewish leaders to minimize the ills to which the Jewish people, in Dispersion, is heir. While the American, British, and French Jewish communities, forming five millions of the sixteen million Jews in the world, lead a happy, contented and contributive life, except for the pinpricks of social anti-Semitism, the Jews of Poland and Rumania, numbering almost another five millions, are in the direst misery and distress. The sufferings of the German Jewish community of 550,000 are too well-known to require further mention here. We desire to transplant to Palestine many hundreds of thousands, even millions, of the stricken Jews of European lands, who are ground underfoot by the oppressor, denied an opportunity to make a livelihood, their best talents blighted, their hopes destroyed. The doors of the United States and other lands are closed to these underprivileged and persecuted folk. It is inevitable that their eyes should turn to Zion, the Land of their Fathers.

He adds :

It must not be imagined that Zionism envisages the withdrawal of the entire Jewish people from the lands of their birth and adoption, where they are loyal, patriotic, enthusiastic citizens, and where their ancestors have lived for hundreds of years. It is not a question of Palestine versus the Diaspora, but of Palestine plus the Diaspora. Even in the days of Solomon and of Agrippa, there was a great dispersion of Jewries in the Mediterranean countries.

'Diaspora,' literally, 'dispersion,' is applied collectively to those Jews who, after the Babylonian captivity, were scattered through the Old World.

Can Palestine become a true asylum, a safe harbour, for the exiles? Is not the Arab problem insoluble? Rabbi Newman's reply to these questions is given below.

It would be folly, of course, to deny that the opposition of some of Palestine's Arabs to the Zionist program is a difficult element in the situation. There have been outbreaks in 1921, in 1929 and in 1936. The present attacks may in part be due to secret incitement by enemies of Great Britain, who are eager to strike a blow at her prestige. Arab agitators are in a measure responsible, for the *effendi*, or Arab land-owners, do not welcome the improvement in the standards of living,

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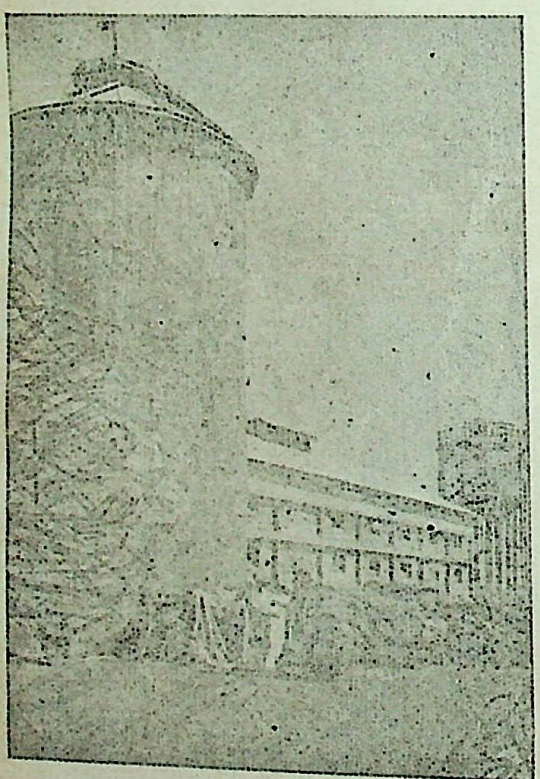
brought about through the influence of Jewish example, and by the direct help of the Jewish labor unions.

The writer then makes a statement of facts less known to the world public than what Arab propagandists have published. Says he :

Amid the present tension, it must be remembered that only a tiny fraction of the Arab population is causing trouble. There are 750,000 Arabs in Palestine, and if they attacked en masse, it would go hard with the *Yishub*. Jews co-operate in commercial, agricultural, industrial and communal undertakings with the enlightened Arabs; they have cared for Arab mothers in the Hadassah hospitals, thereby raising the Arab birth rate; they have taught the Arabs hygiene, modern methods of agriculture, and other lessons immensely helpful in their progress towards civilization. Arabs have sufficient land in Palestine to care for themselves and their families, any statement to the contrary being arrant propaganda. Arabs have benefited steadily by the influx of Jewish immigrants, and the sensible Arab leaders are demanding that the trouble-makers refrain from their work of hate and destruction.



Granary in the Kvuzah Misra

He expresses a hope that

the day will come when the Arabs will be reconciled to the presence of the Jews, will give no ear to the preachers of rapine and bloodshed, and I will work in harmony and brotherliness with those whom Emir Feisal called "our cousins."

Regarding 'self-determination,' the writer's contention is :

If the question of "self-determination" be raised, account must be taken of the fact that there are at least ten million Jews in the Diaspora who are maladjusted and under the yoke. They are temporarily displaced from their homeland, and are anxious to be repatriated. As for the Arabs, they have the fertile lands of Mosul, the great empire of Hedjaz the powerful communities in Syria, Egypt and elsewhere. Through these they can fulfil their national aspirations. In the words of Balfour : "I hope that, remembering all that, they (the Arabs) will not grudge that small niche—for it is not more geographically in the former Arab territories than a niche—being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it, but who surely have a title to develop on their own lines in the land of their forefathers."

In a concluding paragraph the writer states the resolve and aspirations of the Jews.

The Jewish people, frustrated and hounded for so many centuries are determined that they must go forward in the fulfillment of their hope. In the lands outside of Palestine, they seek to preserve the civil and human rights they have won with such travail during the last 140 years; they wish, also, the right to practice their religion and develop their community life without interference by the state. . . . They are eager to make their contributions in the Diaspora, through an Einstein, a Brandeis, a Cardozo, and others of their mould. And in the New Palestine, . . . the Jewish people are convinced that they will again give birth to wisdom which shall heal stricken humanity. If the non-Jewish world will banish all pre-judgment and misconception, if they will understand the Jews for what they are, if they will appreciate that Jewish aspirations are intended to bless mankind, then they will join hands with Israel in the joyful labor of making the wilderness to blossom as the rose. They will give courage and support to our endeavours to bring stability and peace to multitudes of our brethren, who, in the days soon to come, will see visions and dream holy dreams.

II

Soviet Russia also has provided a home for the Jews. Mr. John Lyons writes in *The Christian Register* :

Last spring, the Soviet Ambassador to this country stated that "in our country there is no Jewish problem; all nationalities participate in Soviet construction and at the same time their socialist culture is developing in national form."

He proceeds to describe how that is being done.

More than one hundred nationalities are established in separate state entities, all collaborating for the same goal, and preserving their own racial and national cultures. The Jews share in this policy as their prerogatives of citizenship, and not as a means of helpfulness to an oppressed race, nor as a generous gesture which might set an example to the rest of the world.

The younger generation in the U. S. S. R. has grown up under a regime where neither the Jew nor any other racial minority has been used as a scape-goat to turn the attention of the suffering masses away from the real causes of their misery. They possess not a trace of the anti-Semitic feeling which may still linger among the older generation from the czarist days, but which is kept in restraint because in Russia today anti-Semitism is a crime on the statute books and prosecuted as such. The

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Bolsheviks say they will not be diverted by any artificial impediments to progress which the former government used with sadistic persis ence among the ignorant masses. The pogroms, when Jewish homes were plundered and burned, men, women and children mistreated and tortured, are all ended. The Jew in Russia today is as free as any oth.r ci.izen of that country.

Some seven years ago, Jewish leaders of the Soviet Union projected a settlement where Jewish national aspirations and Jewish culture might develop under its own self-government and its own leaders, equally with other national groups in the U. S. S. R.

In the paragraphs quoted above, the Indian reader will please note the first sentence of the first paragraph. How many *nationalities* are there in India? Yet good care has been taken that the very few *nationalities* and a somewhat larger number of religious communities and caste groups which live in India may not "collaborate for the same goal" of freedom.

The national home for Jews provided in Soviet Russia is known as Biro-Bidjan. It has an area of some 23,000 square miles.

On the border line of Manchukuo, in the Far Eastern Territory of the U. S. S. R., an area three times the size of New Jersey was set aside as the Jewish Autonomous Territory of Biro Bidjan. Bordering this territory is an immense vigin land capable of considerable expansion. Biro-Bidjan could now absorb 200,000 immigrants if the land could be cleared and housing put up to supply the settlers.

Its present population, consisting of 18,000 Jews and 35,000 from other nationalities, occupies 95,000 acres of cultivated land, compared with 35,000 acres cultivated in 1928. When a population of 50,000 Jews is reached, the Soviet government has agreed to es ablish Biro-Bidjan as a full-fledged State or Republic among the present Soviet States.

Biro-Bidjan is extremely rich in coal, iron, graphite, marble, gold and other mineral reserves. It is a self-sustaining country with its immense timber lands, hot sulphur springs, great supplies of fish in its rivers, game and fur-bearing animals. The land is fertile, growing wheat, oa s, soya beans, maize, potatoes and other vegetables. Carpeted with fragrant wild flowers everywhere, this is the largest honey-producing center in Russia.

It is cheering news that

When the province was established, workers and peasants, Christians, Moslems and Jews, from all sections of the Sovie Union, sent presents and greetings to the new s ttlement.

The one hundred primary and secondary schools attended by 13,000 children, the 108 kindergartens and nurseries, the sixteen libraries, eighty-two health stations, fifteen hospitals and eight moving-picture theatres, and daily newspapers, all attest to the enterprise and energy of a people supported by a willing government—a people which has been freed from the intolerances, hatreds, prejudices and persecutions of the past.

Schools of medicine, metallurgy, mining, agricultural research and pedagogy are training the Biro-Bidjan youth in the sciences and practical arts. Under the second Five-Year Plan, Biro-Bidjan is being developed as one of the chief centers of both the heavy and light industries of the Far East. Industrial plants are now being constructed on a large scale.

Ambassador Troyanovski recently stated in New York City that there was no persecution for religious reasons in his country.

"Everybody has the right to exercise his religion," he said. "There are Orthodox priests and Jewish rabbis. Churches, synagogues and mosques may be maintained by private societies and conduct their rit s freely. People are under no compulsion to go to church or stay away from church."

Girls' Agricultural Training School at Nahalal in the Emek Jezreel

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Thought Relic

The *Visva-Bharati News* has culled the following thought relic from the writings of Rabindranath Tagore :

It is hard for us to free ourselves from the grip of our acquisitions. For the pull of their gravitation is towards the centre of our self. The force of perfect love acts towards the contrary direction. And this is why love gives us freedom from the weight of things. Therefore our days of joy are our days of expenditure. It is not the lightness of pressure in the outside world which we need in order to be free, but love which was the power to bear the world's weight, not only with ease, but with joy.

India and the Need for International Contacts

'The advantages of international contacts from a purely political view-point are evident enough. Some amongst us feel that contact with the west is dangerous for our culture. If there is any life left in it, it will derive fresh vigour from the healthy impact of other forces and will survive, changed it may be and more suited to the conditions of today, but still based fundamentally on the genius of the race.' Observes Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an article in *The Enlightened India :*

After a long period of not very splendid isolation India is again beginning to look to the outside world and to take interest in other countries. It is realized that the modern world is closely knit together and no part of it can ignore the rest. Science and industry and new methods of transportation have made each country dependent in a large measure on the others, and though the myth of nationalism flourishes and holds men's minds, it is an outworn creed and internationalism approximates more and more to reality. Wars can seldom be localized, nor can peace endure in a country when the rest of the world is at war. Idealists tell us that the only way to put an end to the ceaseless conflict between nations and to inaugurate an era of world peace is to create a super-state to which all nations will owe allegiance or to have a co-operative world commonwealth.

Many of our friends in India and outside are therefore continually laying stress on the necessity for us to develop contacts with other countries so that we may appreciate the forces that are moulding the world today and be able to co-ordinate our activities to them; some of them tell us that we should co-operate with all other anti-imperialist forces to combat imperialism; others favour an Asiatic federation; whilst a third group are sanguine enough to want us to utilise the machinery of the League of Nations for our benefit. But all these agree that international contacts are necessary for us. Some who are of a contrary opinion fear that too much of internationalism may make us forget the real work at home and make us imagine that we can achieve our freedom with the help of outsiders. The fear is a real one but perhaps it is a little exaggerated. No one who has come up against the hard realities of the struggle is likely to forget that there is little of charity in international dealings and no country can make good except through its own efforts.

The culture of a people must have its roots in the national genius. It must smell of the soil and draw its inspiration from its past history. But it cannot live for ever on the earnings of its forefathers or on an old bank account to which nothing is added. It must be a live and growing thing responsive to new conditions and flexible enough to adapt itself to them. In India the moment we tried to make our culture rigid in order to protect it from foreign incursions we stopped its natural growth and slow paralysis crept in and brought it near to death.

Thus whether we consider our problems from the standpoint of politics or economics or of culture and civilization in their widest meanings, we are driven to the conclusion that we must end the isolation of India and try to understand world currents and world happenings. We must in addition to our nationalism develop an internationalism which is prepared to profit by the good things of other countries, and to co-operate with the progressive forces of the world. So far, practically our sole contact with the outside world has been through England and the English language. This has been unfortunate for we have seen the world through English eyes and with English prejudices.

But nonetheless something may be done if an effort is made. The real difficulty in the past has been our fear of compromising ourselves before the British. For it is the privilege of our rulers, amongst other things, to decide what company we may keep.

To develop political contacts the straightest, though not the easist, way is for the National Congress to appoint its representatives in certain foreign countries. A few places of world importance may be choosen for this purpose : Paris, the greatest international centre today, New York, Constantinople, or Angora for the middle East and the Islamic countries, Moscow, and Tokyo for the far East. These five places would cover all the live centres of world politics to-day. Through our representatives there we could keep in intimate touch with current happenings and with the men and women who count. We would also gradually build up a trained body of experts in international matters from whom will develop our diplomatic corps of the future.

The difficulties in the way of the Congress are two-fold, one of finance and the other and the more serious one of finding suitable representatives. The Congress cannot send out second-rate men to represent it and unhappily we are very poor in politicians of ability who can be expected to undertake this work. There is such a lack of good workers at home that it is difficult to spare one of them. A third difficulty we might have to face would be due to the attitude of the British Government. They will not fancy the idea of our sending representa-

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tives abroad, specially to Moscow. But whatever the difficulties may be, if the Congress is really eager to do something in this direction there is little doubt that it could make a beginning.

Another way for us to develop international contacts would be for our chambers of commerce to keep representatives in some foreign countries. I was given to understand in the continent of Europe that such representatives, although they would be non-officials, would be treated with every consideration and every facility would be given to them. Their presence would be helpful in developing trade relations with countries other than England and thus in helping in the boycott of British goods. Machinery for use in India could be purchased at better rates than in England, and markets for Indian goods could be found. I have been told that the sports goods manufactured in India have been gradually spreading out in many countries. If our merchants and chambers of commerce develop direct relations with other countries they will gradually free themselves from the strangle hold of the British banks.

Banking in Bengal

B. R. Biswas concludes his article on Banking in Bengal in the *Calcutta Review* with the following remarks :

From the review of the banking position in Bengal at the present moment certain conclusions appear to be irresistible.

Firstly, the peculiar problem that is presented to us by the multiplicity of smaller banking institutions is amenable to solution only through a well co-ordinated amalgamation movement. As a matter of fact our smaller banks contain within themselves the possibilities of big developments. Banking growth in other countries came from the establishment of small local institutions which later grew in size. And as competition among themselves became acute they found safety and strength through amalgamations. At least this is the lesson that we gather from the history of the amalgamation movement of banking in Great Britain. It cannot indeed be denied that the provisions of Section 42 (6) of the Reserve Bank of India Act operate as an inducement to our smaller banks to increase their size and if necessary amalgamate with other companies in order to qualify for the membership of the Reserve Bank. Then again some joint-stock banks and loan companies will get an additional inducement to become a "scheduled" bank in order to escape from the provisions of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Bill. Something more is however necessary in order to foster a strong amalgamation movement. In view of the special circumstances obtaining in Bengal we shall have to take the help of special legislation as well. The Companies Act, for example, may be amended so as to include a provision to the effect that no bank should be allowed to be registered unless its minimum paid-up capitals is, say, Rs. 50,000. All small banks which do not satisfy this requirement should be allowed an opportunity to raise their capital to the prescribed minimum within a period of not more than two years, failing which they will either have to wind-up their business or secure the statutory minimum by a process of amalgamation, facilities for which should be provided. The Reserve Bank of India is another important institution which can render valuable help and guidance in this direction. But constituted as it is today, how far can we expect it to help? The Central Banking Committee in recommending power to grant licence to banks by the Reserve Bank stressed the need for a policy of encouragement towards expansion of banking in areas where there is need for it and discouraging the multiplication of banking institutions beyond the needs of business in particular localities. It is doubtful how far, in the special circumstances in Bengal, the Reserve Bank will be able to follow the proper policy in this regard much against the wishes of its member banks. At least for some years to come a power like this should be vested in the Government of Bengal who alone are in a position to assess the needs of the province correctly and follow a courageous policy without let or hindrance.

Secondly, the Indian Companies Act should be amended in such a manner as to tackle more adequately the problem of banking regulation. This is indeed an All-India problem and it is reassuring to note that a measure like this is at present engaging the attention of the Government of India.

Thirdly, in order to regulate banking competition along healthy channels, the Government of Bengal should be empowered to compel the banks having the domicile elsewhere to maintain and publish separate accounts of their total business done in Bengal. This is necessary so that the Government may take measures thought to be necessary from time to time to protect the indigenous banks from unfair competition.

Fourthly, it is urgently necessary that the operations of the Bengal loan companies should be regulated by a special Act so that they may be redeemed of some of their undesirable features. The Provincial Banking Committee made a thorough investigation into this urgent problem and made important recommendations. Unfortunately however our Government which have hitherto evinced a rather undue desire for a Moneylenders Act or an Agricultural Debtors Act, have been lamentably inactive in devising measures for the *provision* of rural credit. Effective measures should also be taken so as to revitalise those loan companies whose assets though frozen for the time being are still of a satisfactory character. The suggestion of the Central Banking Committee for a Financing Corporation with suitable debentures is well worth trying in this direction.

Lastly, much can be done by non-official agencies to improve the prospects of our banking companies and inaugurate a healthy amalgamation movement. The strong cohesion and affinity of interest evinced by the Foreign "Exchange" banks through the services of the Exchange Banks' Association should prove an eye-opner in this direction. Much of the ills of our banking world can easily be ascribed to the disorganized character of the banking structure and the lack of a proper machinery to focus public attention on the matter. The deplorable Government apathy in the problem of our joint-stock banks and loan companies can easily be removed if a Bengalee Joint-Stock Banks' Association and a Loan Offices' Association take up their case in right earnest. How long will the individualist temperament of Bengal and her people stand in the way of an effective Bankers' Association ?

Music During the Muslim Period

In the course of an article on music during the Muslim period Prof. Abdul Ghafur of the Aligarh University writes in the *Triveni* :

The age of Akbar the Great was the Augustan Age of the Moghal Period. Music was specially cultivated and Abul Fazal mentions in his *Ain-i-Akbari* the names of thirty-eight masters of music, both vocal and instrumental. But above all stands Tansen, the master musician

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of the age and the greatest performer of all ages to come. Tansen is a genuinely historical figure and no important history of the period is without a mention of his name. But his superhuman skill and wide influence through a large number of disciples have woven round him a large number of legendary and romantic anecdotes, which often raise the utterly baseless suspicion whether there was ever such a man. Mian Tansen, originally a Hindu of Gwalior, was formerly in the service of Raja Ramchand the Bundela chief. The town which was the birthplace of Tansen is famous for its noble traditions of art, and even today some of the best masters of instrumental music are to be met with in the music halls of the Rajas of Gwalior. The most famous patron of the art was of course Raja Man Singh Tanwar of Gwalior who should be distinguished from his illustrious namesake of later times in the age of Akbar. He invented the *Dhrupad* style of singing. In the days of Tansen, the art was highly valued and the Raja is said to have awarded Tansen one lakh *tankas* for a single performance. Akbar sent for the great musician, and the Raja took a reluctant leave of his favourite musician. It is said that the Raja carried the palanquin of Tansen for some distance as a mark of the highest regard he could pay to his art.

As the story has it,—and the tradition is common among his descendants who live in Alwar,—the King Akbar tried his best to win the heart of the great musician who always seemed to pine for his home and his late patron. What struck him as even more strange was the fact that he always *salaamed* by lifting his left hand. The King had heard of the high esteem in which he was held at the court of Gwalior and kept his counsel. One day as the King and Tansen were enjoying a stroll in the palace garden, Tansen caught sight of a ripe mango hanging on a branch beyond his reach. Try howsoever he might, he could not pluck it. When the King saw his unsuccessful attempt, he bent down smilingly and asked him to get on his back and pluck the fruit. This act on the part of the King implied that he was prepared to honour him even more than the Raja. The great master's joy knew no bounds at such a mark of condescension on the part of such a mighty potentate, and he saluted the King with both hands, performing the courtly *Taslim*. He had decided to reserve the right hand salute for his first patron but Akbar's patronage called forth willing surrender from him.

The age of Akbar the Great was the age of art, and its devotees were to be met in all ranks of society. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was a master musician and was known as the inventor of several original tunes. When Asad Beg went to Bijapur as an envoy of Akbar the Great, he was accompanied by some musicians sent by the King to learn fresh tunes from Ibrahim Adil Shah. One of the first questions which the Bijapur King asked the envoy was about Tansen and his performances in the court hall and the retiring tower on the riverside at night. The taste for music seemed to be universal and highly developed. As tradition has it, Tansen went once to see a celebrated master of the age who was awarded the high honour of *Mudha Naik* and lived at Bilgram. The great master was travelling incognito in order to enjoy the art of the other at an advantage. After a weary day's march, he neared the town of his destination in the afternoon when the damsels of the locality had gathered at the well for drawing water. Tansen rested his weary limbs under the cool shade of the *pipal* which threw its deep shadows over the well. When one of the maidens was pulling the bucket, the pulley made a creaking noise. To a passer-by, it seemed only an unharmonious sound produced by the friction of the metal. But a girl standing close by could hardly tolerate the discordance in the sound and she dashed down the pitcher with the angry words. "Oh! what a discordance!" The master-musician was surprised to find such fine taste among the girls. The story may not be true, but nevertheless it tells us how general and widespread was the appreciation of music.

The Problem of Palestine

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya who had the opportunity of visiting Palestine thrice in the last six years, records in *The Indian Review* his impressions of the Palestine situation:

The serious happenings in Palestine, which really constitute a rebellion on the part of the Arab population against the mandatory administration, have attracted the attention of the world to the puzzling problem of Palestine. There is about that little land a strange fascination which has drawn to it nation after nation from the most ancient days. The Chaldeans under their great king Nebuchadnezzar who rebuilt Babylon and revived the glories of the famous law-giver Hammurabi (2000 B.C.) overran Palestine, captured Jerusalem, destroyed the Temple of Solomon, and carried the Jews into captivity. It is the lamentation of these captives and their longing to return to their native land that are recorded in the pages of the Old Testament. There was the Roman Conquest which all of us will remember through one of the most famous judicial trials in recorded history. In the seventh century after Christ, the Arabs captured Jerusalem and overran Europe, establishing a great Moorish kingdom in Spain. Muslim rule, lasted in Palestine, either under Arabs or later on under the Turks, for nearly 1,300 years down to our own day. The intolerance of the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh and twelfth centuries brought on the wars of the crusades and for 200 years the cross contended with the crescent for the possession of the Holy Land, but the Cross had indifferent success and the life of the newly established Latin Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem was brief and fitful till it was swept away by Saladin.

On 1st November, 1917, General Allenby captured Gaza, and on 11th December, 1917, he entered Jerusalem at the head of the Egyptian expeditionary force.

The most famous document in connexion with the present situation is the Balfour declaration of 2nd November, 1917. Mr. Balfour was then Foreign Secretary and the statement had the authorisation of the Cabinet. It stated that the British Government viewed with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and would use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, subject to the clear proviso that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in that country. The Mandate for Palestine conferred by the League of Nations in 1922 confirmed the declaration and laid another obligation on the Mandatory Power, namely, the development of self-governing institutions. Practically all the controversy subsequent to England's assumption of the charge of Palestine arises out of the interpretation of these threefold duties:—(1) to promote the establishment of a Jewish National Home; (2) to secure the non-Jewish communities against any injury arising out of the first obligation; and (3) to foster the growth of self-governing institutions.

Left to themselves, England and France would have preferred the familiar form of a "protectorate" for the territories they acquired in the Middle East, Palestine,

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Iraq and Syria. But this would not have squared with President Wilson's conception of "self-determination," and the compromise arrived at, the device of a mandate is ascribed to General Smuts of South Africa who, as is well-known, took a large part in the peace negotiations.

As a concrete proposition, the movement of the Jews from south-eastern Europe started in 1880 with the persecution of the Jews in Russia. The immigration into Palestine between then and 1914 was a steady stream averaging 1,000 annually. The movement was organised in 1897 when the Zionist association was founded with the object of obtaining a charter from the Sultan of Turkey.

After the serious disturbances of 1929, which arose over the claim of the Jews to pray at the remains of the Western Wall (the so-called Wailing Wall) of the Temple at Jerusalem, the Commission of Inquiry presided over by Sir Walter Shaw, a colonial ex-Chief Justice, recommended that an expert should be deputed to conduct a detailed economic inquiry into the questions of immigration and land settlement. Sir John Hope-Simpson made this inquiry and as a result of his recommendations, the British Government appointed a Director of Development for Palestine. Mr. L. French was the officer nominated and one of his important tasks was to prepare a register of, and draw up a scheme of, resettlement, for such Arabs as had been displaced from land in consequence of its alienation to Jews.

It is perfectly true that immigration has since 1933 been stimulated by the persecution of the Jews under the Hitler regime in Germany and the efforts of the Jewish relief organizations in England. America and elsewhere to settle the refugees on agricultural land. Since 1919, the Jewish population of Palestine has increased from 50,000 to 400,000. But the Arab population has also increased though at a smaller rate from 590,000 to 950,000. Before 1919, Arabs steadily emigrated from Palestine. During the last few years, the starting of industrial enterprises in Palestine, mainly due to Jewish money and energy, has reversed the process and between 1932 and 1934, 24,000 Arabs have emigrated from neighbouring countries. Take, for instance, the pipe-line that conveys oil from the petroleum wells of the Iraq Petroleum Company in Kirkuk to the port of Haifa through the Syrian desert, Transjordania and Palestine; the longest pipeline of the kind in the world. It gives employment to 6,000 persons in the two countries; 8,000 Arabs are employed in Jewish agricultural settlements on work connected with the land. The Arabs have increased their orange plantations from 20,000 dumans to 120,000 dumans.

Three factors have helped the Government in implementing schemes of agricultural improvement and development. The first and most predominant circumstance is undoubtedly the enormous amount of money that the Jews have brought into the country and scientific assistance rendered by the great Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. The second is the improvement in the budgetary position of the state which has taken place since the middle of 1933, the current year's budget showing the astonishing surplus of 6 million pounds. The third is the provision of cheap power by the Palestine Electric Corporation (the late Lord Reading was its Chairman) which harnesses the waters of the river Jordon and its tributary, the Yarmuk.

The amazing feature of the recent history of Palestine is its economic prosperity just at the time when the rest of the world is in the grip of a depression of which I do not yet see the beginning of the end.

Palestine therefore presents the paradox of a country where economic improvement is proceeding at a marvellous rate with a political tension between two great communities that shows no signs of easing. Five times since the British occupation of Palestine have there been serious disturbances in 1920, 1921, 1929, 1933 and at the time of writing. It is easy for writers in the Press to say that the two communities should be brought together and made to dwell in harmony. But how is it to be done? Mr. Ormsby-Gore seems to think that his Royal Commission will provide a solution. I doubt it. Every disturbance in Palestine has been followed by a Commission of Inquiry, and the only result has been to exacerbate the bitterness of feeling between Jews and Arabs.

Senator Long—an American Dictator

Senator Long, able politician, knew how to inspire loyalty in his followers and fear in his opponents. Professor Dr. Sudhindra Bose of the State University of Iowa, U. S. A., writes in *The New Outlook* about the Senator who recently lost his life at the hands of an assassin :

The recent death of Senator Huey P. Long, at the hands of an assassin, removes a powerful personality from the American scene. He was a political Pope, a Dictator par excellence and *enfant trois fois terrible*.

Only a few months ago Mr. Long, nicknamed "Kingfish," was recognized as a formidable filibusterer of the United States Senate. Regardless of the substance of his filibustering talks, many believed that he had stamina enough to make Mussolini, Stalin or Hitler bow respectfully. He spoke last June in the Senate from Wednesday noon till Thursday morning, continuously; fifteen and a half hours without stopping. And according to Senate rules, he was not permitted to sit down while talking.

He was opposing a government bill in the face of an over-whelming majority in its favor. Patiently the Senators sat through the hot afternoon and on into the night. Hour after hour they listened to the orating, arm-swinging, grinning Huey Long (Kingfish). Hour after hour the Kingfish dealt the Roosevelt government blow after blow kicking it in weak spots, hauling it over the coals, rubbing salt in its wounds. At 2 A.M. his eyelids drooped. He clung to his desk for support. With difficulty he kept on his feet. But he still had the floor of the Senate. He would perhaps quit—if he could find an avenue of retreat. "Just a little sleep! Just a little sleep!" he said in a husky voice. "That's all I am asking."

Even after fourteen hours of thundering, joking, castigating and defaming by turns, the old familiar flow of words persisted. But not the Kingfish tone. From his exhausted throat the words came rasping and hollow. Nevertheless, he stood on his right of unlimited Senate debate. He looked for a finish fight in his attempt to block the government bill.

Only occasional questions interrupted Mr. Long. He read from the Bible, the United States Constitution, Victor Hugo, newspapers as part of his speech. But he went on and on and on. He munched cheese, drank milk, gnawed chocolate. Wearier nad wearier though he grew, his fellow-Senators refused every suggestion he made that would give him a rest. The clock crept toward 3 A.M. Mr. Long's voice grew thicker. Desperately he suggested to the clerk of the Senate to read the Lord's Prayer. "I object," came from a dozen Senatorial throats. Mr. Long droned on, until : "If after 15 hours I cannot convince Senators that I am right, I shall now talk to myself." But he did not. Then, just before 4 A.M., he sat down.

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Huey Long rose to power and fame by his own efforts. He was the son of a poor farmer in the State (Province) of Louisiana. He attended a high school, but did not finish the course. He passed through periods of near starvation, trying to make a career. He studied law privately and was admitted to the bar by a special examination. He soon became a political phonomenon. He was elected Governor of the State of Louisiana at the age of 34 and at 38, a member of the United States Senate—"the highest deliberative body in the world." At the time of his death, he was only 42.

Senator Long's career shows what great power can be developed among plain men, if they have the will and the determination. At 42, starting from nowhere, Huey Long had became the most picturesque figure in American politics, perhaps the most hated and probably the most feared. That was an achievement. It rested on his shrewd and brilliant mind plus his astounding ego, the will to power. That he had been ready to play a daring game to capture the Presidency of the United States itself, no one doubted.

"Ex-President Hoover is a hoot owl," he said once, "and President Roosevelt is a scrooch owl." Just before his death he wrote a book: "I am President. My First Days in the White House."

There is something akin in the world's Napoleons, Hitlers, Mussolinis, Huey Longs. Part of it is greedy ambition, part audacity, part ruthlessness, part political shrewdness, part sheer ability. History can leave such men prostrate and inconsequential, or it can whirl them up in a wind of circumstances and set them on mountain peaks.

He was the absolute dictator of his native State Louisiana. His followers called him "genius," "friend of the poor," and "champion of the people's rights." An army of enemies dubbed him "demagogue," "madman," "destroyer of constitutional government" and worse terms running the gamut from "election thief" to "political racketeer." He called himself "Kingfish." He was not a mere rabble-rouser. There was talent there—also some virtue in the raw.

The personal absolutism which he succeeded in substituting for democratic self-government in Louisiana was a shocking departure from the American theories of government. The political structure that he reared in his native State by force and threat, of course, cannot stand. Its eventual collapse is certain.

But despite his grave mistakes and the devices he employed for capturing and holding public attention, there was something else in him. He had the courage to stand alone, to face power undaunted, to fight against odds, and to puncture shams. And these are important entries on the credit side of any man's character in any country.

The 550th Anniversary of the Heidelberg

Heidelberg University celebrated its 550th anniversary this summer. An exhibition illustrating the development of the University was held in June. Marie-Luise Danike gives a brief account of the celebration in *The Educational Review*:

Heidelberg is more than merely a name and suggests more than merely the idea of the oldest German University. The very sound of the name evokes visions of a beautiful landscape, the longings of youth, regeneration and the fulfilment of maturity. It is a mistake only to speak of the "Heidelberg of romanticism," for this town, the meeting-place of the youth of Germany and foreign countries, retains the values of a rich and proud past only in order consciously to build upon them the creations of our new and so great era.

In 1936, Heidelberg is once more the scene of the Reich Festival Performances, famous in Germany and abroad, which are becoming more and more the incorporation of the idea of the "Bayreuth of the German theatre.' 1936 is also the 550th anniversary of the foundation of the University of which the new building was a magnanimous American endowment. An exhibition which will demonstrate German intellectual work during this period of 550 years has been organized to provide the friends of the "Ruperta Carola" with an impressive idea of how Heidelberg University fructified the world's intellectual life.

Not only internally but also externally the new Heidelberg is marked by an expression whose heroic features are demonstrated by the impressive "Thingstatte," an arena for public functions, and the War Memorial on the heights.

The ruins of Heidelberg Castle also became, on the occasion of the Reich Festival Performances, a great stage setting for a world in which appearance became reality, and reality the setting for an imaginary world. Every spectator at the Festival Performances was fascinated by the changing play of sound and light.

But Heidelberg is also a centre of regeneration in yet another respect, for it possesses one of the richest radio active brine springs in the world.

In order to fully appreciate the romance of Heidelberg, it must be seen in spring. The attraction is perhaps greatest when one comes from the snowfields of the neighbouring Black Forest and finds oneself in a landscape which constitutes the threshold of spring in Germany. A short ramble up to Heidelberg Castle takes us into the midst of it. Here the young God of Spring embraces the wanderer with blossom-clad arms and accompanies him on his way, for beside his path sounds the brilliant fanfare of the yellow forsythia, delicately feathered pink almond blossom flirts with him, and the chestnuts come to greet him in procession with the wonderful white candles of spring in their pale-green hands. The red sandstone ruins of Heidelberg Castle clad in a white veil of cherry blossom seem a renaissance jewel.

Psycho-Analysis and the Unconscious Mind

'Perhaps no recent science has so much been able to cast its influence on the intellectual climate of the age within so short a time. The startling revelations psycho-analysis has made of the unconscious mind—a subject hitherto relegated to the background, and the explanations it has given of many events of our daily life so long regarded as chance occurrences, cannot but have such an effect.' K. Barthakur in the course of his article on the subject in *The Twentieth Century* writes briefly about the psychology of the unconscious:

Psycho-analysis was originally a study of the abnormalities of mental life. But in the course of its investigations into the cases of abnormal mentality the distinction between normal and abnormal mental life has so much been thinned down that according to the psycho-analysis of today there remains only a difference of degree rather

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than of kind between these two seemingly antagonistic phases of mentality.

Taken in its wider sense the terms psycho-analysis is used as a common name for a number of schools coming out of the discoveries of Dr. Sigmund Freud of Vienna.

Now at the basis of psycho-analytical doctrine there stands an assumption, which is known as psychic determinism. This assumption presupposes that the law of cause and effect is as operative in the mental world as it is in the physical universe. Where an adequate conscious cause of a mental event cannot be detected it is assumed that unconscious mental factors are in action. From the days of Greeks the unconscious mind has always been a source of pursuit to the psychologist.

The psychologists could only postulate that the unconscious exists and it is something other than our consciousness. They could not say anything beyond its existence, and pleaded ignorance about its nature. Handicapped by such a limited conception of the unconscious, the abnormal phenomena of dreams, hallucinations, illusions and the like, came to be regarded as inexplicable. But, Freud, carried out an extensive investigation into these abnormal mental phenomena. Thus following the subject from its matter of fact end, Frued not only proved the existence of the unconscious but also that the unconscious mind is very much wider in its scope than its conscious counterpart. In seeking explanations to these mental phenomena, he also came to regard the unconscious, as more selfish and primitive. His numerous assemblage of facts warrants such a conclusion, although his theory yet remains a hypothesis.

Freud's general view requires us to conceive of the self after the model of two families, dwelling upon different floors of the same house. The family of the first floor, which is the abode of consciousness, consists of orderly law-abiding and respectable persons. The ground floor of the unconscious is occupied by a large number of inhabitants, having a disreputable character. They are primitive, passionate and intensely selfish. Many of the inhabitants of the ground floor originally dwelt on the first floor but were dismissed therefrom, as soon as their disreputable character was found out, and they, like fallen angels descended to the lower region. Their one pre-occupation is the gratification of their desires, which are predominantly sexual, and to gratify these desires, they endeavour to come to the first floor, where they get more publicity and wider scope. But, this creates consternation and fear amongst the inhabitants of the first floor, wherefore a policeman is engaged to keep them back. The technical name for this policeman is censor, and it is as well an unconscious process. But sometimes the censor is unable to keep back the unconscious desire, and they force their way to consciousness. In such cases however the censor manages to purify the uncouth element, during the process of transition. It clothes them properly, purges them of their primitive roughness, and selfishness, so that these ideas become presentable to decent society. This process is known as sublimation; sublimation often changes the apparent character of the desire to such an extent that a desire to elope with one's next door neighbour's wife may appear as an aversion from pickled oranges.

Everyone of us is conscious of curtailing the natural expressions at life's 'petty frustrations, humiliations and annoyances'; our natural expression at such cases is frequently and constantly being repressed, we are very much conscious of this process of repression, there is also a process of unconscious, which invariably represses the primitive tendencies within us. Over and above these, there are also a certain quasi-permanent causes of hostility. which are tabooed by the censor. These native tendencies cannot find a proper outlet to come to the arena of consciousness. If these native tendencies were allowed full play, our present society, as well as any other society, would have been impossible, and hence it is much for this reason that they are constantly censored, and are required to undergo a course of sublimation. The process of sublimation, being an unconscious process, the subject in whom these urges are sublimated, fail to perceive not only those ideas to be his, but also that there is a stricter morality, behind the pale of consciousness.

"SUFFER IN SILENCE, DO YOU SAY?"

Suffer in silence, do you say? No, cry aloud upon the housetops, sound the tocsin, raise the alarm at all risks; for it is not alone your house that is on fire, but that of your neighbour, that of everyone. Silence is frequently a duty where suffering is only personal; but it is an error and a fault when the suffering is that of millions.—Mazzini.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Counter-Revolution in Spain

While in discussing the Civil War now on in Spain, *The New Republic* presents a brief summary of recent political events in Spain :

The Spanish revolution, begun in 1931 when Alfonso was driven from the throne, is still far from complete. It follows the usual pattern of revolutionary periods. At the beginning, moderates control. But extremes at the Left and the Right are not satisfied with what the moderates do. Each in turn tries to seize the government, partly because of fear that the other will do so. In this see-saw contest for power the influence of the moderates is eroded. The revolutionary period continues, with sporadic forays, shifts of power and rebellions, until either the Left or the Right gains a decisive victory and deprives its chief opponent of all possibility of successful resistance.

When Spain became a parliamentary republic, the parties of the Left were not in control, and moderates held the balance of power. Socialists were influential, Communists were a tiny minority, and Syndicalists, embodying a large part of the labor movement, did not believe in political action at all and were not represented. The Church, however, was disestablished, labor laws were passed and agrarian reform was promised. Then reaction, as is usual in such cases, began to raise its head. The Church, the landlords, the capitalists and the remnants of the nobility declined to cooperate, and, aided by disunion of the Left, achieved political control of the republic. Gil Robles, clerical reactionary, became a virtual dictator. The army was divided, and could not be relied upon by the progressive forces. Reforms were either nullified or postponed.

Then came an uprising of the Left, in October, 1934. Again labor and the peasants were disunited and badly led. In Asturias, a mining district, the workers acted as a unit and forcefully, and for a time actually held power. But elsewhere the revolt petered out in an aimless general strike; the workers were unarmed and loyal troops garrisoned the strategic points against the small bands of active revolutionaries. Left leaders were irresolute and failed to act decisively. With the collapse of the insurrection elsewhere, the government suppressed the miners of the Asturias by several months of ruthless fighting and cruelty. Moroccan troops were used, in addition to Spanish soldiers. The aftermath was increased discontent and a growing resentment against the government for its treatment of large numbers of political prisoners. The Left gained in popular favor, but it had no immediate means of resistance.

The next turn of events was the national election, permitted by the powers in control on the basis of the mistaken belief that they could follow the example of Hitler and win support at the polls for a Fascist dictatorship. Experience had proved that a dictatorship without wide public support was unstable. It was such a dictatorship under Alfonso that had led to the fall of the monarchy. Now, however, the Left forces were able to unite in a popular front for election purposes. Syndicalist leaders permitted their followers to vote with the Socialists, and both cooperated with moderate Republicans, in order to elect a government that would release the labor prisoners and end repression. They were strikingly successful. Moderates again assumed power, and Spain once more became a liberal democracy. The Socialists, Syndicalists and other Marxian forces were not in a majority, however, and supported the government without taking part in it.

The moderate government then continued its original indecisive drift. The reactionaries and the Church were out of influence, but no real program of economic and social reconstruction was undertaken. Discontent began to spread again. Sporadic violence on the part of more extreme elements of the Left (or, as was sometimes charged, by provocators from the Right) increased the uneasiness. Church institutions were burned or looted, there were strikes, murders and assassinations. At length the Right, believing the time was propitious, took open offensive. Not being able to insinuate itself into control by political methods, it fomented a rebellion.

This rebellion was based almost exclusively on the army. It was easy for reactionary officers in Spanish Morocco to take control there; the native troops would unhesitatingly do their bidding, especially when it was a question of fighting the nation that had formerly conquered their country. Moroccan troops were landed in Spain. Garrisons under rightist influence seized radio stations and other strategic centers in Seville, Cadiz and elsewhere. By loudly proclaiming success, they hoped to dishearten their adversaries and accumulate adherents. The full story is not told as we write.

"The Second Roman Empire"

Mussolini has declared that Italy is 'no more a kingdom but an empire.' An Italian emigre discusses the prospects of this empire in *Giustizia e Liberta,* Paris Italian Anti-Fascist Weekly (we use the translation by *The Living Age*).

Whether called an Empire or a Kingdom, Italy is and remains a poor country, a country hard-hit by the depression, one of low wages and reduced consumption, but with the highest taxes in Europe, and a national debt which we shall soon have to reckon with. Abyssinia, for her part, remains (and since the destruction of the war is more than ever) an *extremely* poor country, without roads, without houses worthy of the name, without irrigation or reclamation, without public services, etc. It is difficult to see how, by adding Italian poverty to Abyssinian misery, not only wealth, but actually an Empire can be expected to emerge.

To say that Abyssinia would lend itself to more intense cultivation, and might conceivably hide mineral riches, is not the same as saying that she is rich. There is a

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difference between potential riches and those that can be realized.

Abyssinia can in time become rich. But how long will it take? And how much will it cost? This matter of capital is an important point.

Free circulation of capital is the essential condition for profitable colonization. In a recent polemic editorial, the *Giornale d' Italia* affirmed that, on the contrary, with faith and willing hands at their disposal, the financial question would come second. It is a fine-sounding sentence. When the time comes to colonize seriously, it will be seen how significant the lack of adequate capital is.

Besides this it will be difficult to obtain concessions of foreign capital in the form of general loans, as foreign capitalists will demand a direct participation in the exploitation of the colony. And in the last analysis it will be they who will get the tidbits. Having laid down their guns for spades the soldiers will find themselves reduced to the status of employees working at very low wages for foreign-controlled enterprises.

With her past diplomatic errors, it will be especially difficult for Italy to obtain large foreign loans. But capital she must have, even if she has to go to the country. In the exaltation of victory it would not be impossible to launch a domestic bond issue of several billions for colonization purposes.

But what will follow? There will follow—we proceed by synthesis—an extreme tightening of the already impoverished domestic market, a consequent rise in the legal rate of interest, and a corresponding fall in wages *even in Italy!*

In order to initiate the colonizing of Abyssinia she will find herself obliged to endanger her already tottering finances. She will spend to no purpose in Abyssinia money that could be well used in Italy. A few large business concerns, the same ones which today have a monopoly on war supplies, will be the gainers. The others will pay.

The writer suggests that the fate of Abyssinia will follow that of the deserts of Lybia.

The example of Lybia is eloquent. Today it is customary to say that it is worthless, that it is nothing but sand. But when it was occupied, it was an infatuation hardly less fervent than the present infatuation for Abyssinia. Not counting the capital brought in privately, and aside from the expenses of military occupation, almost ten billion lire have been spent in Lybia since 1912. Where has it gone? Most of it has gone up in smoke in the desert.

Twenty years from now—if Abyssinia is still ours—many tens of billions will have gone up in smoke there, too.

The Happiest Kingdom on Earth

M. de Pettinati writes in the *Blanco y Negro*, Madrid:

The Vatican city is both the oldest and the smallest state in the world, being at the same time the least accessible to foreigners. Only 993 persons—the citizens of the Vatican—who are provided with special passes, have permanent access to it. They have the right to issue their own currency and use their own stamps. They must at the same time obey their own laws and recognize as their sovereign the person who is being respected as the head and spiritual father by over 480 million men all over the world.

No other Provision Stores in the world could be so richly decorated as the "Annona" in the Vatican, which supplies provisions of the best quality at much cheaper rates than in any other shop in Rome. Over half a ton of meat, an equal amount of fish, one ton vegetables, a few hundred eggs, several dozens of fowl, several boxes of maccaroni and a whole mountain of butter are required daily to feed the permanent citizens along with their guests and others who work in the Vatican city during the day and leave it at sunset.

There are no custom houses on the frontiers of the Vatican city, and as no duties are levied on imported goods, commodities from all parts of the world pour in and things of daily use, like coffee, sugar, wines, tobacco, liquors etc., are sold at rates which appear to be ridiculously cheap, when compared with the prices, obtained a few yards away beyond the Italian boundary line. The Roman housewives naturally envy their sisters beyond the boundary and smuggling would be rampant, if the hardest punishments like banishment and loss of citizenship were not laid down for such offences. The purchases are restricted to the needs of consumption of each family, the maximum amount of each kind of provision to be supplied to it being noted down in the special account-book of each customer. This practice enables the officials to exercise a certain influence upon the domestic expenditure of their citizens. Most of the residents of the Vatican city being employees of the state, it is easy to deduct from their salaries the costs of their purchases at the end of each month, so that the 'Annona' has no insolvent creditors. As there are no schools within the city, the children of the Vatican city go to the Italian schools a few hundred yards away in the suburban centre, where they receive free education along with the Italian children. They are however, exempted from attending the compulsory physical training and are besides allowed to keep some special holidays, not marked in the Italian school calenders. These "Children of the Vatican" are often an object of envy for the other children, as their parents are known to be living under specially favourable circumstances and especially as they themselves have the prospect of getting easy positions in the service of the Vatican, after they have finished their school careers. There are, indeed, families, which have settled themselves in the province of the Vatican since hundreds of years.

Is it then any wonder, that the 900,000 countrymen, living on the other side in Mussolini's Rome, point with their fingers at the 993 men, women and children of this most singular spot on earth and call them the "fortunate ones of the Vatican?"

The Nazi View of Truth

Heidelberg University Celebrated its 550th birthday on the second anniversary of the Nazi 'blood purge' of June 30, 1934. During the celebration, *The New Republic* informs,

Dr. Bernhard Rust stated with pride that there was now no objective science in Germany, that there was only German science. Dr. Ernest Krieck said, "We do not recognize truth for truth's sake, nor science for science's sake. The science of a nation is the expression of its total life, bound by the necessities, directions and purpose of that national life." Thus the ideal that has been held up by the universities of Germany as well as those of all the world, the fearless examination of all the facts by an unbiased mind in search of truth, has been set aside in the Nazi state. Certain American universities, which are still supposed to be dedicated to that ideal, sent represen-

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tatives to Heidelberg to celebrate its destruction. It is to be hoped that they looked for the statute of Athena, goddess of wisdom, which five years ago was presented by American alumni of Heidelberg and their friends to the university. For Athena is no longer there, and in her place is the swastika and the eagle, and in place of the motto under the statue, "To the Eternal Spirit," is the motto, "To the German Spirit." This is the change that Heidelberg was celebrating.

In Defence of the German Scholars

Writing in *The Living Age* on the same celebration, Dr. Felix E. Hirsch, a graduate of the University, and now a voluntary exile from Germany, takes the occasion to defend the German scholars from the charge of cowardice and surrender to Hitler.

The world knows the case of Einstein, but most of our contemporaries have forgotten that he was not the only one to set an example of great courage and nobility of mind. Let us recall the letter the Nobel prize winner, James Franck, then professor of Physics at Gottingen, wrote to the rector of his university in the Spring of 1933 : 'I have requested the authorities to relieve me of my office,' he wrote 'but I shall try to continue my scientific work in Germany. We Germans of Jewish descent are being treated like aliens and enemies of the fatherland. We are asked to let our children grow up in the knowledge that they must not represent themselves as Germans. Although those who served in the War have received permission to continue in their positions, I decline to avail myself of this privilege.'

Some weeks after Franck's retirement, a scholar of even greater renown, Fritz Haber (also a Nobel prize winner), resigned his position as Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Chemistry. When his most valuable assistants were dismissed for no other reason than their non-Aryan descent, he decided to retire.

In his capacity as President of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society, the greatest research foundation in Germany, Max Planck has been to this day a sincere and courageous fighter in the cause of academic freedom.

We owe the same regard to his close colleague and fellow Nobel prize winner, Erwin Schrodinger, who preferred exile in England to his professorship in Berlin only because he could not stand the recent changes in Germany's academic life.

Much the same thing has happened in the fields of history and theology also. Here the pressure exerted by the Government is even greater. On the whole, the historians refused to acknowledge the Nazi theories regarding the old Germans. When the party speakers spat at the memory of Charlemagne, the alleged murderer of thousands of Nordic Saxons, the experts—among them the late Heidelberg historian, Karl Hampe—joined in writing a pointed book to show the real greatness of that German emperor. At an academic meeting in 1935 the famous Berlin Professor, Hermann Oncken (who had earlier been one of Heidelberg's greatest assets), criticized the National Socialist ideals of history so tellingly that the Government forced him to retire. Oncken's friend and colleague, Friedrich Meinecke, did not stop expressing his opinions freely in the internationally recognized periodical *Historische Zeitschrift*, of which he was the editor, until he was replaced by a party member last fall. He is one of the leading European scholars Harvard University intends to honor at its coming tercentenary.

Oswald Spengler

Deutsche Rundschau, Leipzig, pays the following tribute to the memory of the author of the *Untergang des Abendlandes*, which had created a great sensation in the post-war period by proclaiming the bankruptcy of western civilization :

. . . Since the passing away of Stefan George no event has affected the German heart so deeply as the death of Oswald Spengler. Indeed, Spengler wished to write much more, that has now been either lost to us or remained incomplete : a work which was to provide a metaphysical background to his *magnum opus*, and the second part of his last publication *Jahre der Entscheidung* ("Critical years") among others. And yet these losses weigh little in comparison with the moral and spiritual strength of his personality, which is lost irredeemably. Howsoever much Spengler might have set out as a brilliant, scientific author and as such reached world-wide fame, the second part of his *Untergang* had betrayed a genius, which, having surpassd the verbal expression was culminating into spiritual action. Whether the Occident was degenerating or not, whether the theory of cycles of culture held good or the absolute spirit prevailed—these and other smaller questions occupied him as little during his last years as the gossip about Pessimism or Optimism. Spengler as the intellectual and moral educator stood always beyond all reproach. He never sought to paralyse the real spirit or true culture and the results of his activity, whether in the days of the downfall or of ascension or—what is perhaps most probable—of the further career of western culture will be found to be arrayed on the right side of the barricade.

Something New in the Universities

The Catholic Herald publishes some interesting and instructive points of Russian Educational system :

The organization of higher education in Russia is quite different from anything that we know in the Western world. Everything is subordinated to the needs of industry. Thus, if the Commissariat of Heavy Industry reports difficulty in obtaining mine managers and technicians, an order will probably be given to the Education Committee responsible for the Donetz area, and the foundations of a new technical college will soon after be laid. In some cases students who had been qualifying for one branch of industry were urged to begin another subject at the end of their first year certificate course, as there was already a sufficient number of graduates available for the first branch. One student I met in Moscow had started out to qualify as an electrical engineer, with the aid of a State scholarship of 200 rubles a month. After a year he had been switched over to constructional work.

The boast I had heard in the Commissariat of Education to the effect that the system was completely democratic, and that any boy or girl with ability could win through to the university was largely justified. In the outlying republics, however, chief attention is being paid to the liquidation of illiteracy, and the lack of books and transport press heavily on students. The universities confine themselves rigidly to the teaching of "practical" courses, and there is no real equivalent of the foreign arts degree course. A lecturer at Kazan University told me that it was criminally foolish of Western instructors to draw a sharp dividing line between the theory and practice of the

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arts. "Hardly any of your teachers have worked in industry," he said, "and so it is impossible for them to understand the problems of the workers, and to train boys and girls to meet those problems."

I asked him how he got over these difficulties. Boys and girls, he said, must be taught to use tools from the earliest age. Many children had a natural dislike for tools and machines, and hated the hour devoted to this work. "But it is good for them," he said, "they make things, even if they make them badly, and so begin to think constructively." The greatest advantage of this type of training, he considered, might be the implanting of the idea that manual labor was a noble activity. Few universities have residential hostels attached, and the practice is for students from outlying districts to reside with families approved by the college directors. There is little or no supervision over the activities of students outside the lecture-rooms, and any sort of ceremony or dignity is eschewed. A student committee is elected by each college, which is responsible for the maintenance of discipline, and there are apparently no cases of rowdyism to deal with.

Artists on Relief

Writing in *The New Republic,* Constance Rourke reports the progress of the measures taken in the U. S. A. for the relief of the artists.

When the present Federal Art Project was set up in August, 1935, under the direction of Mr. Holger Cahill, as a division under the Works Progress Administration, the number of artists on relief had risen to about four thousand, and there were between fifteen hundred and two thousand more, not yet on relief but living on the margin of starvation. . . .

Under the stimulus and direction of creative artists many services that are important in themselves have been accomplished throughout the country, bringing into play the useful talents of the artist of genuine if minor gifts, and tending to raise the level of popular taste. Illustrative maps and charts and large-scale relief maps, often of distinct beauty, have been made by well known artists for schools and libraries. Posters for socially useful purposes, such as health and safely campaigns, have made a consistent body of work with a clear emphasis upon esthetic effect.

In all ways community response has been extremely wide. "Our schools are bare." "We have no art or art materials of any kind here"—this from a small Western town. In more than one region the urgent requests for murals, easel paintings and sculptures have greatly exceeded the available supply.

What of the creative artist under this program in the exercise of his more personal gifts?

No sweeping conclusion can be drawn, but from the excellent exhibits shown at the Federal Art Galleries in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, from the paintings, prints and sculptures that have found their way to Washington, one would say that the artist of distinction and experience has been doing some of his best work for that abstraction called government. He has certainly been generous in the division between his private time and the time for which the government has bargained. It is even possible that in the freedom from the pressure of cliques, the insistence of dealers, the noise of publicity, he has found a definite release.

There can be no doubt whatever that the program has had a most stimulating effect upon young talent. The abundance and freedom, even the gayety, with which this has come into play has been unmistakable.

A flexible and well organized movement has been brought into existence, proceeding from a concept of art not as the possession of the few but as a free impulse that should have a large and natural place in our society for pleasure and use.

Indian Labour in Ceylon

The *Internationl Labour Review* publishes a summary of the information regarding Indian labour in Ceylon contained in the official reports for 1934, from which extracts are reproduced below.

Labour Market

Indian labour in Ceylon is mainly employed on plantations. Of the three principal estate crops grown in the Island, tea is worked by Indian labour almost entirely, and rubber for the greater part. At the end of 1934, when the estimated total population of Ceylon was 5,637,200, Indians numbered about 800,000, 688,700 of whom were living on the estates.

Indebtedness of Indian Estate Labourers

Once more the Agent of the Government of India has devoted a special chapter of his report to the question of indebtedness of Indian estate labourers. In his opinion this phenomenon must be mainly attributed to the workers' illiteracy and unthrifty habits. Another explanation has sometimes been given, namely, that the workers often borrow money in order to send it to their relations in India in addition to a large portion of their earnings. There is, however, no reliable evidence for this. In fact, during the year 1934 the remittances to India by Indian estate labourers through Ceylon post offices and through the agency of the Ceylon Labour Commission did not exceed, on a average, Rs. 2.03 per head of the Indian estate population.

The labourer's inclination to incur debts is in some respects encouraged by the prevailing labour conditions. Thus the labourer, although he is a daily wage earner, is only paid once a month, so that he is obliged to live to a large extent on credit. He usually gets his foodstuffs from the neighbouring shop or estate store on credit and, having regard to his lack of education, it is not surprising to find that he does not always keep purchases within the limits of his financial capacity. Shops, as a rule, sell goods on credit to the labourers on the security of their head- or sub-*kanganies.*

Moreover, the *kangany,* together with the pawnbroker, acts as the labourer's principal money-lender for larger sums which the latter may need occasionally to meet expenses connected with marriages, festivals, funerals, etc. Apart from other considerations, the *kangany* has an interest in lending money to the labourers because it gives him a hold on them, and this is advantageous to him since he is usually paid at the rate of a number of cents per day for each of the labourers of his gang who turn out to work.

Another result of the indebtedness of labourers to a *kangany* is that the latter resists any attempt on the part of the former to leave the estate. In doing so the *kangany* is seconded by the working of the so-called Discharge Certificate Agreement. This is an agreement among the majority of planters not to engage labourers who cannot produce a discharge certificate from their previous employer, and in practice a labourer to whom advances have been made by his *kangany* is often prevented by the latter from obtaining a discharge certificate unless he has paid his debts.

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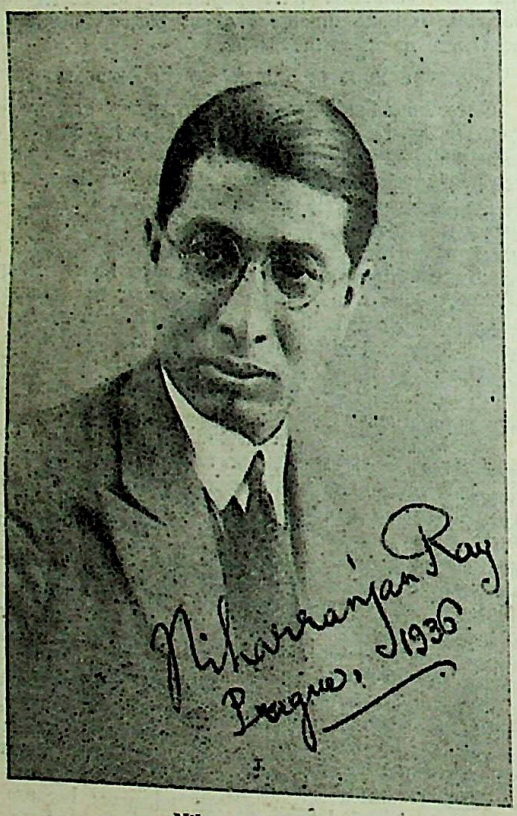
FEDERATION OF INDIAN AND CEYLONESE STUDENTS ABROAD

By NIHARRANJAN RAY

My Czechoslovakian Friends,

Through a most lovely panorama of green and blue speaking to us in a music of delightful curves in the ups and downs of hills and graceful but stately lines of pine forests we entered your historic Czechoslovakia of glorious medieval memories and a meandering railway brought us to your very ancient romantic city of Prague noted as the youngest seat of liberty and



Niharranjan Ray

democracy. As I stand here and look on the green and proud hill-tops dominating the landscape studded with gems of artistic and architectural magnificence expressed in monumental sculptures, castles and cathedrals my mind travels back to the glorious days of the House of Luxembourg and its famous representative Charles IV, of the Bohemian Reformation and its leader John Hus, to the days of John Zizka and Prokop the Great, of King George of Podebrady, the first national hero king of Bohemia, and Vladislav II, who were instrumental in initiating the Italian Renaissance, of the national struggle culminating in the disastrous battle of the White Mountain, of the Czech national revival at the close of the 18th century, and lastly to the days of the heroic struggle of the Czecholovakian people, led by the illustrious emancipator and liberator and the most beloved man in this country, Prof. Masaryk with his strong band of associates, among whom was Dr. Benes, now the head of the Republic. As I read these lines, all these pass before my eyes in a moving film of glorious colour and thrilling romance. Czechoslovakia, as we see and know her today is the product of a proud youth, imaginative but practical which is symbolized in her arts and government, graceful but strong which is significantly expressed in her mighty and picturesque *Sokol,* and receptive to all latest ideas and movements in art and culture, politics and government, industry and s c i e n c e. This morning as I looked through the balcony of my hotel on the green oval lawn outside belonging to the headquarters of the *Sokol,* I saw the summer morning sun kissing the white tunics and blue shorts of a cluster of youthful human flowers marching and singing and playing in the regulated ecstasy of life; the freshness and ardour, the joy and vigour of youth danced on every face; I stood and gazed and felt that here was youth personified, youth that vivifies the story of the Czechoslovakian struggle for independence, youth that carries all the wisdom and treasure of the past, glorifies and enriches the present and lives and works for the future. To this undying youth of this youngest of western republics that keeps its faith in freedom and democracy in these days of rampant dictatorships we the youths of India extend our hand of respect and admiration of love and sympathy. We kiss the dust of your land sanctified by the footprints of fallen martyrs and living heroes.

I take it that the Oriental Institute whose guests we are proud to be today, is the creation of the idealism and imagination of Czechoslovakian youth, here represented in this hall by one of the youngest of men, Prof. Lesny,

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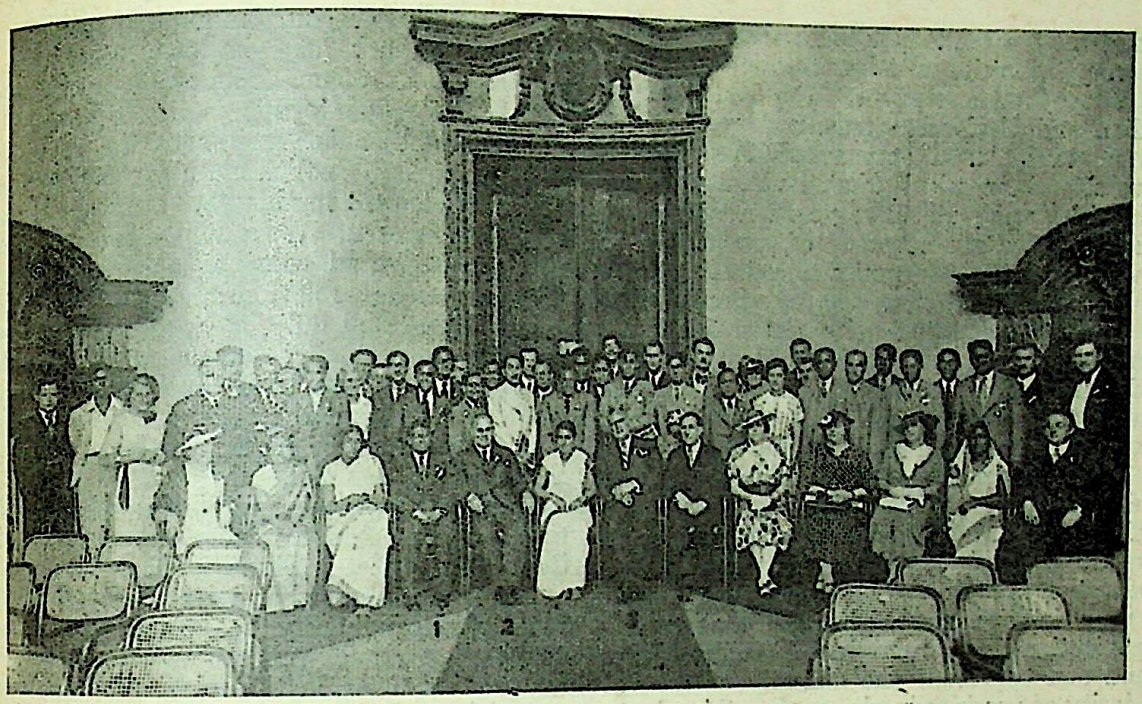

1. Niharranjan Ray, President 2. Dr. Baxa, Mayor of Prague who opened the Convention 3. Prof. Lesny, Chairman, Reception Committee

and in many others that we see around here. Custodians and worthy interpreters of our past and present culture, and if I may say so, promoters of the aims and aspirations of the Indian youth, we acknowledge with a deep sense of love and gratitude the kind and sincere courtesy you have extended to us by inviting this Convention to your historic city. Believe me, we consider it an honour to be your guest, and take the privilege of breathing, for the few short days we are here, the spirit of youth that is the driving force of your national struggle for independence, of your democratic basis of government, of your cultural aims and ideals, and of your admirable achievements in all walks and spheres of life. I can assure you that we shall try to prove worthy of the honour and privilege you have extended to us, and though rather weak in numerical strength we shall be able, in course of our regular business of the Convention, to impress on you, whose friendship and sympathy we really value, in a small measure and in an indirect way the aims and ideals that dominate the mind of Indian youth today.

My dear comrades,

I shall not lose time by expressing usual and customary, though sincere, words of my unworthiness of the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over your deliberations. I know that when I come to occupy a chair adorned by such an illustrious leader of Indian youth as Mr. Subhaschandra Bose, and next by my esteemed friend Mr. Amiyachandra Chakravarti, I come in only as a filler, till one, worthier and with much more claim than myself, comes to adorn it. But I am conscious of the honour you have done me, the highest an Indian student can aspire after, when abroad, from his fellow brethren, and I accept it with all humility. I shall try to make myself worthy of the occasion and the heavy responsibilities that it carires with it, and if I succeed it will not be my humble self that the credit would go to, but to the Chair to which you have elected me.

I shall not take much of your valuable time but that required for outlining, in my way of thinking, some of the aims and ideals the Federation should strive after, and some lines of work that we should take up. Literary flourish which I appreciate is not unfortunately in my line, nor shall I be able to give you phrases that you may love to hear, much less that you can remember. I shall only try to give you in rather a rough and practical manner my humble ideas and suggestions that are for you to consider. It will be, in fact, not my humble address, but the actual business that is going to be the most important item of the Convention, and I would like to ask you in all seriousness to devote to that item your sincere

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and earnest attention, keeping always in mind the responsibilities we take upon ourselves when we adopt our resolutions. The Federation of Indian and Ceylonese Students Abroad is now seven years old. I once asked myself, and I have often been asked, what the Federation has achieved during all these years. Frankly not much that we can be proud of, except that we have been able to organise a gathering more or less of a social character, of representatives of various federating units scattered all over Europe, and to bring the large but migratory and fluid Indian student population in Europe into one central organisation. But even in that we have been but partially successful. It has been very difficult to enlist the interest and sympathies of our brethren, much less their active co-operation; very few have come forward to work for the aims and ideals the Federation is trying to achieve though there is a very large number who feel that such a organization is a necessity. I quite understand and appreciate the difficulty of the vast majority of our friends who come to this country for furthering their academic or technical qualifications for one, two or three years and all the time they have to be very busy with their studies and work, and have thus very little time to divert their attention to any other channel. But I do not understand the nervousness of those aspirants for civil services or other offices which are gifts of governmental favour, who keep away from us lest they should incur official disfavour. We have always stressed the fact that the Federation is essentially a cultural organisation interested in furthering the cause of Indian students abroad, and in interpreting the past and present culture of our country and people, and making known in Europe the aims and aspirations of our national struggle in all walks and spheres of life with a view to enlisting the friendship, sympathy and co-operation of European nations and peoples, especially of European student and youth groups and organisations who uphold progressive ideas and thoughts and are interested in India, not in an attitude of patronage but in a real spirit of understanding. I believe that any one of us who cares to do anything to further the cause of our country without being implicated in immediate political entanglements can utilise whatever spare time he can to further our aims and ideals by joining the activities of the Federation, or individually, for even then he furthers the cause of the Federation.

Our work lies simultaneously in two directions. Whatever our individual subjects of study and work may be one thing must be common to all of us. There is no denying the fact that Europe to-day is the centre of all progressive thought and acivities, in art and culture and in politics and sociology; and whatever happens in this part of the hemisphere affects us as well. We can no more ignore the ebb and flow and currents and cross-currents in international relations. As students it is only our essential duty to acquire by whatever means and to whatever extent we can the ideas and ideals that are today moving the western world and giving it the thrill and pulsation of a new life, and to see in the far-flung corners of this part of the globe the various social and sociological, political and humanistic activities through which the European world is bursting into efflorescence. There is so much to know and to learn from what we see around us here that there can hardly be any excuse why we should not take fullest advantage of our privilege of being in the midst of peoples who are rich and powerful not only in material power and strength, but in the wealth and resourcefulness of the spirit as well.

The Federation is a growing but a great idea. She is still a child, and like the child she is full of future possibilities and must not be judged by what she has done up to now. It is no indulgence in wild imagination when I say that the idea of the Federation is just the beginning of our future idea of Indian embassies in the different countries of Europe. Situated as we today are, we have really no representatives of our own in European countries to interpret ourselves and protect our own interests. The Indian National Congress, which is the only effective and representative political organization in India, is now beginning to realize that the Indian struggle for freedom is not an isolated affair; it is no doubt the business of the country to work on its own salvation, but her destiny is intimately connected with the rest of the world, and it is an important item in national organization work to create an intelligent public opinion in favour of her aims and aspirations. We appreciate this orientation in the attitude of our national body, and view with satisfaction the attempts towards establishing contacts and organizations in all centres of international activities. The Congress is a political body with its own ideals and sphere of work, and its organizations abroad must needs work with a political significance. Ours, however, is essentially a cultural organization, and our aims and ideals have determined for us a dif-

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ferent line of work. But one item is common to us, and must be common to all organizations that seek to work abroad for India and her sons. This is, as I have said, to interpret ourselves, our past and present culture, our national aims and ideals, and our trials and struggles, as well as to cultivate friendly cultural relations with the different peoples of the European world with a view to create a well-informed public opinion. And when I speak of public opinion, of international goodwill and friendship, I am sure my remarks will nowhere be better appreciated than in Czechoslovakia whose leaders in the fight for freedom know what public opinion and international goodwill meant to their cause.

What should be one of our fundamental ideals is to cultivate this friendship and goodwill amongst all the different nations of the European world without in any way jeopardising their own international political relations or committing ourselves to any political implications. This can be done in more ways than one, and it is only necessary to bring to your notice one or two of them. India today is on her evil days, and political and economic considerations of interested parties have blinded their vision to the more positive aspects of Indian life and culture, to her real needs and aspirations. She is today the victim of vile and malicious propaganda all over Europe, obviously inspired by interested agents, and very subtly managed by means of books, films, news items in papers and publicity pamphlets, which conceal in their veiled suggestions and insinuations the worst form of lies, I mean, half truths. I have seen public exhibitions of such propaganda, not in England or in any part of the British Empire, but in the countries of Europe where, the authorities say, they have no control. Much mischief has been already done and is still being done, and to protest to the authorities is doomed to be futile. Propaganda can only be undone by counter-propaganda done in an honest, straightforward and authoritative manner. As ambassadors of our country, and rightful representatives we must protect our own interests. It is one of our most important cultural obligation and the Federation must take upon itself to fulfil this obligation.

Besides, there is in Europe hardly any interest in affairs Indian, and even amongst the British, the ignorance is colossal. It is true that the European countries are not directly interested in Indian life and affairs, but no nation today can be oblivious of or indifferent to the affairs of any country or people, however small or insignificant she may be. The world today is much closer to each other and a neighbour must know his neighbour for his own interests, immediate and remote. I have met and talked to people in high positions of state, mostly in academic circles and *liaison* sevices, in some of the countries of the continent, and I can assure you that there is in every country an ever growing interest in Indian history and culture and life and affairs. They are eager to know more and more about India, past and present, and have organized either groups or institutions for this purpose. That we are here today under the hospitable roof of the Czechoslovakian Oriental Institute is a proof of this fact. Here is then another important obligation for the Federation to fulfil. We have our federating units with their representatives practically all over Europe; these units can and should organize from time to time talks and lectures by one or other of their members on Indian subjects of cultural, social and sociological significance. They can protest, whenever an occasion arises for such action, against any misrepresentation of Indian affairs, or any vile and malicious propaganda, and bring to the notice of those interested the real facts and situation regarding a particular case. It is true that we eschew politics, but there is no reason why we should not make known to the wider world what our sociological and political situation is, and what our political and economic aspirations are. For, even when we talk of Indian politics, our attitude is strictly objective and we merely act as interpreters of our present culture of which politics is but an indissoluble part.

But friendship to be fruitful must be reciprocal; it is a matter of sincere give and take. If we must try to make India known to Europe, we must also make Europe known to ourselves. And this can best be done by cultivating as many personal friendships as we can with the peoples amongst whom we choose temporarily to live and whose guests we become. We must try to learn the language of the country which we make our temporary home, learn to know their life and society, and have a due regard for their national aims and aspirations, and their artistic, literary and cultural heritage. Personal friendship contracted in private meetings and social gatherings is an important factor in international goodwill and fellow-feeling, and who does not know how false notions and beliefs, and misunderstandings based on absolutely wrong or half-true information vanishes like darkness at the approach of light when one

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sits and talks with another across the table and over the tea-cups?

A very interesting work the Federation may well inaugurate and carry out to successful fruition is the arrangement of a regular annual exchange of visits of students from European student-organizations to Indian universities and student and youth-organizations, and friendly visits of Indian students abroad to European universities and student-organizations. The Federation may elect a certain number of representatives to spend about a month in one European country, the countries to be chosen by votation, and the country thus chosen may be invited by or through the Federation to send out a number of representatives to spend a couple of months in India. As a first step in this direction, I would like very much to invite the educational authorities and representatives of other student- and youth-organizations of Czechoslovakia to send out four or five representatives to India to spend a couple of months in our country. The Czechoslovakian authorities agreeing, I shall try to interest the University of Calcutta to which I am proud to belong, and issue the formal invitation through the Federation. The details of a scheme of exchange may be arranged later on in consultation with the exchanging parties. I am convinced that such an exchange will be to the interest of both, and will further the cause of international goodwill and the creation of intelligent and well-informed public opinion.

An organization of Indian students in Europe can not work independently of the youth and student-organizations in India; in fact it has, I consider, been a fundamental error in not already trying to establish a more real and intimate contact between the two. This should immediately be done, and I am sure that a successful organization with the aims and ideals we have and the breadth of outlook and appeal, is sure to react favourably on the student-organizations of my country. There may not be any constitutional affiliation or inter-relation, but an exchange of programme of work and of ideas will go a great way to coordinate the aims and activities of the general student movement that is now an important factor in Indian socio-political life. I leave it to the Convention to decide what the form of this collaboration and co-operation will take, if, however, you think it at all necessary.

To be a really effective organization, the Federation must also seek the recognition by and co-operation of our own universities in India. It is only through such recognition and co-operation that the Federation can be of real use to Indian students in Europe. It is well-known to you all that the Office of the High Commissioner for India, is an unsatisfactory and inadequate body so far as it is concerned with Indian students, and there is frankly much room for complementing and supplementing the work of the High Commissioner's Office. The Inter-University Board for India may be approached by the Federation to recognise it as an official body with its headquarters somewhere in Europe and serving as the central information bureau or clearing house for all information regarding scope and facilities of work in various branches of study and work in the different universities of Europe, and other necessary items that are likely to be of interest to prospective Indian students in Europe. It is difficult to say how far the Inter-University Board is likely to favour the idea, but an attempt is quite worth while to make, and on its success or failure, I may say, depends to a certain extent, the financial stability of the Federation.

If more active co-operation with the Indian student and youth-organizations and with Indian universities is a matter of prime importance, equally, if not more important, is the need of a much closer co-operation with the students- and youth-organizations of eastern countries, of Egypt, Arabia, China to far off Dutch Netherlands. Personally I dream the mighty dream of a Federation of Oriental peoples, from Egypt and Turkey to Japan. I do not know when the dream will realise itself, but a federation of the student and youth-organizations of China and India, Arabia and Egypt is no longer a dream. There has been in recent years in Egypt and Arabia, China and India, and as far south-east as Dutch East Indies, a general awakening amongst students who have played important parts in shaping the destinies of their respective countries. Indian students, in India and abroad, must therefore fall in line with their compatriots in these and other countries, and try to march hand in hand to the goal that is the pride of youth to reach. There was a very good beginning when a Confederation of students from all Oriental countries including Egypt and Turkey as far east as Siam and Anam was organized a couple of years back. The apathy of Asiatic students killed the Confederation after one or two Conferences, but I am convinced that such a Confederation would mark the beginning of the future League of Oriental peoples and countries, and I earnestly

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think that it should be revived. Why not our own Federation take the initiative and do it?

I have finished, but before I resume my seat, I must thank you most sincerely for the very kind and patient hearing you have all given me. It has been, I am sure, an ordeal for you to keep your patience through this rather tiring address; but I know and feel that it speaks for the seriousness and the earnestness with which you have come to this Convention. I thank you again for the signal honour you have done me. I thank also Prof. Lesny, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and his Colleagues for the kind, active and sustained interest they have been taking in this Convention, as well as the Oriental Institute which has extended to us not only their kind and valuable hospitality, but has made us feel that we are in our own home.

I can assure you, Prof. Lesny, and my Czechoslovakian friends present here, that we appreciate and are really grateful for the feelings expressed in the address by the Mayor, in those by Prof. Lesny and other Institutions. We are sincerely conscious of the work you are all doing to establish friendly cultural relations between my country and yours, and I can tell you on behalf of my comrades that we are and shall always be ready to reciprocate in the best of spirit. We are conscious of the rich artistic and cultural heritage of your country, and I am sure we shall profit by this short stay in your historic country and shall carry a happy and pleasant memory when we leave you.

July 18, 1936.

Presidential address delivered at the Sixth Convention of the Federation of Indian Students Abroad, Prague, 1936

LOST ATLANTIS

By K. G. RANDELL

The mythology of most countries has much in common but probably the most wide-spread legend is that which tells of a world-destroying flood. It is possible that this is a dim racial memory of one of the greatest puzzles of all time. . . . the mystery of Lost Atlantis. This story of a terrible flood, which destroyed an older civilization and laid the foundation of a new and better era, has played a prominent part in the legends of the ancient civilizations of the Old and the New worlds.

Babylonia (from whose Flood legend—the Gilgamesh Epic,—came the Biblical story of the Flood), Egypt, Persia, Mexico Central America, and even the primitive tribes of North and South America (such as the Algonquians, Athapascans, and Aschochmini tribes of the North and the Caribs, Arawaks, and Tupi-Guarani tribes of the South), all had their legends which, though differing in detail, told of an ancient and wonderful civilization suddenly and completely, overwhelmed by a cataclysm from which only a few survived to carry on the torch of progress.

The excavations of Sir Leonard Woolley have proved that in Mesopotamia these legends have a solid foundation and he has revealed that a tremendous flood overwhelmed the City-States of the Sumerians, covering them with a deep layer of silt. Might not this flood have been caused by a far greater catastrophe in the distant Atlantic, or Pacific? The overwhelming of a great continent may have caused world-wide disturbances and, without warning, the sea may have risen and raged for miles over the level plains of Mesopotamia, sweeping out of existence the rising civilization of Ur and her sister cities.

Of all the legends that of Atlantis is the most fascinating. Was there ever a great civilization out in the Atlantic from which Asia, Europe, and Central America derived their culture and art?

A number of well-known scholars dismiss these legends as absurd, advancing many theories for so doing, chief of which is the statement that the very earliest civilizations did not come into existence until about eight thousand years ago, and an Atlantean continent could not have been destroyed less than thirty thousand years ago at which period the human race was in a state of extreme savagery.

Truly, the civilizations of which we have evidence only date from about 6000 B.C. but

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this does not preclude the existence of an earlier Mother-Civilization of which we have, as yet, no definite evidence save many persistent and world-wide legends. It must be remembered that, less than a hundred years ago, Darwin's theory of the antiquity of the human race was laughed to scorn by many of the most eminent scientists, and within living memory many leading archæologists and scholars of Europe looked upon Dr. Schliemann as a fool and a presuming amateur, when he declared that he had found the site of Troy.

So, in time, may the statements of the critics of the Atlantean theory prove to be wrong, for the possibility of the existence of Atlantis has much in its favour, not only from the legends of the ancient world but from the archæological and geological discoveries of the present century.

It is sometimes stated that Plato was the first of the ancient writers to mention Atlantis although by some it is thought, as we shall see later, that he, unknown to himself, was merely repeating legends relating to the dimly remembered and totally destroyed civilization of Minoan Crete. He is the first to mention Atlantis by name, but both Homer and Herodotus refer to it indirectly.

Homer sings of Elysium, a happy land in the west which rejoiced in a sunny, temperate climate. A land of the living and not a land of the dead as it was afterwards regarded. This may be a dim memory of the days when mankind looked westwards to their guiding civilization.

Herodotus (Book 2, Chapter 142) says that he was told by Egyptian priests that "during three hundred and forty-one generations no god had assumed the form of a man" and such a period, according to his calculations would be about 11,340 years. It is possible that, following the common primitive practice, the gods of Egypt were the defined Atlantean monarchs, and the last "God," who ruled in human form, was the last Atlantean monarch to rule before his country was overwhelmed by the sea. This occurred, by the calculations of Herodotus, about 11,790 B.C., and by degrees the memory of these great kings faded and by succeeding generations of Egyptians they were worshipped as gods who had ruled the world in the far-off days.

The legends of these Godlike-kings who taught the Egyptians the arts of civilization seem to point to the country having been colonized by a race already in an advanced state of civilization. The story of Atlantis was also told to Solon (B.C. 640-558) by a priest of Sais and Plato, who mentions this fact, places the cataclysm about 10,000 B.C.

There is much in these dim stories from the past that is sheer myth, but there is undoubtedly a sub-stratum of truth in all legends, and modern research has done much to show that the truth of the Atlantean legend may be greater than hitherto imagined.

Some years ago a cable ship brought to the surface of the Atlantic some pieces of lava which, on examination, proved to be undecomposed, a point of some importance as it has been proved that lava when exposed to the action of sea-water disintegrates in about fifteen thousand years. Also, lava that has cooled slowly on the surface is easily distinguishable from that which cools suddenly in water, and this lava dredged from the Atlantic proved to be the land cooled variety. This seems to indicate the existence of a land-mass, where now is the Atlantic, less than fifteen thousand years ago. Can it be that this lava is a relic of the volcanic upheavals that overwhelmed the lost continent? Plato wrote that the buildings of the Atlanteans were of red, black, and white stones—stones such as would exist in an area of volcanic disturbance.

Even if Atlantis was overwhelmed thirty thousand years ago, modern archæology has found a reply to those who state that, at that period, mankind was in a state of savagery. Recent discoveries in Scotland have disclosed that something approaching civilization existed there many thousands of years prior to the date usually accepted as that of the first civilizations. Among the discoveries is a cleverly executed statuette, in reddish brown stone, which, states the President of the Glasgow Archæological Society, is at least thirty thousand years old. It represents a woman, probably a goddess, and exhibits a high degree of skill and artistic ability.

Northern European legends abound with references to "drowned lands" in the west . . . always in the west! The Britons tell of the marvellous city of Is—a city that outshone all the cities of the world in splendour and richness—which was destroyed by the sea, in a single night, owing to the wickedness of its inhabitants. Cornish legends dwell lovingly on the "lovely, lost, land of Lyonesse," Lyonesse, the home of chivalry and beauty, where the Knights of The Round Table rode on their mystic quests, and good battled with evil, until in a night of storm all this fair land was overwhelmed by the raging Atlantic. Welsh

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legends tell of a drowned land beyond Cardigan Bay. The persistence of these legends and their similarity all point to a foundation of fact, some shattering calamity that left its imprint on the consciousness of unborn generations. The fact that the legends do not mention a great country, far away in the Atlantic, but merely tell of small countries and cities, adjoining Britain and France, means nothing, for all legends tend to become localised in the course of centuries.

The civilization of Mexico and Central America had numerous legends dealing with a "Golden Age" that was destroyed by floods and storms such as the world had never before experienced. Situated by Lake Titicaca are the megalithic ruins of Tiahuanacu which in the earliest days of the Incas were already deserted ruins, the origin of which was lost in the mists of time. Who built this mighty city, the stone of which are so vast that even modern machinery would find them difficult to haul into position? Here is evidence that on the continent of America flourished a mighty civilization, that perished and left no trace except scattered and gigantic ruins. After countless centuries other cultured races arose on the western shores of the Atlantic....races that retained no records of the builders of the ruined cities that surrounded them, but which preserved memories of the great Mother-Civilization which now lay beneath the waters to the east of them. Just as Europe looked westward for Elysium, so the cultured races of America looked eastward. The Aztecs even had a name for this lost land from whence had come their ancestors....and that name was Aztlan!

It has been suggested that Crete and its marvellously advanced civilization is the basis of the legends of Atlantis and, to a certain extent, this may be correct. The Minoan civilization, that flourished until its destruction in the 12th century B.C., was one of the most luxurious that the world has ever seen. Secure from wars and invasions art, architecture, and all the refinements of life, developed without a break for over a thousand years. Wars and civil strife pulled down countries and empires in Asia and Africa, but the people of Crete developed their civilization in peace and security. Great towns were built, works of art filled the rambling palaces of King and nobles, and the knowledge of hydraulics and hygiene was far in advance of that in many parts of modern Greece. Then came the semi-barbarian Aryan tribes, the Greeks of Homer's epics, who conquered and occupied the cities of Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos, and the other Minoan settlements on the Mainland. Then, becoming stronger, they ventured upon the sea and fell upon the peaceful inhabitants of the unfortified Cretan cities. Knossos, the proud and wonderful palace-city of Minos, went up in flames and in a few years the grandeur of Crete was no more. So completely was it destroyed that all memory of it vanished and it was not until the late nineteenth century that the labours of Sir Arthur Evans once more revealed to the world the forgotten wonders of this lost civilization. But though the history and material evidences of Minoan splendour were buried in the haunted ruins, shunned alike by Aryan barbarians and their descendants in Classical Greece, memory of Crete's past glory, lingered in the legends of Hellas, and stories of a "Golden Age" were handed down from generation to generation. Tales were told of a nation that had ruled the world and whose civilization was more splendid than that of Egypt. A nation that had perished so completely that all trace of it had vanished from the Earth.

To the Greeks, who saw in Crete a race of semi-Aryans in the same stage of development as themselves, it was incredible that Crete could have been the centre of such a great nation and so they placed the land, in which this culture flourished, beyond the Pillars of Hercules amid the waters of the unknown ocean. Unaware that the raids of their own barbarian ancestors caused the downfall of this Golden Age, they attributed its downfall by inventing stories of a world-destroying cataclysm.

This is a plausible theory and tales of the lost and forgotten wonders of Crete may have been added to the dim racial memories of Atlantis. But this Cretan theory does not account for the American, Babylonian, and Persian legends of the Flood and the destruction of an ancient and world-ruling civilization, for the culture of Crete had never, as far as we know, reached these countries.

Some archæologists while admitting the possible existence of a lost continent place the site of it in the Pacific Ocean. This theory of a Pacific origin of civilization and culture, has a fair following and has some striking evidence in its favour.

One of the chief puzzles set for modern archæologists is the riddle of Easter Island. Here on this bleak island, a mere mountain top rising out of the sea, are huge and grotesque images of a type unknown among the remains of any other of the races of antiquity. Who

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carved them, and for what purpose, are still unsolved questions, but it is evident that, crude and grotesque as they are, they are the work of a race that had attained no mean stage of civilization. This is shown by the fact that great powers of organization and concerted energy were needed to remove these stone giants, some of which weigh over thirty tons, from the spot where the stone was quarried to the carved terraces where they still stand, weather beaten and sombre, brooding over the empty wastes of sea.

Carved on the face of some of the terraces are figures of human beings, probably the priests or carvers of the idols, and it is worthy of note that these beings, although human, represent a type unknown today. Big headed, long armed, and with receding chins and foreheads, they convey an impression of cold ferocity and ruthless intelligence well in keeping with their repulsive idols. Was this the race on account of whose wickedness the world was destroyed?

Was Easter Island then a sacred mountain, rising above the plains of a wide and fertile country? Did there come a day, many thousands of years ago, when these idols, surrounded by their terrified priests, gazed down on scenes of destruction as the country below them was riven by earthquakes and hidden beneath the rising sea? Did the fear crazed survivors of this strange race cower round their unresponsive, impotent idols as all they knew of civilization perished before their eyes, leaving only the crest of the sacred mountain and its stone guardians, projecting above the surface to hint at the greater wonders hidden, perhaps for ever, beneath the waters of the Pacific?

It is certain that neither the modern Pacific Islanders, or their ancestors, would have been capable of such works as these, and it is also thought that these idols have no connection with the primitive religions of the Pacific.

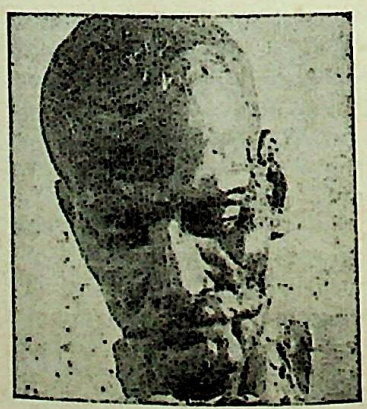
Similar to these images, in grotesqueness but not in size, are the stone Frigate Birds found in the Celebes and which are probably the work of the same mysterious race.

Hieroglyphic writing has been found, but not deciphered, upon Easter Island.

But whether the Pacific or the Atlantic contain the secrets of civilization's origin the problem is a fascinating one and although today the possibility of their existence is mostly conjecture, is it too much to expect that one day evidence of undoubted authenticity will be unearthed by the scientific archæologists of the present age. Every year archæologists are laying bare the relics of civilizations, the very existence of which was undreamt of a generation ago, and at present experts are at work on the Minoan and Hittite hieroglyphs which, when deciphered, will add much to our knowledge of the unknown past. The great store of clay records from the palace of Minos at Knossos may tell us much about the origins of Cretan culture and present archæologists with information of incalculable value.

Less than a hundred years ago the majority of Europeans believed the world to be a scant four thousand years old as set forth in the Biblical account of the Creation. Today we realise the countless æons that have passed since man first appeared upon Earth. Tomorrow our descendents may have discovered the Mother-Civilization beneath the waters upon which float the "Queen Mary" and other wonders of the world-wide, but unstable, civilization of the twentieth century.

The Maiden



Burden of Age

Modelling By Pradosh Das-Gupta

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THE LAST WAR AND THE NEXT WAR

"17,000,000 men were killed in the last war, if those 17,000,000 were let live, would the world be in its present mess! They were good men, for it is part of the folly of war that each country sends the cream of its youth to slaughter. Can the world kill off 17,000,000 of its best men, and be as good a world thereafter?"

* * * *

The last war introduced three new methods of destruction. The first was aerial attack, the second was the use of armoured vehicles to operate against entrenched infantry and the third, chemical warfare. The last war also foreshadowed the end of the age-long distinction between the military and the civilian sections of the combatant nations. On land the bombing of towns and transport centres far away from the actual battlefields, on sea the wholesale destruction of mercantile ships, proceeding to and from the warring countries, showed that the trend of civilized warfare was towards wholesale slaughter, irrespective of the fact whether the attacked be armed or totally unarmed.

Probably the next Post-war books of history will specially mention Attila, Chenghiz Khan and Tamarlane as being supermen, born before their time! In the "Pre-War" world attempts were made to regulate warfare on the lines of the foot-ball fields. During the years of "Peace" following the Great War the self-same regulations were elaborated, based on the experience of Nations gathered during the course of the "Four years of hell"—when the aforesaid rules were observed in the breach thereof—and the civilian world heaved a sigh of relief. Probably before long those rules and regulations will cause much hilarity amongst the mightier of the armed nations.

* * * *

The Chevalier Bayard is said to have remarked that gunpowder marked the end of Chivalry. One wonders whether the deportment of the gallant knight would have been quite *sans peur et sans reproche* under an attack with "golden rain" by "Hell's Angels." Judging by the results in Abyssinia, one has reasons for doubt.

Sometime in January of this year the military expert of the London *Daily Telegraph* wrote:

"The Abyssinians appear able to hold their own against the most modern weapons, although undoubtedly their casualties must be much heavier, though probably not so high as the Italian estimates. It is this ability to fight the Italians to a standstill on the Northern Front that has changed the situation in London so profoundly."

How mistaken was London was proved when really modern methods of warfare were brought into action by Gen. Graziani, the Italian "Scourge of Tripolitania."

Biding his time for a couple of months, General Graziani last week rode roughshod over more than 250 miles of Ethiopian territory with his "hell on wheels."

As the war entered its fifth month befogged by a welter of claims and counter-claims of victory, he contributed the most spectacular bit of campaigning seen since hostilities opened on October 3.

General Graziani struck out from Dolo, Italian base at the junction of British Kenya, Italian Somaliland, and Ethiopian frontiers—southwestern tip of Haile Selassie's empire. On a lush, open plain he rolled northward on a bee-line to Addis Ababa, an inferno of hundreds of armored trucks and tanks, covered by planes.

The surprized forces of Ras Desta Demtu, the Emperor's son-in-law, fell back in retreat, according to dispatches from all quarters. Graziani reported he had penetrated as far north as Wadara—about 270 miles from Addis Ababa. Ethiopian losses were placed as high as 15,000.

The "Hell on Wheels" were followed by winged angels of destruction, the death-dealing planes that drenched the hill sides of Ethiopia with "golden rain," the terrible vesicant chemicals that burnt alive the unshod and poorly clad Abyssinians, and the demoralization of the doughty warriors of Haile Selassie was complete.

The Ethiopian war is only a passing incident in modern history and the civilized world is trying to—and will soon succeed—forget it. But the world has learned a lesson by it, and those who can afford are acting in accordance. In July, Britain announced that within two years the entire civil population (40,000,000 approximately) would be adequately provided with gas masks and other protective measures against chemical warfare on non-combatants. As a small initial investment towards the gigantic cost she (Britain) demanded about £850,000. These protective measures include the provision of a new gas mask for every man, woman and child in the British Isles. Further the Air Raid Precautions Department has already issued and widely

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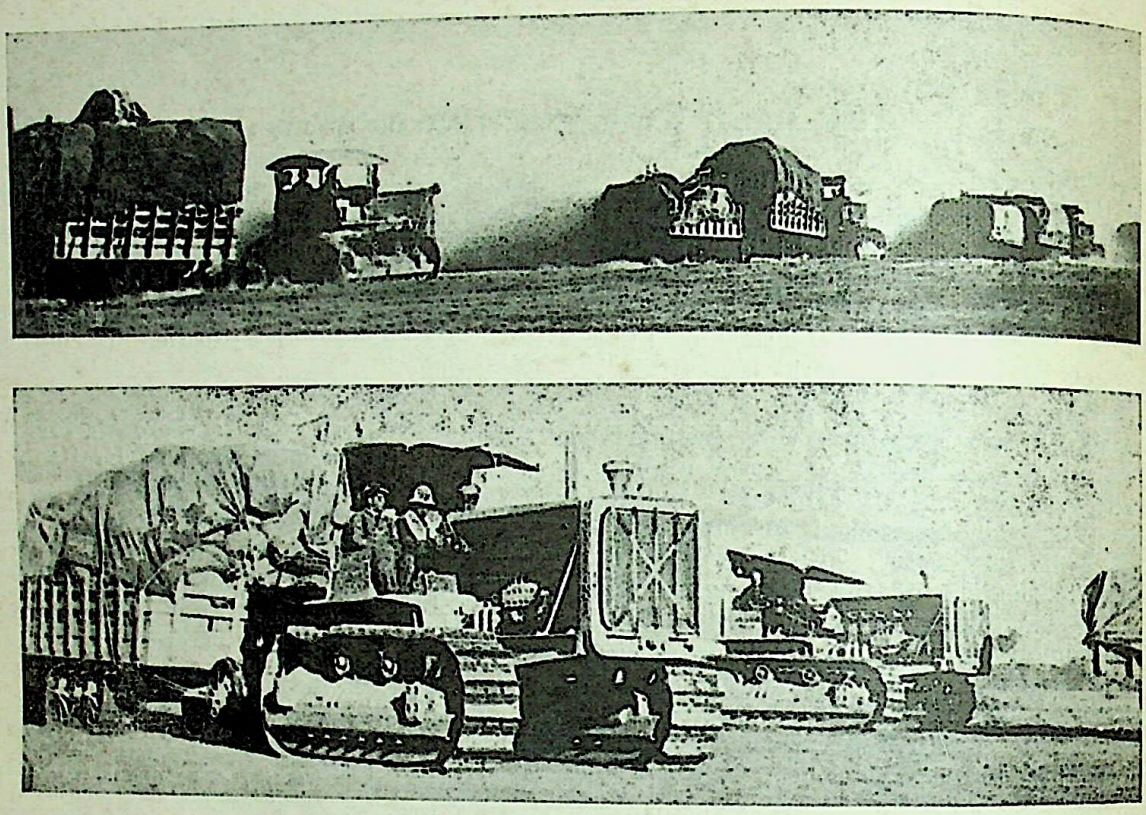

General Graziani's "Hell on Wheels" that conquered Ethiopia

circulated "The Householders Handbook" giving complete instructions regarding protective measures to be adopted during air raids. Official films are said to be in preparation for the same purpose.

The British have planned for the anti-gas protection of every inhabitant. France is hastily adopting similar measures for soldiers, nurses and civilians mobilized for war duties. For the general public underground shelters are being provided. The Berlin Air Protection League has rejected masks as being too expensive for general use, but attempts are being made to build 10,000,000, air-tight cellars in private houses, in addition to the Government-built steel shelters at central points, as a defensive measure. Other nations no doubt are following suit, so that there can be no question that the world is convinced that so far as the next war is concerned, the term "non-combatant" will merely denote the *passive* targets in warfare. In passing it may be remarked that so far as India is concerned "ignorance is bliss." *It would be interesting to learn whether any civilian in this country, excepting the very highest officials, has seen a modern gas mask.*

* * * *

Experts are at variance regarding the destructive capacity of gas warfare. We hear that most of these precautionary measures are the outcome of hysterical clamour on the part of scaremongers amongst journalists and publicists. We are told that during the War, out of 70,752 American soldiers listed as gas casualties, only 200 died of it on the battle-fields and 1221 in hospitals, and that out of a total of 350,000 mustard gas casualties during the World War, only 2.5 per cent died, at a cost of a ton and a half of gas per man. It is further calculated that at that rate, to "wipe out" the population of London, 6,000,000, planes would be necessary to spray the 12,000,000 tons of gas requisite for the job.

Even if the experts who scoff at the destructive capacity of lethal gases be right, one has to take into consideration the demoralizing effect. Those who remember the effects of the night air-raids on London's civil population during the last war, may perhaps guess at the results of raids far more sudden, persistent, violent and efficient.

Taking into consideration the effect of the first gas attack on the Canadian and French troops at Ypres on April 22, 1915, the absolute certainty of a wholesale demoralization of a

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civilian population, unprepared against gas attack, under aerial attack by chemical methods of warfare, cannot be doubted.

* * * *

What is "Poison-gas?"

This general term includes a whole set of chemicals, some liquid, some gaseous and some solid, that are used to produce serious physiological effects—sometimes ending in death—amongst the opposing forces. Excluding the cloud or smoke forming compounds, these may broadly be classified into four classes.

Class I, *irritants,* comprises the acute lung irritants such as chlorine, phosgene, diphosgene and chloropicrin, all derivatives of chlorine, the first lethal gas used in actual warfare on a large scale. Amongst these, chlorine is stable, heavier than air, persistent and cheap. But it is visible, easily detected by its pungent smell and easily absorbed by ordinary gas-mask chemicals. Phosgene, a combination of chlorine and carbon monoxide is a deadlier gas and its action is terrible but slow. Hydrochloric acid is released by it in the human tissues causing acute inflammation in the eyes, larynx and the bronchial tubes. They become inflamed and irritated, the tissues swell and the victim is slowly choked to death. The effect on the lungs is still more deadly.

Diphosgene is the name for Trichlor-methyl-chloroformate. The action of this gas is similar to that of Phosgene, but it is not so easily dissipated in the atmosphere as the latter. Chloropicrin has the property of penetrating all ordinary gas-masks.

Class II, *sternutators,* are sneeze producers. These are all solid arsenic compounds that are loaded into shells. They are reduced to a fine dust, on the bursting of the shell, capable of penetrating through the filtering medium of the masks. The effect is terrific pain in the nose accompanied by violent sneezing and coughing, during which the mask is torn off by the victim, exposing him thereby to the action of lethal gases discharged at him simultaneously. The principal compounds used in this category are diphenylarsine chloride, diphenylarsine cyanide and diphenylamine-arsine chloride ("Adamsite").

Class III, the *lachrymators,* comprise a whole range of tear-gases including benzyl bromide, xylyl bromide and bromobenzyl-cyanide. Chloropicrin, which is classified amongst the irritants in class I, also comes in this category due to its power to penetrate masks, cause violent vomiting and even death.

The most important compound, in Class IV, the *vesicants,* are Mustard gas and Lewisite. Mustard gas, so-called because of its odour, is the most powerful weapon used at the present time in chemical warfare. The collapse of the Ethiopian armies can be attributed to a great extent to the effect of this gas. Mustard gas (dichlorethyl sulphide) will corrode and burn any part of the human organism it comes in contact. It causes deep and persistent burns, affects the eyes, lungs, digestive organs—in short the entire system, and the effect is equally produced by the liquid or the gases that result from its evaporation. Further it clings to the ground for long periods after its apparent dispersion and ordinary clothing is no guard against it.

Lewisite (chlorvinylarsine dichloride) is similar—but quicker—in action to mustard gas but less persistent, and its burns heal quicker.

* * * *

Science has not as yet found the "ideal" war gas. Gases that would "wipe out entire cities," etc., are yet to be discovered. There are deadly gases that would kill a man with a whiff, but they are mostly extremely difficult to handle and very unstable. All the same, against unarmed and unprepared populations, the gases that are already in use are deadly enough in all conscience.

So much for poison gas. But where aerial attack on cities are concerned, lethal gases are only a part of the menace. In the opinion of some experts the principal danger will come from incendiary bombs containing thermit. Thermit is a simple mixture of iron and aluminium powder with a igniting compound of magnesium and certain chemicals. Upon striking the mixture burns slowly generating temperatures of more than 4,000 degrees, enough to ignite iron and steel beams like tinder. A long-radius plane can easily carry great quantities of thermit bombs, enough to start a thousand fires in a city. Had the *Emden* been a modern seaplane carrier, she could have reduced Madras, Rangoon and Calcutta to ashes in one and the same night, unprepared as these cities were in those days. Indeed, it is quite on the cards that a future *Emden* may accomplish that very feat. For, according to Sir Philip Chetwode's article in a recent issue of the *Asiatic Review,* the aerial defences of these cities are no better even now!

Refortification of the Dardanelles

In April this year, another clause of the Lausanne treaty, namely, the one that de-

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militarized the Dardanelles to a depth of ten miles on either side, started on its path to deletion and oblivion. Turkey, the once "sick man of Europe," has had a continuous record of peaceful reorganization over a period of thirteen years that followed the salvaging of the Ottoman Empire by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1923.

After the hectic year of campaigning that ended with the driving out of the Greeks and the establishment of a Republic of Turkey with an area of 295,00 square miles and a population of 14,000,000, Mustafa Kemal started setting his house in order. A ruthless programme of modernization sacrificed all that was held to be picturesque and romantic in old Turkey. The capital was shifted from Constantinople—the "Rome" of the Khilafat—and with its shifting out went polygamy, the veil for women, the tasseled fez, the old alphabet and many other hoary old institutions. Treaties of peace were signed right and left, including those with the hereditary enemies of old Turkey like Russia, in order to give time for the economic regeneration of the country and for modernization by means of universal education, western methods of agriculture and transport, factories and sanitation. The world watched with astonishment a New Turkey that balanced its budgets and managed its internal affairs without any great help from outsiders.

In slightly over a decade, Turkey, the old focus of European disturbances, became the greatest factor for the stabilization of the Balkans. But in the meanwhile modernization was going on in armaments also, and although she had accepted the stringent terms of the Versailles Pact regarding the demilitarization of the Dardanelles with good grace, Turkey evidently regarded this a blotch on her national pride. The first evidence of this came in 1934, when she informed the signatory powers that if Germany were allowed to rearm, she would demand the right to refortify the Dardanelles.

In April last Britain was informally notified by Turkey that, as in her opinion the League was no longer in a position to guarantee her inviolability, she would have to adopt defensive measures on her own. She was backed by Russia, Greece and Rumania and to a certain extent by Yugoslavia.

A great commotion followed this intimation which ended in the Dardanelles Conference that opened in June at Montreux in Switzerland. The issue was never in doubt and beyond a few minor suggestions regarding the limit of tonnage of foreign warships using the straits no serious objections were raised. As a side issue, Britain and France hastened to soothe Italy, who refused to join the conference unless the sanctions were withdrawn. Thus proceeds the arming of another camp in Europe.

The countries represented at the Montreux Conference were Britain, France and Japan as signatories of the Treaty of Lausanne, Bulgaria Rumania, the U. S. S. R., Yugoslavia and Greece as members of the permanent supervisory committee.

Tewfik Rushdu Aras, Turkey's representative, was congratulated by the powers led by Britain for asking for revision instead of fortifying first and asking afterwards. Turkey's terms were :

1. Free passage for commercial ships in peace and for neutrals in war-time.
2. The right to refortify.
3. A limit of 14,000 tons for the ships of each nation using the Straits, with total foreign tonnage limited to 28,000 tons at a time.
4. Absolute ban on submarines.
5. No planes to fly over the Straits.

Palestine

The Jewish immigration in Palestine was the outcome of the famous Balfour Declaration of 1917:

"His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object."

The present unrest is also the outcome of the same delightfully vague declaration, which went to say, in typical fashion, in the second part:

"It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

The Jews thought that a historic right was receiving recognition at last and proceeded to establish a real home in the land that had for twenty centuries been only a spiritual home. In the beginning the average rate of immigration was slow, the development of the land was also gradual as planned by the Zionist leaders. Then came Hitler's drive against the Jews, followed by discrimination in many other countries. This coincided with an economic boom in Palestine following the careful development by the earlier settlers. As a result a tremendous impetus was given to Jewish immi-

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gration, which reached 31,000 in 1933, 43,000, in 1934 and 62,000 in 1935. Capital was also poured in, resulting in an intensive constructional and developing programme, which precluded any question of unemployment amongst the immigrants for years to come.

Meanwhile the principal non-Jewish community, namely, the Arabs, who numbered over 600,000, at the time of the Declaration, and who had further been settled in the country for thirteen centuries, began to get restive. Their rights though very lightly dismissed were real enough, and moreover they had been promised freedom and self-determination as the price of their support to the Allies during the War. After the War these promises faded into the thin air inspite of all protests from the Arabs and Lawrence their champion. Then followed the flood of the Jewish immigration.

The outbreaks occurred in 1921 and again in 1929, which were subdued after prolonged efforts. But the main questions involved were neither solved nor was there any definite attempt made at facing issues. There has been no attempt at rapprochement between the rival factions either. Indeed one observer had remarked that half the problems would be solved if the Jews in Palestine learned the use of the words "Thank you," where the Arab was concerned.

The main issues involved are three, namely :

1. *Representation in the proposed Legislative Assembly.* The British proposal is for separate electorates, Moslem, Christian and Jew, to which would be added a number of representatives of British officials and "merchants." The respective allotment of seats proposed are eleven Arab Moslems, three Arab Christians, seven Jews, five British officials and two "merchants." Needless to say this proposal does not go anywhere near satisfying any party. The Jews who are in a minority of 400,000 in a total of 1,400,000 (round figures), argue that since they are doing all the work of development they should at least have parity with the Arabs, and cite the "weightage" system the British themselves have introduced in British possessions elsewhere. They argue that without this parity the spirit of the Balfour declaration is nullified in effect, as it curtails the rights of the Jews outside Palestine, to whom this "Promised land" was offered.

The Arabs who form over 65 per cent of the population are hardly likely to agree to less than 40 per cent of the seats, without qualifying clauses regarding immigration and land alienment.

2. *Immigration.* This is the main bone of contention. Prior to 1933, the rate of Jewish immigration was about 10,000 per annum, which was amply offset by the normal increase by births of the Arab population. But when this rate increased to over 50,000 per annum, Arab leaders were greatly concerned as it greatly exceeded the natural rate of increase amongst their nationals, thereby threatening their status as the majority party. The British Government has not so far imposed any drastic restrictions, due to strong Jewish protests throughout the world against such proposals, but minor restrictions are on the table.

3. *Land Legislation.* The Arab apprehension about the land is based on the immensely superior capital resources of the Jews. It is argued that with the influx of Jewish wealth, the poor Arabs will gradually lose all arable lands, not being organised enough to resist the concentrated economic pressure of the land hungry immigrants. This fear the British are trying to allay by bringing in new land laws which will offer an unprecedented degree of protection to tenants and squatters. Needless to say these laws will seriously cramp the schemes of development made by Jewish Capital.

At present there does not seem to be any prospect of abatement of strife in the near future. Indeed repercussions of the happenings in Palestine have been heard beyond the boundaries. In July reports came of serious mob violence at Bou Saada, a small Algerian trading centre, where an Arab mob broke through the police lines, defied Senegalese troops and killed a youthful Jewish prisoner, under trial for the murder of an Arab farmhand, under the very eyes of the trying magistrate. Immediately after this incident anti-Jewish riots took place in Oran Constantine and other places in Algeria. Troops had to be summoned from desert stations in the interior to help the gendarmes to restore peace.

From Transjordan, disquieting news came about the same time. It was reported that the Emir Abdullah was having a difficult time in preventing his desert Arabs from crossing the frontier in aid of their brethren in Palestine. It may be remembered that earlier the Emir had been asked by the British High Commissioner to plead with the Arab leaders of Palestine and persuade them to refrain from inciting violence. He tried and failed and had to face disaffection from amongst the more fanatical of his Bedouin subjects.

The immediate cause of Arab discontent is

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said to have been the announcement by Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope, British High Commissioner in Palestine, that 12000 Jewish immigrants would be allowed in Palestine in six months time. The Arab leaders, who have seen the number of Jews in Palestine increase from 83000 in 1917 to almost 400000 in 1935, gave the alarm and the present unrest was the result. It has been said, both officially and unofficially, that outside influences were at work fomenting discontent and that matters would not have come to this pass but for inspired propaganda. But it cannot be denied that the example of the Egyptian Wafdists and the Syrian Arabs have a great deal to do with the determined and sustained nature of the struggle.

Spain

Spain is in the throes of a revolt that has now assumed the form of civil war. If we discount the tales of horror and slaughter to the proper value, even then there can be no doubt that the Republic of Spain is in the melting pot. An army revolt against a properly constituted democratic regime indicates the tendency of one more country in Europe to fall in line with the Dictator controlled majority.

Some English papers, notably the *Times*, consider this revolt as one of Bolshevic origin, though how Russia could incite Monarchists to rebel against "Marxism" is beyond the ken of ordinary mortals. The latest news show that some sort of agreement has been reached amongst other powers, regarding absolute non-interference with the internal politics of Spain. Germany and France were both accused of the supply of arms to the belligerents; now Germany has also agreed not to supply munitions. But in these days, when every power is out to expand its diplomatic sphere of influence, such undertakings and agreements should be valued at what they may be worth day to day. Supply of arms and munitions does not come without the aid of outsiders, and as yet there does not seem to be any shortage in either camp.

Whatever the outcome may be it will seriously affect the balance of power in Europe. The victorious party will mould the destiny of Spain like soft clay, and is not likely to forget its friends and foes, outside the boundaries of Spain, who helped or hindered its movements during the civil war. If the Republic triumphs then the mass will have another chance to try out the scheme of democracy. If the militarists win, they are likely to crown a king with the aid of clergy, with perhaps a military autocracy in virtual command and control of policy and another fettered country will fall in line with the Militarist nations of Europe.

Spain seems to have the choice between a continued regime of unrest and war—like the Central American States of the story magazines—on the one hand and a rigid militarist government with peace on the other. The dice are heavily loaded, for the friends of democracy are content with passing of pious resolutions whereas the friends of the militarists are ready and willing to take risks and go very much further.

The Far East

The latest news show that Japanese penetration in the North of China is proceeding according to plan. The most recent move has been to put up another "autonomous kingdom" in Inner Mongolia. The new king will be spoon-fed and led by Japanese advisors. Japan's adventure on the continent of Asia is pursuing a successful path although the pace may not be as rapid as desired by her younger militarists.

The Soviet is getting more and more perturbed at the turn of events, but it is extremely doubtful whether any actual breach will occur before the reshuffling of alliances, now proceeding in Europe, is complete. As things stand the Soviet is faced by two determined nations, one rapidly rearming to a prodigious extent in the West, the other in the East already armed to parity and more on land and straining every nerve to achieve parity on sea and air, as compared with the Biggest powers.

K. N. C.

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A scene during the fighting in one of the streets of Barcelona. Note the various white flags hanging from the balconies

Troops leave Barcelona for Zaragoza *Eastern News Photos*

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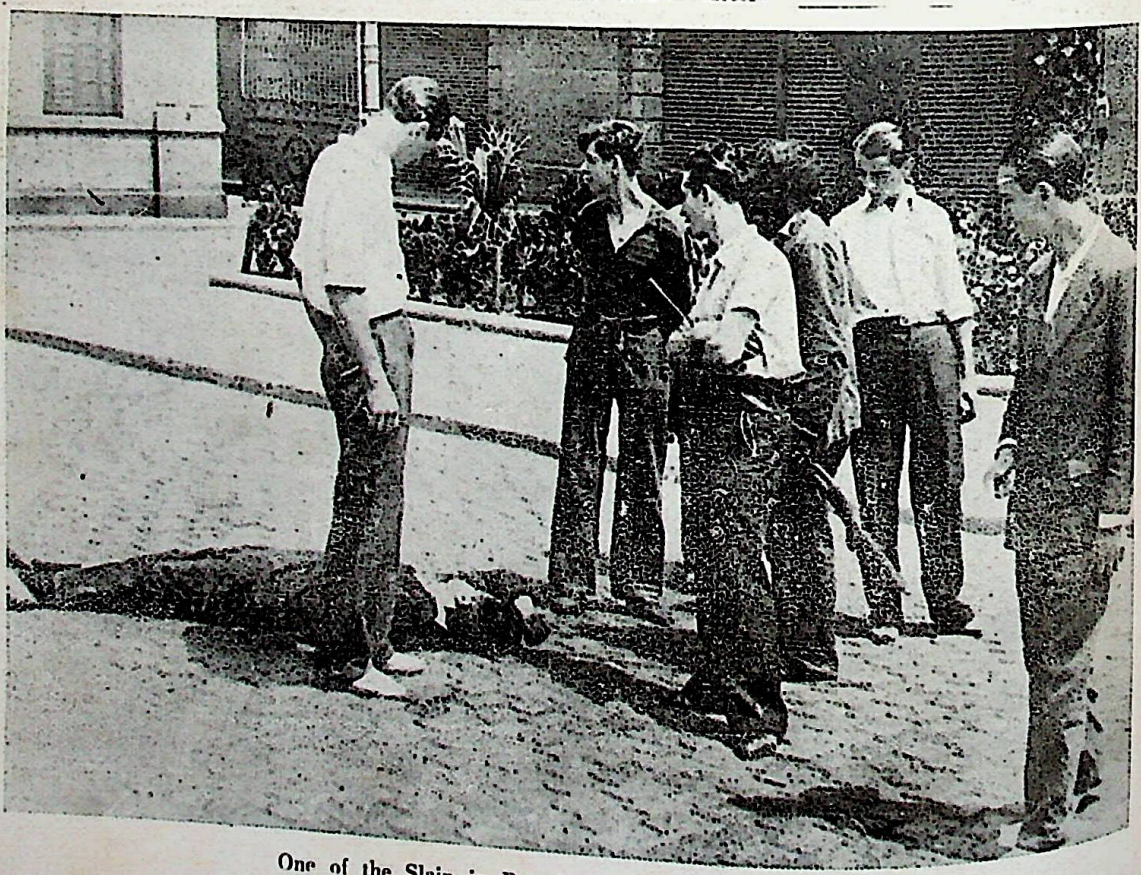
The Fascist Revolutionaries' Drive on Madrid from Burgos in Northern Spain where General Emilio Mola has established his Head-Quarters



One of the Slain in Barcelona — *Eastern News Photos*

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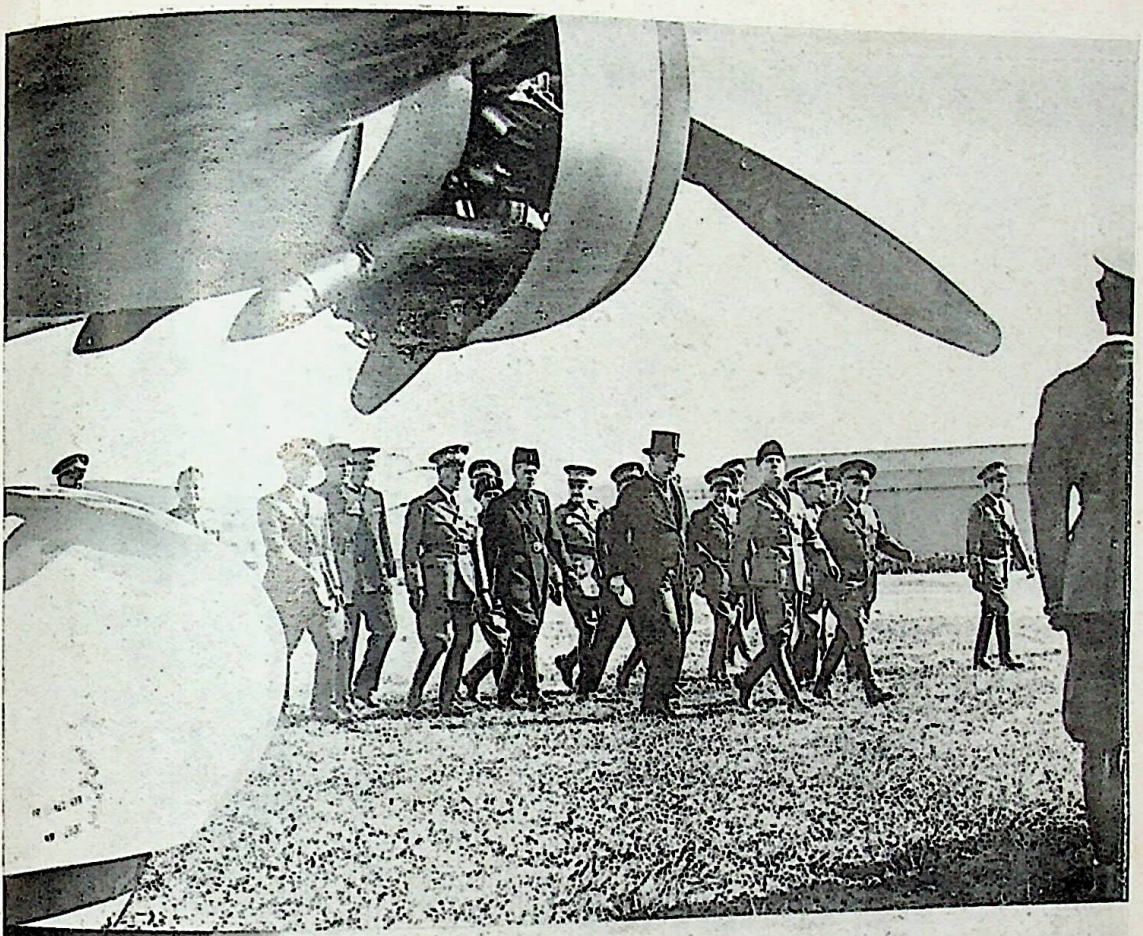

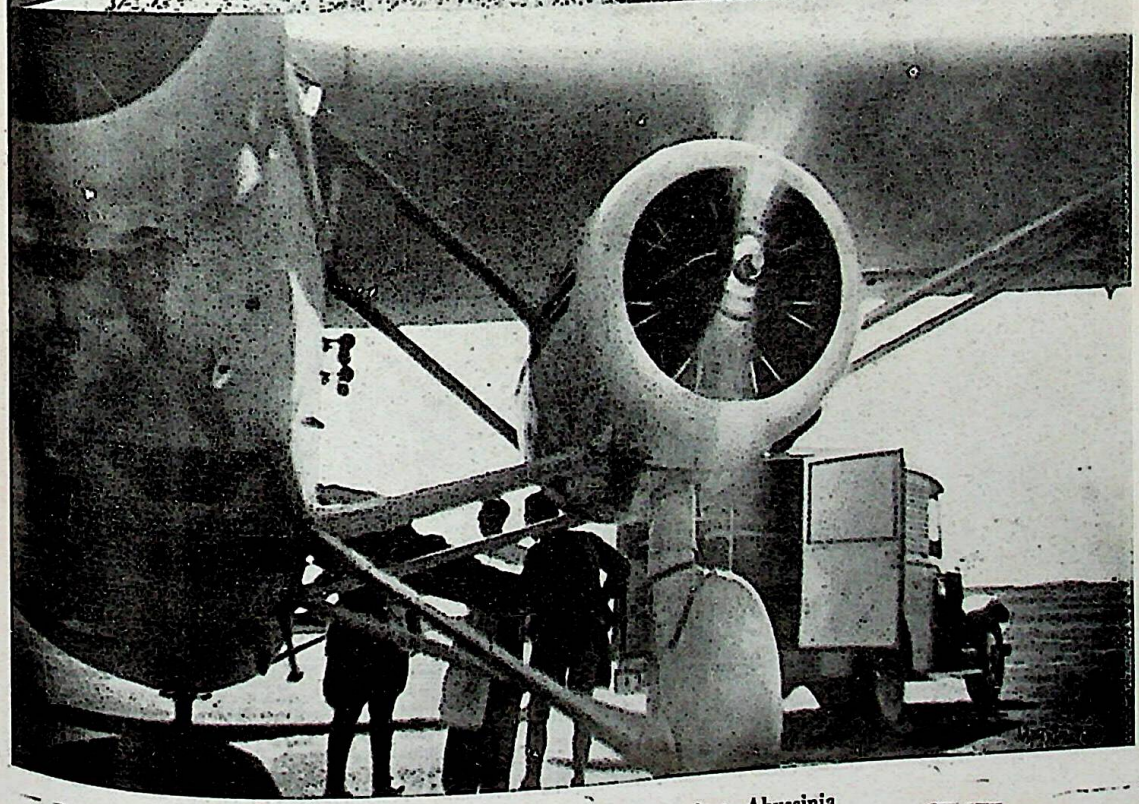

Italian bombers that operated against Abyssinia

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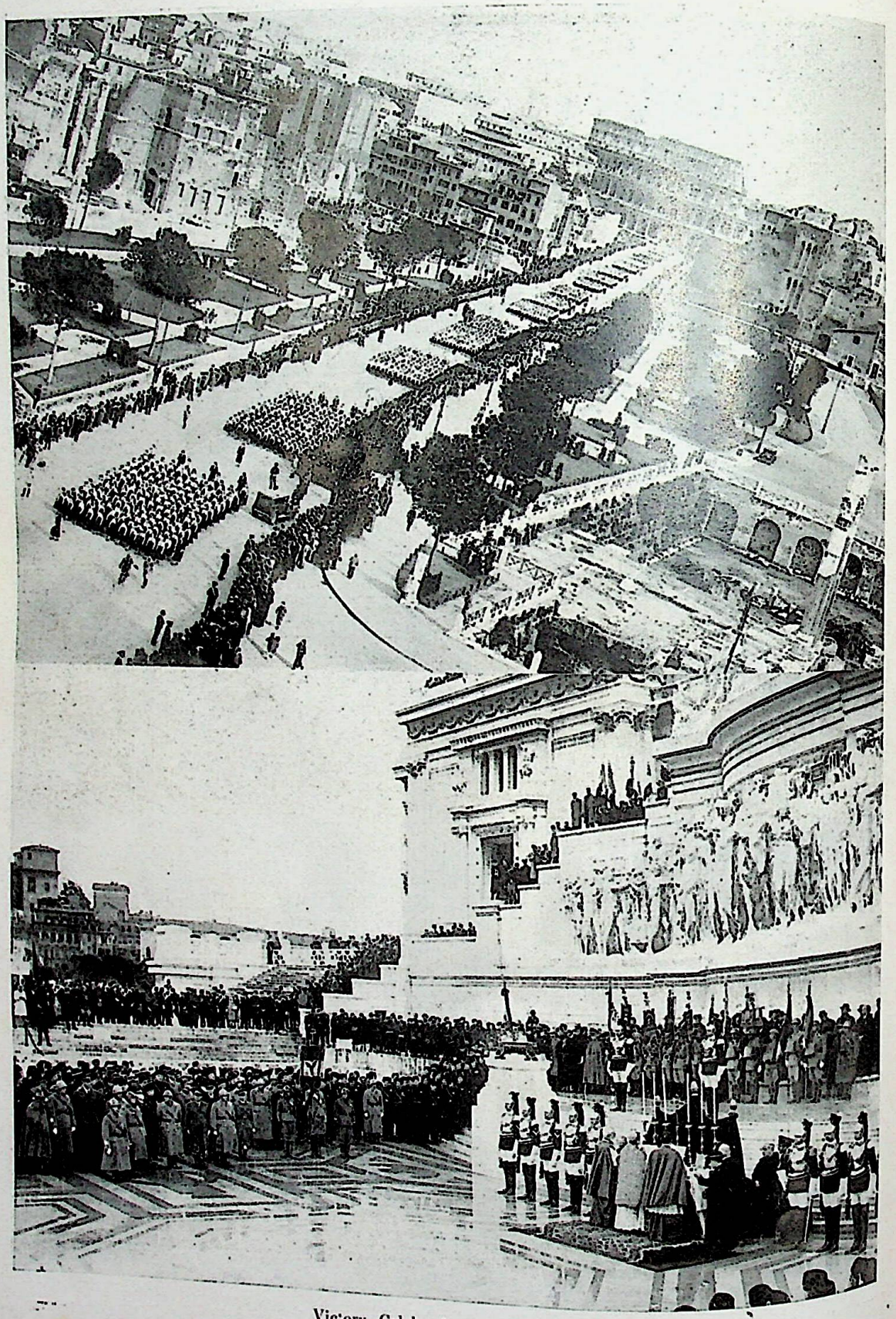

Victory Celebrations in Rome

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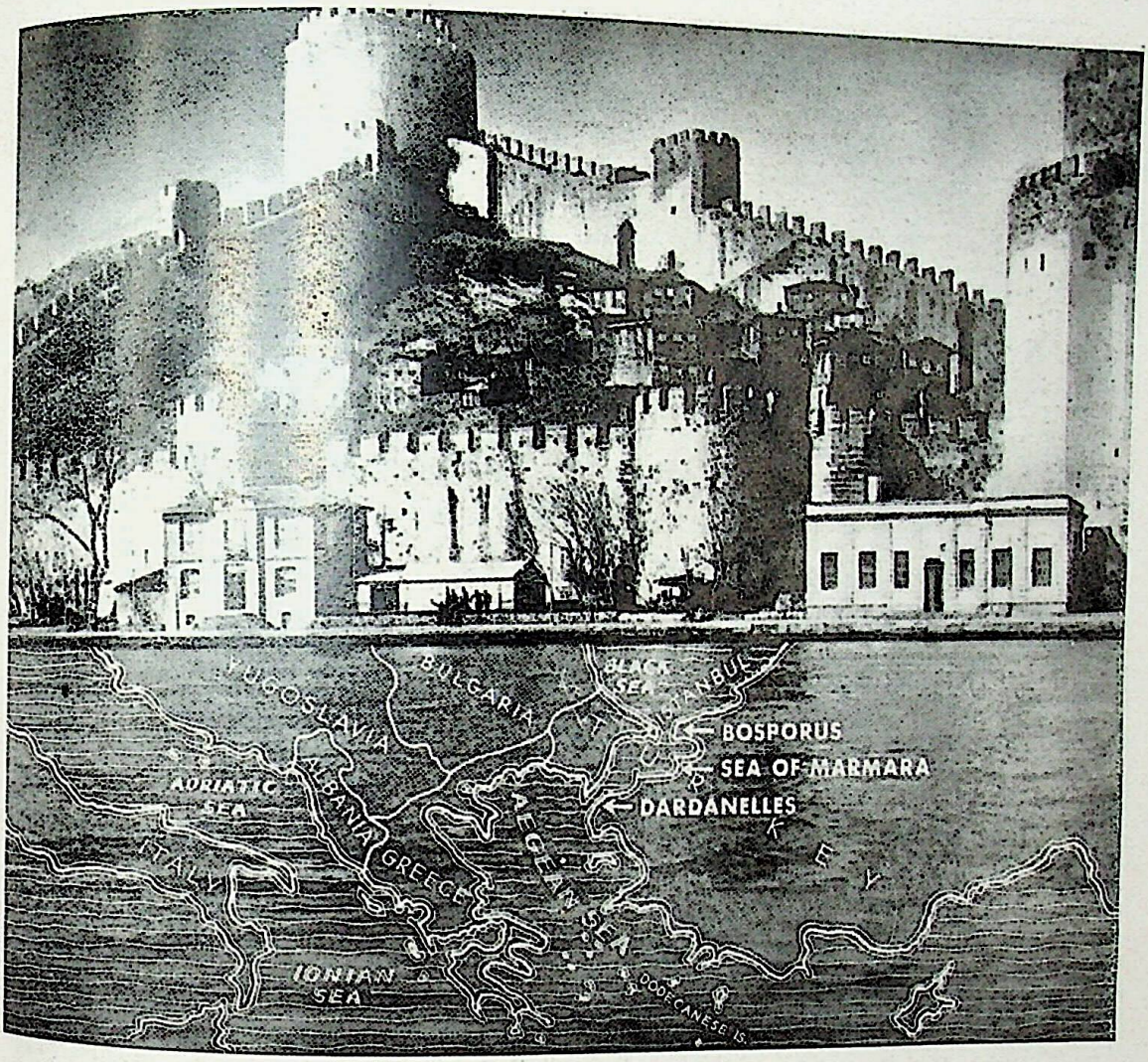

The Dardanelles—Old fortifications and Map—(*Asia*)

On the other side of the Dardanelles. An Anatolian Pastoral—(*Asia*)

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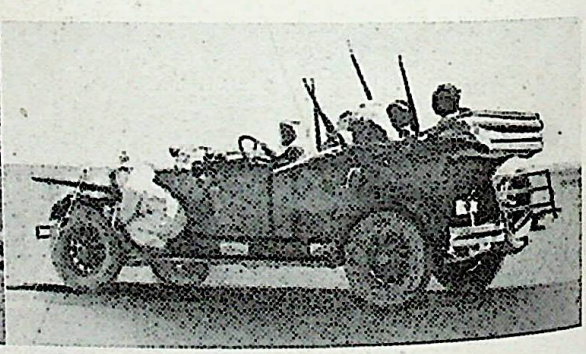

1. The Ruala on march with the "Ark of Ishmael"—emblem of the 'Camel throne of the desert'
2. The Bedouins 3. The dead used as ambush by the living
4. The latest method of an Arab raid 5. Only the lightest Camels for raiding parties

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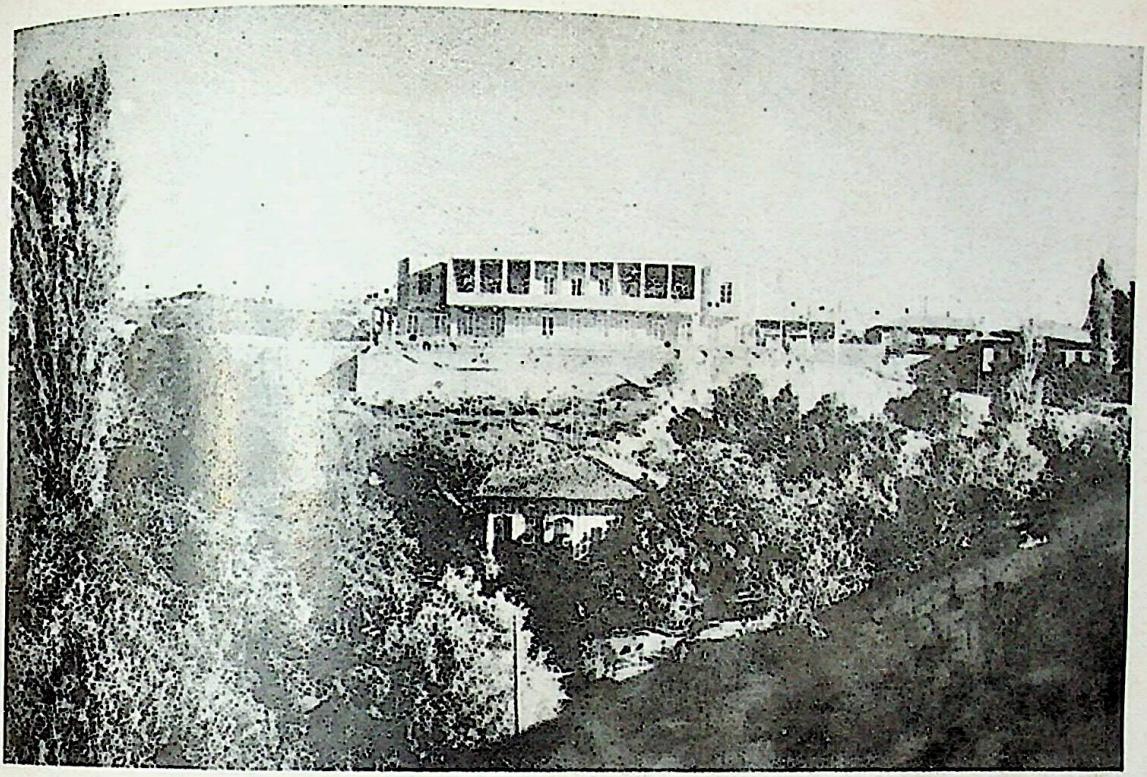

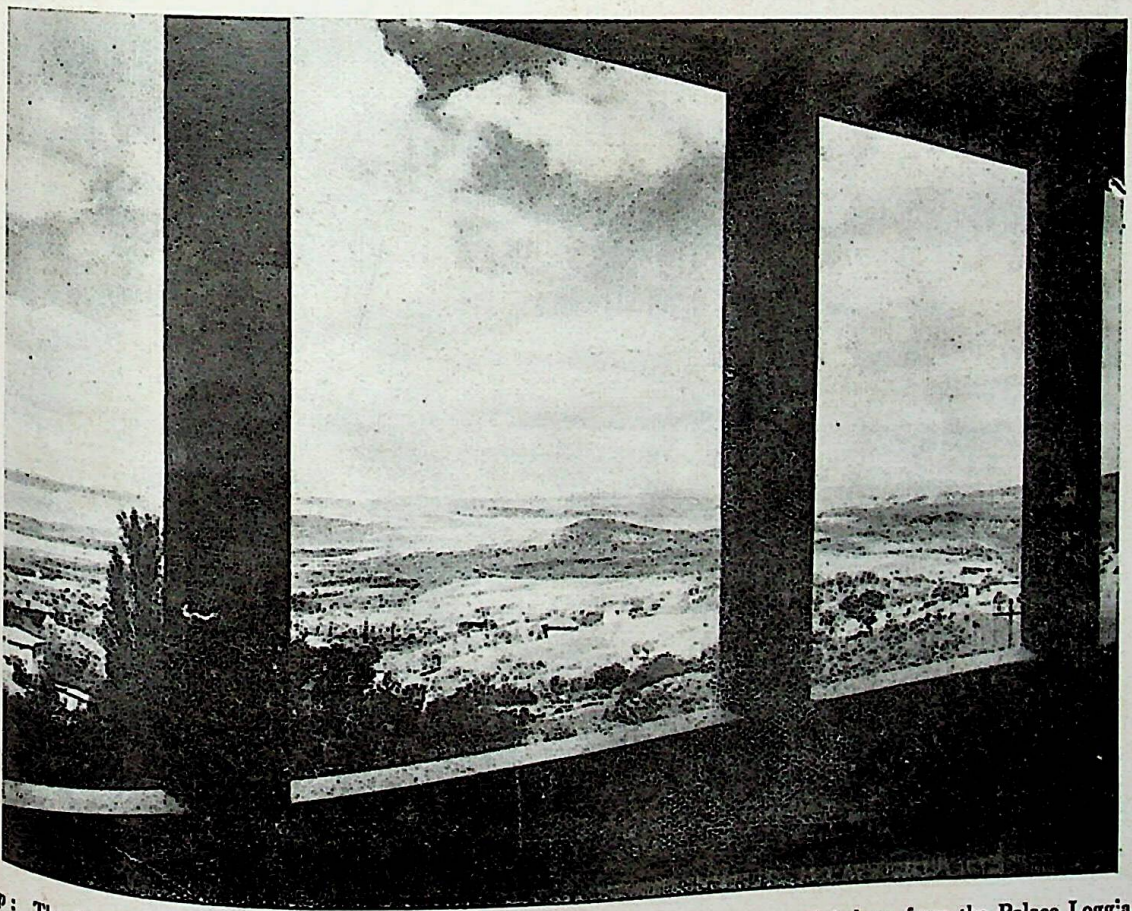

Top: The New Palace of the President of Turkey at Ankara, *Bottom*: A view of Ankara from the Palace Loggia

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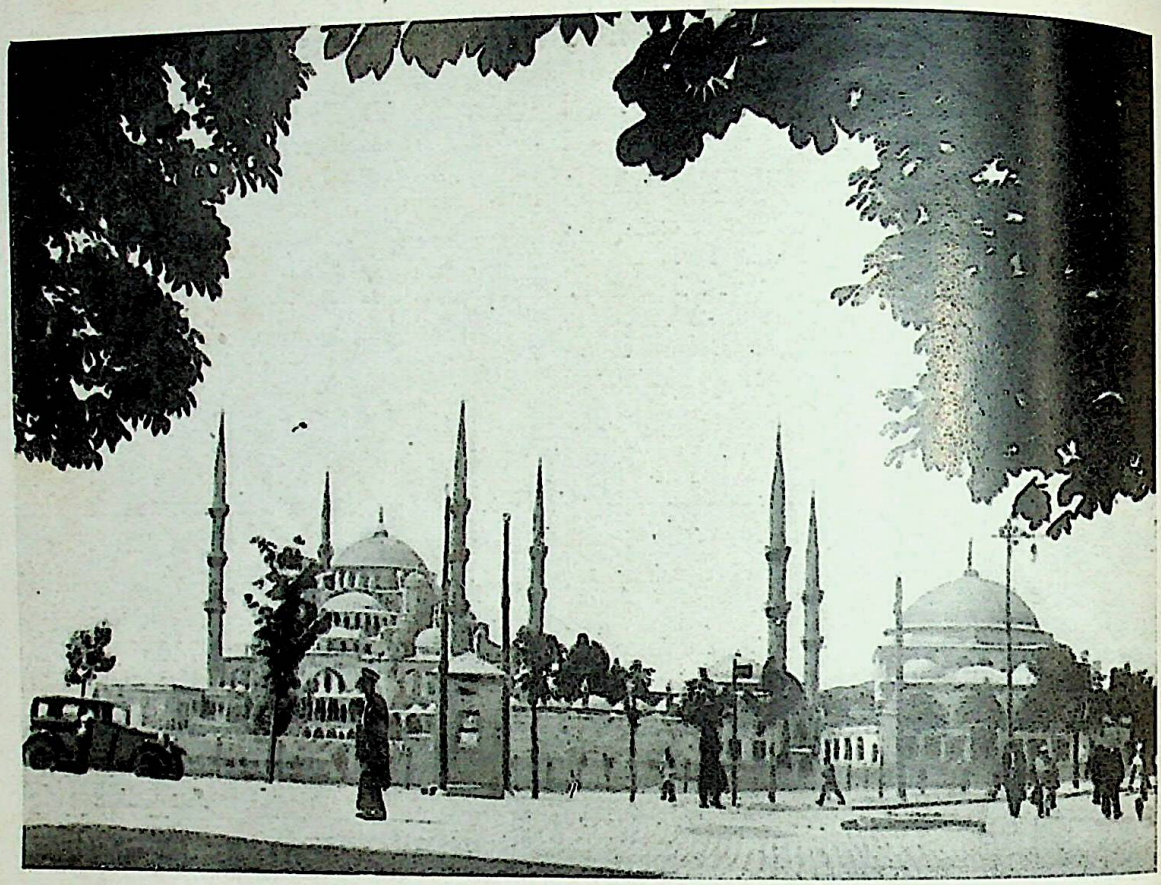
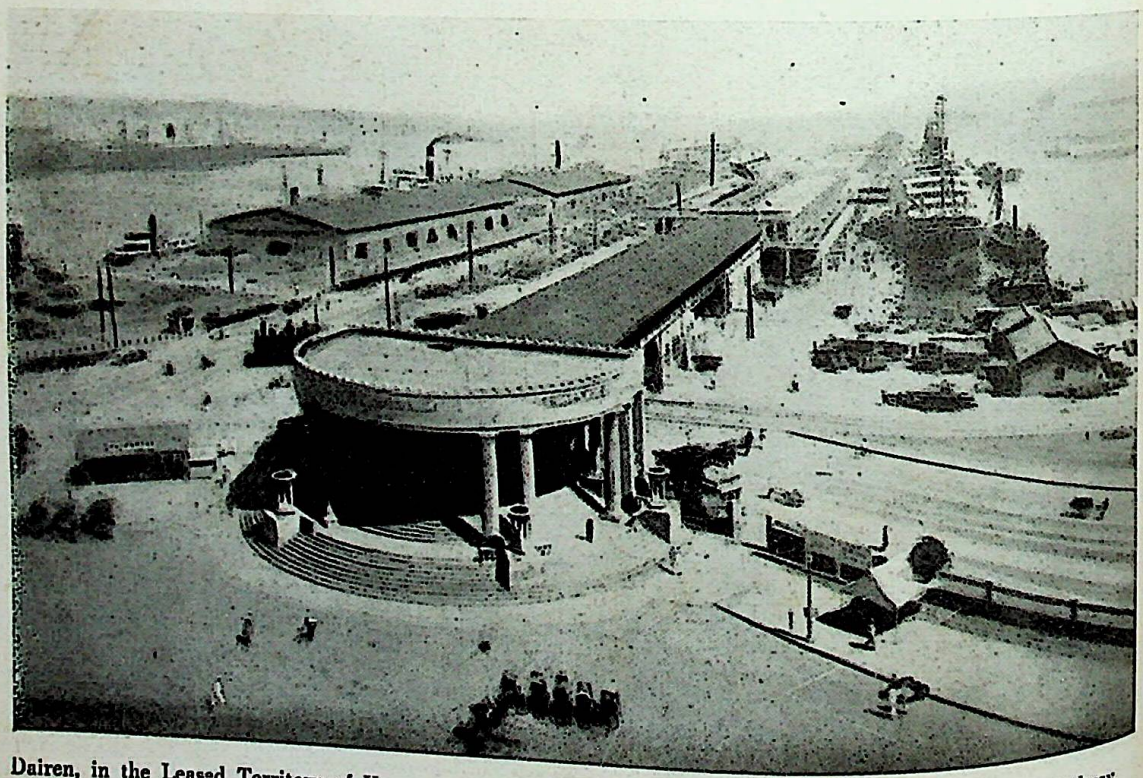


The Ahmed Mosque. 17th Century. Istanbul



Dairen, in the Leased Territory of Kwantung, is the so uthern terminus of the South Manchuria Railway

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NOTES

Indians the Majority in the British Empire

The total estimated population of the British Empire is 494,770,000. It is distributed as follows :

Continental Distribution	Estimated Population
In Europe	48,000,000
In Asia	365,000,000
In Africa	60,000,000
In North America ..	10,400,000
In Central America ..	50,000
In the West Indies ..	2,000,000
In South America ..	320,000
In Oceania	9,000,000
Total ..	494,770,000

The distribution according to religion is approximately as follows : Hindus, over 240,000,000; Muhammadans, 100,000,000; Christians, 80,000,000; Buddhists, 12,000,000; Animists, 12,000,000; Sikhs, Jains and Parsees, 4,000,000; Jews, 750,000; and the remainder with tribal religions.

Of these 494 millions more than 350 millions live in India. So Indians are the majority in the British Empire. But they are a subject people, and the inhabitants of England, Scotland and Wales, numbering 45 millions in round numbers, are the ruling people. Though the latter are a minority, they do not require any "safeguards" or "weightage." Their strong right arms, their brains, their solidarity and their love of *their own* freedom, which have made and kept them a free and independent people, are sufficient safeguards for them. As for "weightage," that which has made and kept them free and independent has also made them very very weighty among the nations of the world.

That mere numbers do not tell is evident also from the fact that the Chinese, though far larger than the Japanese in numbers, are not as strong a nation as the latter. If mere numbers had been the decisive factor, Indians would never have become a subject people.

Of the 350 and odd millions inhabiting India Hindus and others, forming the "general" constituencies under the new Government of India Act, number 253,216,051. So, those who form the general constituencies are the majority in the British Empire, as they outnumber all other groups in that Empire combined. Hindus alone, numbering, as they do, 239,195,140, constitute a bigger group than any other single group.

But as Indians, including Hindus, are not free; as Indians, and Hindus, are divided among themselves; as they are not sufficiently liberty-loving; as they are mostly illiterate and very few of them possess knowledge of science and modern manufacturing processes; and as very few of them are able to make and use modern machinery;— for all these reasons and more, their numbers do not tell.

Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism

The Indian National Congress under its present-day leaders is frankly anti-Imperialistic and favours the idea of India separating herself from the British Empire and becoming an independent republic. The National Liberal Federation of India wants Dominion Status. But if Britain does not agree to confer the status of a Dominion on India, will the Liberals still be in favour of India being a part of the British Empire?

If, somehow, India became a self-governing Dominion, if she kept up her connection with Britain even after becoming autonomous, and if Britain and all the Dominions (autonomous India being one of them) came to have a parliament consisting of representatives of Britain and all the Dominions—each part of this great Federal Commonwealth having representatives in it in proportion to its popula-

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tion, and if by the time that all these developments took place Indians (and Hindus) became physically, intellectually and morally equal to any other nationals in the Commonwealth, what would happen? Indians, and Hindus among them, would become the senior partners in that Federal Commonwealth. All this is, of course, mere speculation.

But it is not mere speculation but an aspiration and a hope—and a conviction with some—that a day would come when Indians, and Hindus, would be, physically, intellectually and morally, the equals of any other peoples.

In consideration of the possible advent of that day, what would far-sighted Britishers prefer, a separate, free and independent India, or a self-governing India forming part of the Federal Commonwealth spoken of above? We should think Britishers would prefer not to be swamped by Indians—by Hindus. Perhaps that is the reason why the British pledge of making India a Dominion has been broken! But that does not mean that the British Parliament has chosen the alternative of an independent India either. No. It wants India to remain indefinitely under British rule. Nevertheless, India may become independent in course of time—Britishers are not so unimaginative that the thought of such a possibility can never cross their minds. But, perhaps they think, sufficient unto the day is the advantage thereof!

What Imperial Conferences May Come To Be

In his book, *Labour's Way With The Commonwealth*, Mr. George Lansbury writes:

"Many years ago, Tennyson sang of 'The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.' Without any desire to isolate itself from the rest of the world, but with a firm resolve not to organize against the world, is it not possible for the British Commonwealth of Nations to secure something more than an occasional meeting of what is known as the Imperial Conference, for the consideration of questions concerning Great Britain and the Dominions." Pp. 12-13.

He adds:

"The machinery for bringing together representatives from all the colonies, Dominions and India may seem difficult to arrange, but it ought not to be so very difficult." P. 13.

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It is not absolutely impossible for such a Federal Commonwealth to include India. But at present, considering the British people and parliament's determination to hold India down, as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, such a possibility cannot be thought of. No doubt, as Mr. George Lansbury says in the book from which we have already quoted, "a fiction is upheld that India has the same rights" as the self-governing Dominions.

"But as the 'Indian representatives' at Inter-Imperial conferences, the League of Nations, and International Labour conferences, never represent the Indian people, this fiction is no more than a fiction: It is true that Indian trade union representatives attend at Geneva, but their selection is finally a matter for the Viceroy." P. 20.

A free and independent India would be better for both Great Britain and India than even a self-governing India forming part of the British Empire.

A Picture of a Durbar at Udaipur in 1855

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Sarup Singhji, Maharana of Udaipur, was painted in the picture seated on the *Gadi*, with all the paraphernalia usual on such occasions. On his right were seated on the ground, cross-legged, without boots or shoes, Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence, the Governor-General's Agent for Rajputana; his brother Colonel George (afterwards General Sir George) Lawrence; Captain (afterwards General) J. C. Brooke; and Dr. H. A. Ebden, the Residency surgeon. On the left, seated on the ground, were the Thakurs of Udaipur, including the Thakur Bakht Singh, the Rao of Bedla (in blue), and the Rao of Parsoli (in light green). Facing the Maharana was Mehta Shere Singh, the Pradhan (or Minister) of State, who unrolled the Qavulnama or terms of agreement; and behind him was the Maharana's Purohit or priest, holding a string of beads.

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Of course, the ruler of the premier State of Rajputana, the representative of the "oldest reigning family of India," can no longer hold a Durbar like the one portrayed in the picture for the purpose of receiving European officers or even European non-officials at his Court—so great a change has come about in the course of some decades.

During this period there have been more than one minority regime in Udaipur. Every such regime and every new succession to the *Gadi* offer many opportunities to the Government of India for strengthening its position in relation to the State concerned, which may lose some of its rights and privileges. Let us give a few examples.

The first treaty between the East India Company and the Udaipur State declared by its first article that,

"There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interest, between the two States, from generation to generation."

At present the Indian States with which such treaties were concluded are not called allies and friends but feudatory or vassal states, though they have not been conquered by the paramount power subsequent to these treaties.

When Maharana Sarup Singhji died, his successor, Maharana Sambhu Singhji, was a minor. During his minority the administration was conducted by a Regency Council whose members were appointed by Government. The Council was soon deprived of its judicial and revenue powers, which were conferred upon the Political Agent during the minority of the Maharana. He was entrusted with the management of his State in November, 1865, and in 1866, when he was barely nineteen, he agreed to cede lands to Government unconditionally for railway purposes. By this cession Government not only got rent-free lands in perpetuity but also jurisdiction of British Courts over the lands thus secured. Article IX of the treaty referred to above, however, lays down explicitly:

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and the number of seats in the Federal Assembly, or would vary, either as regards the Council of State or the Federal Assembly, the proportion between the number of seats alloted to British India and the number of seats allotted to Indian States;

(*b*) any amendment of the provisions relating to the number of Chambers in a Provincial Legislature or the size or composition of the Chamber, or of either Chamber, of a Provincial Legislature, or to the method of choosing or the qualifications of members of a Provincial Legislature;

(*c*) any amendment providing that, in the case of women, literacy shall be substituted for any higher educational standard for the time being required as a qualification for the franchise, or providing that women, if duly qualified, shall be entered on electoral rolls without any application being made for the purpose by them or on their behalf; and

(*d*) any other amendment of the provisions relating to the qualifications entitling persons to be registered as voters for the purposes of elections.

(3) So far as regards any such amendment as is mentioned in paragraph (*c*) of the last preceding subsection, the provisions of subsection (1) of this section shall apply to a resolution of a Provincial Legislature whenever passed, but, save as aforesaid, those provisions shall not apply to any resolution passed before the expiration of ten years, in the case of a resolution of the Federal Legislature, from the establishment of the Federation, and, in the case of a resolution of a Provincial Legislature, from the commencement of Part III of this Act.

(4) His Majesty in Council may at any time before or after the commencement of Part III of this Act, whether the ten years referred to in the last preceding subsection have elapsed or not, and whether any such address as is mentioned in this section has been submitted to His Majesty or not, make in the provisions of this Act any such amendment as is referred to in subsection (2) of this section :

Provided that—

(*i*) if no such address has been submitted to His Majesty, then, before the draft of any Order which it is proposed to submit to His Majesty is laid before Parliament, the Secretary of State shall, unless it appears to him that the proposed amendment is of a minor or drafting nature, take such steps as His Majesty may direct for ascertaining the views of the Governments and Legislatures in India who would be affected by the proposed amendment and the views of any minority likely to be so affected, and whether a majority of the representatives of that minority in the Federal or, as the case may be, the Provincial Legislature support the proposal;

(*ii*) the provisions of Part II of the First Schedule to this Act shall not be amended without the consent of the Ruler of any State which will be affected by the amendment.

Secretary of State's Reply to Bengal Memorialists

The Secretary of State for India has sent the following reply to the Bengal memorialists through the Governor-General :

Reforms (India).
No. 1.

India Office, London,
25th June, 1936.

To

His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council.

My Lord,

I have received a memorial, of which a copy is attached hereto, from leading Hindu representatives in Bengal, praying that by an Order in Council under section 308 (4) of the Government of India Act, 1935, the provisions of the Act relating to the constitution of the new Bengal Legislature may be amended so as, inter alia, to substitute the method of "Joint electorates" for "separate electorates". The request is, in effect, for amendment of what is commonly known as the "communal award".

Memorial from leading Hindu representatives in Bengal.

2. The memorialists appear to have overlooked the statements made by me in the House of Lords during the passage of the Constitution Bill (both on 8th July last at the Committee stage and on 18th July at the report stage) as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government in relation to the use of the powers conferred by section 308 (4) on His Majesty in Council with the approval of Parliament. I made it abundantly clear that His Majesty's Government would not propose any alteration of the communal award under this section except with the assent of the communities affected. Out of several such statements it will suffice to quote one (Lords Hansard of 8th July, column 26) :

"Now let me say once more, and I hope once and for all, that not only is it not the intention of the Government to make any alteration in the Communal Award, unless it is desired by the communities themselves, but that no such alteration could be made under this clause without the specific consent of Parliament."

3. There is, of course, no intention of departing from this undertaking of His Majesty's Government and accordingly it would serve no useful purpose for the Government to rediscuss, at this stage, the difficult issues raised in the memorial.

4. I should be glad if Your Excellency's Government would cause the memorialists to be informed accordingly.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

Sd. Zetland.

The date of this reply shows that it was written and despatched before the great Calcutta Town Hall meeting of the 15th July last, presided over by Rabindranath Tagore.

Paragraph 3 of the reply is no answer to the arguments of the memorialists. Lord Zetland does not attempt any answer. Had he made any such attempt, it would have been entirely unconvincing, as the memorialists' arguments are unanswerable.

In using the words, "unless it (the alteration) is desired by the communities themselves," Lord Zetland has been understood by some supporters of the Communal Decision to mean both the majority and minority communities concerned. If Lord Zetland meant both the majority and minority communities, he was

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wrong. For subsection (4) of Section 308 mentions only minorities. It is nowhere said there that the consent of any majority to any alteration must be obtained.

What More Lord Zetland Said

In his reply to the Bengal memorialists Lord Zetland quotes only a portion of what he said in the Lords debate on the Government of India Bill on the 8th July, 1935. In reply to questions by Lord Middleton he said that the Communal Decision could be altered even before the expiry of ten years and gave an example to explain how it could be done. We are going to reproduce from *Hansard,* Lords, 1934-35, Vol. 98, what Lord Middleton and Lord Zetland said.

In the course of the debate on July 8, 1935, in the House of Lords on what is section 308 of the Goverment of India Act, 1935, Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, said :

"It is quite true that supposing before the ten years have expired some community, such as the Indian Christians, were really anxious to give up their special electorates and to take part in the joint electorate, it would then be possible, if they made that perfectly clear, for Parliament to take action under this clause; . . ."

Again :

"Now let me say once more, and I hope once and for all, that not only is it not the intention of the Government to make any alteration in the Communal Award, unless it is desired by the communities themselves, but that no such alteration could be made under this clause without the specific consent of Parliament. It would be Parliament that would make the alteration."

Lord Middleton subjected Lord Zetland to a sort of cross-examination.

LORD MIDDLETON : May I ask a specific question? Is there any intention of altering the Communal Award within ten years or not?

THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND : There is no intention of altering the Communal Award within ten years, or after ten years, except with the agreement of the communities themselves.

LORD MIDDLETON : That is not quite an answer to my question. In any circumstances can the Communal Award be upset within ten years or not ?

THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND : I gave an example of the sort of way in which an alteration might be made in the case of the Indian Christians. If they make it perfectly clear that they desire that alteration to be made, then it would be open to Parliament to make that alteration if they were satisfied.

LORD MIDDLETON : Have I understood the noble Marquess rightly that it is possible in certain circumstances to alter the Communal Award within ten years? This is very important.

THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND : Yes, in the circumstances which I have explained.

LORD MIDDLETON : Then how can the Government reconcile that reply with what was said in the Award ? His Majesty's Government stated in their Award that a modification of the communal electoral arrangements might be made after ten years. It seems to me that is going back on their statement, and that is the cause of my complaint.

Lord Middleton concludes from section 308 and from Lord Zetland's replies that that section empowers Parliament to make alterations in the Communal Decision before or within ten years, and that is our conclusion, too. The Bengal memorialists did not, therefore, ask anything to be done which was against either the spirit or the letter of the law. It is the reply of the Secretary of State which runs counter to the provision and the spirit of the Act.

Lord Zetland "gave an example of the sort of way in which an alteration might be made in the case of the Indian Christians." He said that "supposing before the ten years have expired some community, such as the Indian Christians, were really anxious to give up their special electorates and to take part in the joint electorate, it would then be possible, if they made that perfectly clear, for Parliament to take action under this clause."

The noble Lord mentioned the Indian Christians by way of example. They are a minority, and the Bengal Hindus are also a minority. And Bengal Hindus are "anxious" for alterations and have made their anxiety "perfectly clear." If, according to Lord Zetland, alteration can be made at the earnest request of one minority, namely, the Indian Christians, who have got weightage and do not suffer under any injustice and grievance, why cannot any alteration be made at the request of another minority, namely, the Bengal Hindus, who have been subjected to grievous injustice and who, far from getting any weightage, have not got even the number of representatives they are entitled to on the basis of their numerical strength?

In the case of the Indian Christians Lord Zetland says by way of example that, if they were "anxious to give up their special electorates and to take part in the joint electorate, Parliament could take action under this clause." Now, Bengal Hindus in their memorial have expressed a desire to give up their separate electorates and to take part in the joint electorate. Why cannot they have what they want?

Lord Snell Disbelieves British Official Anxiety for Minorities

In the course of the debate on the Government of India Bill in the House of Lords, on July 8, 1935, Lord Snell said :

"We are interested in this discussion from two

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points of view. First, it would seem as though those of us who are in a minority in this Committee are to support enthusiastically any defence of minorities which may be made. We find it refreshing to hear this new-born enthusiasm for minorities, even though they are in India. I hope that some of that enthusiasm may on future dates be available for minorities in your Lordships' House. The other point is that, if the Government have modified the Communal Award, we should very much like to know about it. We have never approved of the Communal Award; we wish that another arrangement could have been made; but if the matter has been disturbed, that fact opens up a serious field of enterprise for those who do not like it. As I have gathered the intentions of the noble Lords who have introduced this Amendment, it is to protect the minorities in India; and I hope that includes the minor minorities, such as Labour, the Depressed Classes, and other sections, and is not entirely restricted to the great minority of the Moslem people, who are on the whole very well able to take care of themselves. On this side we shall wait to hear what the Government says before we decide whether we can support these Amendments or not."

The extracts in this and the two following Notes are from *Hansard*, Lords, 1934-35, Vol. 98.

Lord Strabolgi on the Communal Decision

When on the 9th July, 1935, the House of Lords were discussing the Fifth Schedule of the Government of India Bill, Lord Strabolgi moved some amendments. The noble Lord said :

This Amendment raises the question of the communal system of elections. I do not want to argue the case for the Amendment at length at this time of night, but I must take the opportunity of making one protest in Committee—as I did indeed on the Second Reading, but the Secretary of State was unable to reply (about which I make no complaint at all)—against this whole system of the Communal Award. The first observation I would submit to your Lordships is to ask you to notice, with regard to the intricate provisions for representation of the Indian States in the Council and in the Assembly—and the same principle, of course, applies to the Provinces we now have under discussion—that there is no mention of communal representatives. Where British India is concerned there are provisions reserving so many seats for Moslems, so many for Sikhs, so many for Hindus, etc., but with regard to the Indian States, which form one-third of the total area of India and contain about one-quarter of the population, if you leave out Burma, there is not one word about communal representation.

He proceeded to refer, by way of example, to some Indian States.

Observe that in the case of the largest State, Hyderabad, that State will have five members of the Council and sixteen members of the Assembly. There you have a State, with a predominantly Hindu population, governed by a Mahomedan dynasty. One would have thought, if this Communal Award was so necessary to get this Bill through, or indeed to have any kind of assent in India—we were told it was necessary for the then Prime Minister in August, 1932, to meddle in this hell's kitchen, which is what it is—that there would have been some provision made for communal representation from the States. But here you have Hyderabad, and as far as the Bill is concerned every one of these twenty-one representatives may be Moslems. In practice the matter does not arise, because only in recent years has there been any communal disturbance in the State at all. Similarly with regard to Kashmir, which is a predominantly Moslem State ruled by a Hindu ruling house. Kashmir is entitled to send three representatives to the Council and four to the Assembly. As regards the Bill all these seven representatives of the State of Kashmir may be Hindus, to represent an overwhelming Moslem population. But, in practice, we know perfectly well that the representatives sent from Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore, and the other States with multiple representation will represent the population of the States as a whole. That should have been the case with British India.

Lord Strabolgi then spoke of the first appearance and causes of the communal troubles.

I speak with much diffidence in the presence of so many great experts in your Lordships' House on recent Indian history, but I believe I am right in saying that the communal differences, about which we hear so much now, were not very noticeable before the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and that, as has been described to me and to other noble Lords many times, when we were seeking to find an explanation, they have been made more acute by the scramble for loaves and fishes—in other words, by the competition for offices and places and jobs and posts, whether for the principals themselves or for their nephews and cousins and other relations; and that that is the real explanation beneath the communal troubles. If that is the case—and it seems to be generally accepted—what becomes of this intense religious feeling? The intense religious feeling may be felt by the masses, but it is exploited and taken advantage of by self-seeking politicians. We have surrendered to this, we have given way to it, and this alone condemns the Bill in my eyes.

He then stated why he condemned the Bill.

If my casting vote could destroy this Bill, I would vote against it for that reason, because you are perpetuating this terrible rift in the democratic life of India, which I believe will be permanent. We were told it was necessary to make this Award by the former Prime Minister, now Lord President of the Council, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in August, 1932, because the different communities could not agree among themselves as to the fractional proportion of seats they were to have in these Provincial Legislatures we are now discussing.

He went on to ask :

Was there any reason at all why we should give way to that kind of pressure? If they could not agree, was it for us to impose this division upon them, this which I am afraid will be a permanent division? I am speaking with the greatest seriousness. Could we not have told them to come back to us when they had agreed? Could we not, above all, have insisted on the common electoral roll?

He questioned whether communal electorates were "the only protection for minorities," giving reasons for what he said.

On the Second Reading I took it upon myself to question a remark of the noble Marquess the Secretary

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of State—I question any remark of his on India with the greatest reluctance and hesitation—when he said this was the only protection for minorities. I ventured to show then that, as your Lordships well know, in the case of countries where there is a common electoral roll, minorities are taken care of by the majority because of their voting power and because of the general decency of public life. Jewish and Catholic minorities are well looked after in this country, not because they have separate representation as Catholics or Jews in the House of Commons, but because Members naturally look after their own constituents once they are elected.

He added, mentioning facts in support of what he said :

The same thing, we believe, would happen in India. I do not want to dwell on this matter at great length at this time of night. I would only point out that there is a most welcome movement in India amongst the younger men against this exploitation of communal feeling for political ends. Young Moslems, young Parsees and young Hindus are beginning to come together in the ranks of Congress and other political bodies. There is, I am informed, not much communal difference or feeling in the trades unions.

Where Labour has begun to be organized in India—organized, I am sorry to say, against much opposition from Government—where trades unionism has made headway, there is no communal feeling. They act together as workmen seeking to improve their material lot.

The noble Lord concluded by stating why he protested against the whole system of communal representation as embodied in the Bill.

I am afraid that the explanation in years to come of why this crime was committed—I am not using hasty language, I am using language most deliberately—why we have given way to this claim of the Sikhs and the Moslems and others who demand separate representation is that we have harked back to the old system of "Divide and rule." You have been weak in this matter because you thought to base future Government on a minority of Moslems and, in one Province, of Sikhs. I think it will be proved in years to come a very great blunder. I have made my protest against this, and I have done it in the way open to me by putting an amendment on the Paper. I have made my protest with a very great feeling of sincerity in the matter. I think a very short-sighted view of the future of India has been taken in this whole system of communal representation as embodied in the Bill, both with regard to Provincial Legislatures and in the arrangements for electing the Councils. It is against the best interests of India, and therefore of this country, and for that reason I protest.

Lord Strabolgi's Reply to Criticisms

Lord Halifax (formerly Lord Irwin), Secretary of State for War, and Lord Lothian subjected Lord Strabolgi's speech to some criticism without meeting his arguments. In reply the latter said :

I do not want to press the point. I think that both the noble Marquess, the Secretary of State for War, and the noble Marquess on the Liberal Benches have given my words a rather stronger emphasis than I meant. What I meant was that perhaps that memory of our old policy in the past suggests that we are not quite strong enough in forcing a common electoral roll on to those delegates. I can quite bear out what the noble Marquess has said about the First Round Table Conference. I remember then the tremendous fight about two Sikh seats in the Punjab; it held things up for weeks. I should have liked to support the broad-minded Hindus and the handful of broad-minded Moslems who wanted to have a common electoral roll. I should have liked to hold the thing up for two or three years more until we got the common electoral roll. I entirely accept what the noble Viscount said, that we ought not to cling to this remnant of the past, which colours our policy.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the Communal Decision

According to the United Press of India,

Bengal Congressmen feel very much enheartened over a recent letter that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed to the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

"You are perfectly correct," says Pandit Nehru in the course of his letter endorsing the sentiments of Bengal Congressmen, "in stating that when the Lucknow Congress rejected the New Constitution, *ipso facto* it rejected the Communal Decision.

"Of course, it did. I would even go further and say that even apart from this general rejection of the New Act and the Constitution, the Congress would reject the Communal Decision as being opposed to all principles of democratic progress and as being aimed at breaking up the unity of India.

"All of us, or nearly all of us, in the Congress want to reject and, what is more, put an end to this Communal Decision.

"I shall repeat, in order to prevent any possibility of doubt, the Congress policy in regard to the Award. It dislikes it, it does not accept it and rejects it; and can never reconcile itself to it because it is a barrier to our progress, to unity, freedom and Independence and is part and parcel of British Imperialism which it combats.

"We all know how hard Bengal has been hit by this Communal Decision. I can assure you that the Working Committee, far from turning a deaf ear to Bengal's difficulty is keenly alive to it and is eager and anxious to do everything in its power to solve it."

Obstacles In The Way Of England's War Preparations

The Living Age for August, 1936, writes :

"England's preparations for war have encountered an unexpected obstacle : Englishmen decline to join the army. Recent figures show that the regular army is 9,000 men under strength. From the present peacetime basis of 190,985 men, 26,000 will retire next March. The Territorials (militia) lack 45,000 men; the shortage in London alone amounts to 7,000. The first anti-Warcraft division falls 10,000 below establishment. Even the Royal Air Force finds difficulty enlisting enough pilots to man the large number of new planes. Secretary of State for War A. Duff-Cooper complains that 'instancing only the aircraft units which would be engaged in the defense of London, they are more than 50 per cent short of their full strength'."

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It was this situation which provoked the Minister's famous speech insisting that it was necessary to 'scare people to death' with warnings of the war menace in Europe. Newspapers discuss conscription quite openly and Ministers refer to the subject guardedly in their speeches. But Mr. Baldwin, adhering to his promise not to introduce conscription in peace-time, hesitates. In consequence, employers have been mobilized to get the boys into khaki, or at least into the Territorials. Heads of prominent industrial firms, under direction of the Government, have encouraged their employees to join this body, promising vacations with pay, premiums, clothing free, an annual bounty up to £5, and various other inducements. The Left-Wing press and labour-organizations have firmly opposed this recruiting campaign. Borough councils, among them the London County Council, have refused to co-operate. The campaign has, therefore, met with little success.

France uses her African soldiers in Europe and elsewhere whenever and wherever needed. The Spanish rebel leaders are using Moroccan soldiers in Spain. Britain employed Indian soldiers in Europe only during the last great war. Will she be henceforth obliged to use for self-defence Indian soldiers regularly in Britain and on the continent, if she does not get enough white recruits?

Endeavours For World Peace

According to *Unity* of Chicago, U. S. A., statistics show that even in the most militaristic countries there is real service on behalf of peace. The 697 organizations outside the U. S. A. connected with the international movement for peace include:

Great Britain, 42; Albania, 2; Argentine, 7; Australia, 14; Austria, 25; Belgium, 24; Bermuda, 1; Bolivia, 1; Brazil, 4; Bulgaria, 12; Burma, 1; Canada, 17; Ceylon, 2; Chile, 7; China, 12; Costa Rica, 2; Cuba, 2; Czecho-Slovakia, 24; Denmark, 22; Dutch East Indies, 6; Egypt, 8; Estonia, 10; Finland, 15; France, 83; Germany, 9; Greece, 11; Holland, 60; Hungary, 15; Iceland, 5; India, 11; Iraq, 2; Ireland, 12; Italy, 11; Japan, 28; Latvia, 8; Lithuania, 4; Mexico, 3; New Zealand, 19; Norway, 16; Persia, 2; Philippine Islands, 4; Poland, 25; Rumania, 8; Russia, 2; Sweden, 28; Switzerland, 44; and so on.

162 books, relating more or less to war and peace, were published during the year 1935—most of them in England. Many are definitely anti-war. Pamphlets and documents issued during the year were larger in number and produced more general effect. Probably the most telling have been the leaflets galore. The big, attractive peace posters seen all over England in front of Nonconformist places of worship, sometimes before those of the Anglican Church, were quite significant.

The eminent Professor Soddy refused an invitation from the British government to join in an organization for developing chemical warfare. He says:

> "It is amazing to me how scientists are excluded from any key position in business affairs unless it is known in advance among scientists that they are people who can be relied on to bomb their own mothers and to get a decoration for it.....There is as great a horror of the perversion of science to warlike purposes as there is among the general public."

Canon Sheppard of St. Paul's Cathedral, an ardent pacifist, declared in an address in London: "If there is one thing needed today by us it is moral courage, which men so often lack. We claim to be physically brave; but I do not think we are any more physically brave than women. Morally we are not up to their standard." Again, "war and Christianity are utterly and completely incompatible. When a Christian nation goes to war it has got to lie about itself, lie about its enemy and lie about God." This courageous official of the Anglican Church has been securing the following pledge from many tens of thousands of young men subject to conscription: "I renounce war, and never again, directly or indirectly, will I support or sanction another."

The Archbishop of Canterbury's invitation prior to Christmas, 1935, to Christian communions in Europe, to unite in an appeal to their members to assist in preserving peace, has received a remarkable response. . . . The authorities of twelve national state churches in twelve European countries agreed to the proposal; also the Protestant churches in France, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and Ireland. Leaders of the established churches of Europe are now willing to endorse policies that are at variance with the plans of their governments.

All these pacifistic endeavours made in and from Great Britain have contributed to bring about the situation described in the Note preceding this.

In the United States of America the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is endeavouring to secure fifty million signatures to a petition demanding that all governments abolish war.

Educational Expenditure in British India

The Government of India report called *Education in India in 1933-34* has been published in the current year 1936. This report deals with the period from April 1st, 1933 to March 31st, 1934. So the reports for 1934-35 and 1935-36 are also due. But, though elsewhere it is the age of the aeroplane, in India it is still the age of the bullock cart in which even the very efficient government officers live. So, we must consider an annual report of a period which ended more than two years ago quite up-to-date.

We are told in this report: "The influence of retrenchment appears to be

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waning and a heavy reduction in total expenditure has been replaced by a considerable increase in expenditure."

This is literally true. But it conceals an ugly fact. Turning to Table VI, we find that the total expenditure from Government funds was, in

1934	.. ..	Rs. 11,47,02,150
1933	.. ..	„ 11,35,50,798
1932	.. ..	„ 12,46,00,481
1931	.. ..	„ 13,60,97,116
1930	.. ..	„ 13,25,38,044
1929	.. ..	„ 13,18,10,145

So, even with "a considerable increase in expenditure," the total amount spent for education from Government funds in 1934 was much smaller than what was spent in 1931, 1930, 1929, and 1932. The increase was increase with reference only to 1933, but a decrease with reference to four previous years.

The sum of Rs. 11,47,02,150 was spent by Government for the educational advancement of British India, including Burma in 1934, inhabited by 27,15,26,933 persons. That is to say, Government spent Annas 6 and 9 pies per head of our population for education of all kinds from the primary to the University stage.

How paltry the total amount was will appear from a comparison.

The population of London County Council is 43,85,825. The educational expenditure of this county council for the year 1935-36 has been estimated to be £1,24,02,943 or Rs. 16,53,72,573.

So the London County Council spends considerably more for the education of an area inhabited by 43,85,825 persons than Government in India spends for an area inhabited by 27,15,26,933 persons.

It will be said, India is a poor country and therefore its government cannot spend more for the education of its people—cannot spend as lavishly as the very rich London County Council.

But poor India is made to pay far fatter salaries to its officers (mostly foreign) than are received by officers of corresponding ranks in the richest countries of the world. Why have not India's poverty been borne in mind in fixing these salaries on an extravagant scale? From the revenues of India much more can certainly be spent for education if the salaries of officers are cut down and military expenditure is cut down. Not to speak of wealthy Western countries, even in Japan salaries are far lower than in India. The Prime Minister of Japan gets a monthly salary of only 800 yen, equivalent at the present rate of exchange to Rs. 616 approximately.

India was not always poor. It was India's wealth which attracted people from all civilized countries to get rich quick. As we have compared London's educational expenditure with that of British India, it may not be amiss to state that in the days of Clive Murshidabad was as big a city as London, with this difference that it contained more wealthy men than London and they were wealthier than London's rich men.

And poor India is still passively able to make other countries rich.

The Coming Elections

All parties are issuing their manifestoes and getting ready for the coming elections.

The constituencies created according to the Government of India Act have so vivisected the nation that speaking to people of national interests has become like speaking to the deaf. Nevertheless, it cannot be repeated too often that, even if the various communities and classes into which the Act has divided the people were able to derive all the advantage that the new constitution seems to promise them, they would really get very little. We are not speaking of individuals, but of communities and classes. Job-hunters and favour-seekers may individually prosper. But the new constitution is such that even the most favoured community in India cannot become materially and intellectually equal to the most backward community in the most backward country of Europe. And that is because this Constitution does not give freedom to any Indian man or woman, to any Indian community or class. And without freedom, overtaking and marching abreast of the advanced peoples of the world would be absolutely impossible.

The Communal Decision embodied in the Constitution is undoubtedly a great evil. But the greatest wrong done to the people by it is that it has denied freedom to the country and vivisected it. So, all voters belonging to general, communal and special constituencies should vote only for those candidates who will direct their energies to the winning of national freedom.

Indian Universities and Their Students Not Too Many

In the official report, *Education in India in 1933-34*, the false statement has been made that Indian "Universities are overcrowded."

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We have exposed this falsehood before, but have to do it again. The truth is, for a large country, with a large population, like India, the number of Universities is small and the number of their students is also small.

In Great Britain, with a population of 45 millions, there are 11 Universities in England, 4 in Scotland and 1 in Wales. The total number of students in these Universities is 53,995, according to the Statesman's Year-book for 1936. As in India's official report named above college students who are undergraduates are also counted as university students, the number of students in the University Colleges in Great Britain at Exeter, Nottingham, Southampton, Leister and Hull should also be counted. Their total is 4,631. Hence in Great Britain there are 58,626 University students.

In population Great Britain with her 45 millions is comparable with Bengal with its 51 million and with Agra-Oudh with 49 millions. Now, in Bengal in its two universities there are 30,500 so-called University students and in Agra-Oudh's five Universities there are 12,019 students. Hence, according to British standards, there is room for many more Universities and very many more University students in these provinces.

When the overcrowding of Universities is spoken of, Bengal in particular is generally mentioned. But consider the facts.

Bengal and Assam, with a population of more than 60 millions (Indian States included, for their students also join Calcutta and Dacca Universities and their Colleges) has 30,500 University students. The Punjab with less than half of Bengal's population has 19,796 University students. Bombay Presidency, including Sind, with less than half of Bengal's population, has 16,292 University students.

India (British and Indian), including Burma, has a population of 353 millions, and only 18 universities and 113,328 students. If India had proportionately as many University students as Great Britain, their number would have been roughly 460,000, instead of 113,328, the actual number.

It should be borne in mind that Great Britain has 58,626 University students, pursuing more or less academic studies, in addition to thousands pursuing higher technical and technological studies. Therefore, in Great Britain academic studies are not overdone. In India, on the other hand, there is too little education in science, and what there is is not thoroughly practical, and there is even less of higher technical and technological education and training. Not that there is enough of even elementary technical and technological education.

Hence in India, what is required is not less collegiate and university education, but far more of thorough technical and technological education. And the scientific side of collegiate and university education should be made practical, with more and better equipped laboratories.

"Unemployment Presents a Grave Problem"

In the official educational report referred to in the previous Note it is correctly stated that "unemployment presents a grave problem." But British officials and politicians are not prepared to face the right solution of this serious problem.

The right solution lies in Indians occupying *all* offices in the public services from top to bottom, both civil and military, and in India full freely developing all industries by all those means which have been adopted in the past and are being adopted at present in independent countries. This will not be possible unless India has complete self-rule.

There are enough qualified Indians at present to fill *all* civil offices from top to bottom, except perhaps a few which require technical qualifications, which can, however, be acquired in a few years. As regards military posts, the army can be thoroughly and efficiently manned by Indians in the course of a decade or two. This has been admitted by official committees with British personnel, but their reports have been pigeon-holed.

By the development of all the industries of which India is capable, employment can be found for a far larger number of persons than the public services can absorb. It is not necessary to enumerate here all the industries which India had but which have largely or entirely disappeared and all which can be revived or started.

The late Mr. G. V. Joshi of Satara, who was an authority on economic and industrial questions, showed (*inter alia* by articles in this Review) that when British merchants began to acquire foothold and build up their empire in India, this country had a thousand ports and a large ship-building and boat-building industry. Shipping and ship-building found work for millions.

It has become almost impossible to revive India's shipping and her ship-building industry. Even so rich, powerful and progressive a country as the United States of America has found it

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necessary in the current Christian year 1936 to pass the Ship Subsidy Act, under which 200 passenger and cargo vessels will be built and plying in the course of the next seven years. The estimated expenditure will be 300 million dollars.

In India, which is British-ruled, it has been hitherto found impossible to reserve even coastal traffic for Indian vessels. And under the celestial Government of India Act of 1935, even if the British Indian Government were to sanction a subsidy for the ship-building or any other industry, British companies doing business in or with India, will also (which may mean mostly) be entitled to that subsidy. The section and sub-section of the heavenly Act which embody such an equitable provision are quoted below :

"116. (1) Notwithstanding anything in any Act of the Federal Legislature or of a Provincial Legislature, companies incorporated, whether before or after the passing of this Act, by or under the laws of the United Kingdom and carrying on business in India shall be eligible for any grant, bounty or subsidy payable out of the revenues of the Federation or of a Province for the encouragement of any trade or industry to the same extent as companies incorporated by or under the laws of British India are eligible therefore :

* * * * *

(3) For the purposes of this section a company incorporated by or under the laws of the United Kingdom shall be deemed to be carrying on business in India if it owns ships which habitually trade to and from ports in India.

When such is the law, if any Britisher who has not publicly denounced this Act says that he wants the revival of old and the starting of new industries in India, it must be treated more or less as bunkum.

While on the question of unemployment and employment, it may be stated incidentally that civil aviation and its allied industry, which are only in their beginnings, find employment for considerable numbers of men and women. The list given in the article on the subject in our present issue supports what we say.

Paces of Indianization & Anglicization

It is true that the Indian Civil Service and some other services at present have more Indian members than before. But if all the offices created during the last decade and a half and filled by Britishers were taken into consideration, the process of Indianization, very slow in all conscience, would appear slower still and in great part illusory.

Some member of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly would do well to ask for a return showing the offices held by Britishers in British India fifteen years ago and now and the total salaries they drew and draw then and now. Such a return might show the respective paces of Indianization of the services on the one hand and their Anglicization on the other.

"Not A Political Book" ?

A few days ago we got for review a book by Mark Channing, called *Indian Mosaic* (George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London). We have not read it yet. From its description in the front and back flap of its jacket, it seems to be a kind of work of fiction based on the experiences of the author, who is spoken of as a successful novelist. It appears to contain high praise for and acceptance of Yogic and Vedantic teachings.

But it is to be hoped that the author, consciously or unconsciously, has not done any British imperialistic propaganda work and tried to put his readers off the scent by praising India's spirituality.

We are reminded here of what the late Mr. W. T. Stead once told the late Pandit Sivanath Sastri. During his brief sojourn in England the Pandit and Mr. Stead had become friends. One day the latter asked the Pandit to tell him all about the form of divine service in the Brahmo Samaj. When he was explaining the part called "Meditation," Mr. Stead suddenly laughed. The Pandit was surprised and said : "We are engaged in solemn talk. Why do you laugh?" Mr. Stead replied, "While I was trying to understand what you meditate upon with your eyes closed, an odd idea crossed my mind, and it is that, while India was absorbed in meditation with eyes closed, oblivious of the world, we Britishers got possession of the country on the sly!" We do not remember the exact words in which Pandit Sastri told this true story; only the purport is given here.

The author writes in the preface, "This is not a political book." Obviously, and in the main, perhaps it is not. But is the following passage in the Epilogue non-political?

"It is significant that those who demand self-government for India and who criticize Great Britain for failing to grant it are generally those who are most signally unqualified to express an opinion, being completely ignorant of the art of governing peoples. They are, in fact, either visionaries or opportunists, those most-to-be-feared exploiters of credulity."

Or the following?

"Nationalism—that hybrid product of *parvenu* civilizations—has been grafted on to an ancient tree whose roots are deep in Wisdom, whose sap is faithfulness, and whose branches are wide lands. The fruit it

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will now bear will be bitter (to British imperialists in any case.—Ed., *M. R.*) and sourly antithetical to the Hindus, the central teaching of whose faith is the annihilation of Self."

Or this?

"The problem of India is neither political nor social, but religious; and it has many aspects, for there are many 'Indias' . . . . There is an India that is primitive, and there is an India that is beautiful. I knew and loved them all. But there has come into being a 'provincial' India as narrow-minded and as fanatical as any backward townlet in the West. Those who, like myself, knew the real, serenely dignified India, look upon this bawling monstrosity and deplore it, for *this* is no legitimate heir to one of the greatest national heritages in the world."

Or finally this?

"At present India is unfit to govern herself. Only by gradually assimilating such of our Western methods as are truly good can she ever hope to become fit for self-government; and it will take many years. To abandon to fanatics, visionaries, opportunists, and those routine exploiters of simple faith an India which in the mass still implicitly believes in us would be nothing short of shameful betrayal, and we should richly deserve whatever horrors its perpetration brought upon us."

All this is the usual twaddle meant for the consumption, consolation, self-deception, or edification of British imperialists or would-be imperialists, and do not require any comment.

The author has also assumed the role of an officer told off to beat up British recruits for the Indian services—whom India does not want and who may very well remain at home to man the British army, navy and air forces. He writes :

"Public attention has recently been drawn to an astonishing state of affairs—a shortage of the right kind of Briton for the recruitment of the Indian services. Now, no other country on the surface of the globe offers to an ambitious and sporting youngster as many attractive possibilities as India does. Were she better known to England there would be—as there was when I went out—no such dearth of suitable recruits; there would be a waiting-list that would make "A. B." pray with unaccustomed fervour, to see his son's name included in it. But, alas, only the other day I was informed that in the libraries of two big schools there was not a single book on India!"

Those schools were lucky that their libraries did not contain books on India—to misrepresent the country, for that is what many British books on India generally do.

The Arab Revolt in Palestine

The Arab Revolt in Palestine is not yet over. We gave some facts in the Notes in our August number to enable the reader to understand why the situation is what it is. The compiled article in our present issue also gives some information. A perfectly balanced and unbiassed statement we have not yet come across. The All-India Congress Committee has published a special Palestine Bulletin in which many facts, largely taken from the report in Hansard of the debate in the House of Commons in London on the subject of Palestine on June 19th, 1936, have been brought together. Some of these have already appeared in our August Notes. The Bulletin says :

The struggle for freedom in Palestine has attracted widespread attention and sympathy in India. In some quarters it is believed and stated that it is a religious conflict between Moslems and Jews. It is desirable, therefore, that the facts should be known so that the inner significance of the struggle might be appreciated. These facts point out that the struggle is not a religious or communal one, but is essentially an Arab attempt to free their country from the grip of British imperialism. These facts also throw some light on the inner working of imperialism, and this helps us to understand a little better some of our own problems in India, such as the communal problem. The real issue in Palestine, as in India, is the independence of the country, whether the people of each country should rule themselves or should be forced to submit to the British Empire and serve its interests.

Instrument of Accession

The draft of the Instrument of Accession to the Federation by the rulers of the Indian States was published last month. In it the sovereignty—such as it is—of the rulers is recognized, and it is stated that they enter the Federation of their own accord for the good of India. The draft provides for the specification of the subjects over which each ruler agrees to hand over jurisdiction to the Federal Government, and fixes a time limit for the introduction of Federation.

Speaking generally, one may doubt whether the rulers of Indian States have and exercise freedom of action in political matters in which the Paramount Power has a say. But this draft having been prepared to suit the Princes, it may be accepted as a true statement that it has been really well-received by them and their ministers. Ever since the question of the constitutional reforms came to be discussed, the people of the Indian States have tried to get their civic and political rights recognized. But they have been ignored all along. The draft does not improve their position, as it leaves the constitutional problem of each of the States to be solved by the combined efforts of the rulers and the people. The struggle will be worth something irrespective of the results.

The immediate object of British imperialists in getting the Princes into the Federation is to use them as a counterpoise against Indian nationalism. But man proposes, God disposes. If Federation, howsoever and with what object

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soever brought about, leads to the ultimate unification of India, that consummation will be welcome.

Instrument of Accession Intended To Prevent Democratizing of Constitution

The Servant of India writes :

Writing on the clause newly inserted in the draft Instrument of Accession making it clear that no amendment of the federal constitution that may in future be adopted will be applicable to a State unless the State accepts it, our valued contemporary, the *Indian Express*, which to our knowledge is the only paper that has given attention to this aspect of the constitution, remarks as follows :

"At the time the Act was passed, we pointed out how the Second Schedule prevents the change of constitution in most important respects without the consent of every Prince acceding to the federation. But this omission of any reference in the previous draft Instrument of Accession left it free to the British Parliament to change them and negotiate for the support of the Princes. The present clause in the Instrument of Accession amounts to a formal undertaking not to bring any Bill amending the Government of India Act not included in Schedule II without the previous consent of all the Princes. This is a most mischievous extension of a commitment which was wrong and dangerous in any case. When the Instrument of Accession specifically states the parts of the Act and the limitations within which those parts will be given effect to, we do not see what necessity there is for a fettering of the discretion of the British Parliament in the Instrument itself. **The insertion of this clause brings out forcibly Sir Samuel Hoare's intention to use the Princes to prevent even Dominion Status.** We challenge the Moderates to show a constitutional way out of the obstruction created by the Second Schedule and this clause (7) in the Instrument of Accession. We do not, however, feel that all these paper fiats can prevent India marching along the path of her destiny. The Princes are altogether unwise in agreeing to an arrangement by which the responsibility for defence and foreign affairs can never be transferred to an Indian Minister and the special responsibilities of the Governor-General could not be curtailed or abolished."

The challenge of *The Indian Express* to the Moderates to show a constitutional (*i.e.*, a non-revolutionary) way out of the obstruction created by the Second Schedule and this clause (7) in the Instrument of Accession has not been taken up by *The Servant of India*. It writes instead in a straightforward manner :

We for our part must confess that no constitutional way appears to be available to us out of the obstruction created by the Princes' veto. As a peaceful change is found impossible under article 19 of the League of Nations' Covenant which provides for a revision of treaties, so we are afraid an amendment of the federal constitution which will be applicable to all the States will be found impossible under the new constitution.

Britain's Grant to Her Colonies

Impecunious Great Britain *received* from opulent India during the great war a "free" gift of 150 crores of rupees or 100 million pounds sterling, besides other help in men, materials and money.

The same impecunious Great Britain has approved total assistance to her colonies amounting to £5,804,436 since the inception of the Colonial Development Fund, of which £3,712,992 has so far been issued. The annual report of the Colonial Development Advisory Committee states that, during the year ended March 31, 1936, a sum of £739,866 was issued.

Who Is A Hindu ?

Many year ago a questionnaire was issued for ascertaining the definition of the word "Hindu." A good many answers were received from Hindus, and, if we remember aright, these were published in the form of a booklet. We do not know whether it is still available, and if so, where.

So far as census operations are concerned the Government of India's idea of a Hindu favours the inclusion of the Brahmos and the Arya-Samajists among the Hindus. Perhaps other similar religious bodies of more recent origin are also included in the official definition of Hindus. The Hindu Mahasabha's definition of a Hindu is, he or she who follows any religion which has originated in India. So, according to that definition, Jainas, Buddhists, Sikhs, Brahmos, Arya-Samajists, etc., are all Hindus. And the Hindu Mahasabha actually chose a Buddhist monk, Bhikshu Ottama, to preside over one of its recent sessions.

In the course of an article in *Harijan* for August 15, 1936, Mahatma Gandhi, however, says,

"If caste and *Varna* are convertible terms and if *Varna* is an integral part of the shastras which define Hinduism, I do not know how a person who rejects caste, i.e., *Varna*, can call himself a Hindu."

But many Brahmos who utterly reject caste in speech and practice call themselves Hindus. And the Hindu Mission which disregards distinctions of caste in the marriages it promotes calls itself a "Hindu" Mission.

Bengal Provincial Congress Committee Coalescence

We are glad the two wings of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee have coalesced and now form one body. It is to be hoped that it will be one in spirit as it has become one in body, and work harmoniously and enthusiastically for the good of the country.

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Appreciation of Indian Games Abroad

It is a pleasure to learn that the team of the Hanuman Vyayam Mandal of Amraoti, now in Berlin for the Olympic Games, recently gave a demonstration of Indian games and athletics before an appreciative gathering of more than ten thousand persons. The gathering included many leading physical culturists, and everyone present was captivated by the display. The Indian (and Bengali) game, Ha-du-du-du, in particular has become specially popular with the generality of world athletes. The President of the Hanuman Vyayam Mandal team has been requested by the International Sports Students' Congress Executive Committee to publish small booklets giving information relating to Indian manly games.

One great advantage of our active games is that they are all very inexpensive, and for some games, for example, Ha-du-du-du, one need not spend a single pie. So these games suit all purses and even those who have no purses, being literally Have-Nots.

The Nationalist Sir A. H. Ghuznavi's Advice to Moslems

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, speaking to the students of Islamia College, Calcutta, recently, remarked :

"It would be a mistaken and shortsighted policy to place the interest of the community over that of the country and the nation as a whole."

Words of wisdom for himself and his audience to bear in mind, lay to heart, and act up to.

The occasion was the celebration of the seventh anniversary of the Duty Fund of the College when an address was presented to Sir Abdul Halim by the managing committee of the Fund.

Sir Abdul Halim, who presided over the function, said that the address had taken a correct view of the position when it stated that events and environment had made Moslems lag behind in the march of time, and the sooner the community "is fitted to fall into step with the rest, the better it would be for the progress of the nation."

"That," he said, "is what is wanted in the interest of the country and of the nation at large. We shall fight for it unmindful of consequences. They lie who call us communalists. This is the only road for national progress and ultimate unity of the major communities."

In order to convince non-Muhammadan Indians that Muhammadan Indians are not communalists but nationalists, Muhammadan Indians should appeal to their past and present fully nationalistic activities, if any, and should be thoroughly nationalistic in future. Calling those liars who consider Sir A. H. Ghuznavi and his associates and adherents communalists has not proved that the speaker and his supporters are nationalists. Facts can prove an assertion, not vituperation.

Pandit Nehru's Advice to Students in Relation to Politics

At the recent session at Lucknow of All-India Students' Conference Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advised Indian students "not to take an aggressive part in politics except in abnormal times." That was sound advice.

We do not know what the Pandit meant by abnormal times, nor is it easy to define the expression. But we have always said that so long as young men and women are students or wish to be known as students, study must be their main concern, and whatever interferes seriously with their main occupation must be eschewed.

We were opposed to the leaving of schools and colleges by students during non-co-operation days, and if a similar occasion rose again we should be opposed to it.

The employment of students for electioneering purposes is wrong. It not only wastes their time for doing work which should be given to paid agents to do, but it tends to make partisans of them, which gives their character a wrong bias more or less permanently.

They may attend sessions of the Indian National Congress, the Indian National Liberal Federation, the provincial political conferences, and all political meetings addressed by responsible men. They may also become volunteers to facilitate the holding of the sessions of the bodies named and indicated above. And, of course, they may have their own political meetings and debates.

The Problem of Tuberculosis in Bengal

The Journal of the Tuberculosis Association of Bengal states the problem of tuberculosis in Calcutta and the Province thus :

In Calcutta there are 30,000 people suffering from Tuberculosis of whom *8 die every day*. In Bengal at least one million people have fallen a prey to this "White Plague" and in the whole province there are 284 beds set aside for these patients! This, in brief, is the

PROBLEM.

1. Total number of patients in Calcutta.	30,000
of whom 8 die every day.	27,000
2. Untreated patients.	
3. Patients attending dispensaries of the Tuberculosis Association of Bengal.	3,000
4. Total number of beds available.	284

N. B.—Patients treated privately are more than covered by unrecorded cases.

The Tuberculosis Association of Bengal has no beds of its own. Patients who require

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treatment in an institution are referred to such institutions as may have accommodation for them. But the number of such institutions is small, and the accommodation available there is not sufficient. So, the number of these institutions and of their beds should be increased as expeditiously as possible. Both the government and the people have an urgent duty to perform to tuberculous patients and to others who are likely to catch the infection.

Cinema For Children

The Guardian of Madras writes:

The British Film Institute addressed an enquiry to three thousand children to learn their opinions about films. An article in the *Manchester Guardian* summarises the conclusions. Children like excitement, sensation and suspense—in other words, they like adventure and drama, just as adults do, but they condemn the horrible on the screen. Like adults they criticise distortions of history and books, are not enamoured by musical films or too much talk. They want the film to tell its story chiefly in pictures. All answers lead to the conclusion that children are good interpreters of films and that mistakes made by the experts indicate lack of knowledge of the fact that most people are healthy minded and detest the glorification on the screen of the abnormal and eccentric in human relationships. A new use for the cinema has been found through experiments in London. Hundreds of "school leavers" have been watching occupational films. These have given them knowledge of various industries and enabled them probably to correct their ideas about occupations and careers. They should be able to assess their own capabilities in certain directions.

When will there be such an enquiry in India, and when and where will the new use for the cinema found in London be found in this country?

Attack on Jews in London

"The Fascist anti-Semitic violence, particularly in the East End of London and the difficulties of the police in coping with it formed the subject of a lively debate in the House of Commons.

Mr. Lansbury described the 'real terror among the Jewish population east of Aldgate.' He said the Fascists persistently insulted the Jewish traders and incited others to attack. He prophesied that, if not stopped, this would lead to terrible reprisals. Other members described the personal attacks by the Fascists on Jews."

Are Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Baldwin, Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Zetland, Lord Middleton, Lord Halifax, Lord Lothian and other philanthropic friends of minorities all over the world holding secret conferences to draft a Bill for the purpose of giving the Jews a separate communal electorate for the House of Commons, with 2,500 per cent weightage like that given to the helpless British minority in Bengal?

War and Preparations for War in Europe

Indications are not wanting that it is not all quiet on the Abyssinian front.

The civil war in Spain is going on with extreme ferocity and savagery.

The rebellious Arabs have not yet been either quelled or pacified.

A greater war may be in store than all these. Soviet Russia wants to be invincible.

RIGA, AUG. 21

Following a decree lowering the military age to nineteen years it is reported that the Soviet have begun to erect new barracks west of the Frontier region to accommodate a million troops, who will be recruited in autumn. Official statistics show that the output of areoplanes this year will be seventy-two per cent more than the entire output last year.

The Soviet War Commissariat states that the Soviet Air Force will soon be as large as the aggregate air force of all other countries. It is claimed this combined increase of armies and man power will render the Soviet Union absolutely invincible.—*Reuter.*

The German reply to the Russian move is printed below.

BERLIN, AUG. 25

It is estimated that the German Army will be increased to at least 1,000,000 men after a year by the military decree, signed by Herr Hitler, forthwith increasing the period of active military service in all arms from one year to two years. Official comment states that Germany will take any measure necessary to guarantee the freedom and independence of the nation against the military threats of Soviet Imperialism. The decree will throw a still heavier burden of organization on the already hard-worked Reichswehr Generals. New barracks will have to be built all over the country and officers will have to be found to train the extra conscripts.

After October, when the 1916 class of conscripts are called to the colours, Germany will have a standing army of 200,000 men serving for twelve years, and the 1915 and 1916 classes will each be 350,000 men. Later, when the post-war classes are called up, they will probably be larger and the Army will total 1,000,000.

At one of the most important meetings hitherto of the new German Reichstag to be held during the Party Congress at Nuremberg from September 8 to 14, the chief item on the Agenda will be a legislation affecting the German youth.

It is believed that from a certain age upwards without distinction of class and education children will be taken from the hands of parents and the boys will receive a semi-military training, while girls will be trained in all kinds of home, agricultural and nursing work to make them fit mothers of the new German nation.—*Reuter.*

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan on the Communal Decision

On the 23rd August last a public reception was given at Bombay by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as the Frontier Gandhi. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred in feeling terms to the sacrifices made by the Khan.

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The Khan made an impassioned appeal to Mussalmans to give up their fight for communal gains but to fight for India's independence. He expressed the opinion that the Communal Award did not really benefit either Muslims or Hindus, but was a device to keep them divided. He would go to the extent of saying, it was the first duty of Mussalmans to win India's freedom and make a present of it to other communities.

As far as his province was concerned, it knew no difference between Hindus and Mussalmans and he is confident that they were not worried by the Communal Award. He hoped the Mussalmans throughout India would feel and think likewise and take a vow to win freedom for India.

Over twenty associations participated in the reception and garlanded the Khan individually.

Wanted A Republic in South Africa

PRETORIA, AUG. 23.

Nationalists could and must get a republic, declared Doctor Malan, addressing a meeting of two thousand persons. He outlined the necessary steps along constitutional lines as—

1. Abolition of the title "British Subject,"
2. Complete break with Imperial Conferences,
3. Refusal to attend Coronation of the King,
4. Abolition of imported Governor-General,
5. Substitution of a President for the King,
6. Head of the State to be elected in accordance with a new constitution by the people and responsible to the people only and not to the King, and
7. An act substituting "Elected President" in all national laws and statue books for "King."

Dr. Malan added that these steps had been adopted in Ireland which to-day was at the door of an independent republic.—*Reuter.*

State Aid for Universities

Mr. A. F. Rahman, Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, said in his speech at its last convocation that its authorities appreciated the financial difficulties of the Government but that they submitted that it was also a responsibility of the Government to maintain that institution at a certain level of efficiency. Mr. Rahman added :

"The Government of Bengal is concerned as vitally as are the authorities of the University with the objects for which this institution was created and we appeal to the Government to give us financial assistance to ensure a reasonable chance of their fulfilment."

The appeal was quite just and proper. Similar appeals may be rightly made for several other universities also.

Universities and their students get far more help in many other civilized countries than here. Take the case of Great Britain. Out of the 50,638 full-time students at the 16 British Universities, 3 University Colleges and 2 technical colleges in 1934-35, recognized for grants-in-aid, the total number of assisted students was 20,518, or approximately 42 per cent. These assisted students get scholarships, maintenance allowances or eleemosynary grants. What per cent of our university students get such help?

The result of the assistance received by universities and their students in the West is that a large proportion of the population go in for high education there. The following table shows the number of inhabitants per university student in some of these countries :

England	..	1013	Sweden	..	543
Italy	..	808	France	..	480
Wales	..	741	Scotland	..	473
Germany	..	604	Switzerland	..	387
Holland	..	579	U. S. A.	..	123

University education appears to be most widespread in the United States of America.

Unemployment and University Education

It appears that in these countries, including Great Britain, in spite of the large number of University students the percentage of unemployed graduates is comparatively small—perhaps because careers and avenues of employment are vastly more numerous and because foreigners have not got to be provided for. Still the University Grants Committee, originally appointed in Great Britain in 1919, has in its latest periodical report urged the importance of efficient appointment boards and increasing use of university graduates in local government. What are the Indian central and provincial governments doing? Devising new Communal Reward schemes ?

How Efficient Naval Officers Were Made

Some months ago Lord Strabolgi wrote in a British journal that

During the great war, when the British Government had to increase the officer ranks in the navy, they took in school boys, gave them a short intensive training on shore and sent them to sea as sea-going cadets and midshipmen. After a year or less afloat they were as efficient as, in some cases more efficient than, the highly cultured products of Osborne and Dartmouth Naval Colleges.

In India we are told in effect that we must be born again and again for centuries and undergo training at each birth before we can be efficient military or naval officers.

Congress Election Manifesto

The Congress election manifesto has been drawn up in such a way as to show that Congress members elected to the legislatures will work for the good of all the communities, classes, groups, to which voters belong. Perhaps for this reason there is no mention in it of

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what Congress will or will not, can or cannot do for the people of the Indian States, for they have no votes.

The manifesto lays the greatest stress upon winning independence for India and upon freeing the country from British domination and exploitation. Congress members are going to enter the legislatures not for co-operating with the Government but to combat the Government of India Act and seek to end it—"to carry out, in so far as it is possible, the Congress policy of the rejection of the Act and resist Britain in its attempts to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people." But Congress activity in the Legislatures will not, as it cannot, be confined to mere opposition and resistance and prevention of the further curtailment of the civic and other rights of the people. As Congress wants to tackle the problems of poverty, unemployment and indebtedness, it will have to go in for constructive work, too, in the Legislatures, so far as may be practicable.

The Congress manifesto holds out some hope to industrial workers. The improvement of their condition would require constructive legislation in many directions. The improvement of the condition of the peasantry also would require legislation relating to land tenure, land revenue and the like. The giving of protection to large industries with due regard for the producers of raw materials would also necessitate some legislation. The removal of sex disabilities cannot be effected, at least in some directions, without legislation.

If members of the legislatures belonging to the Congress party were to bring in Bills for the purposes indicated above, that would be working the Act and a kind of co-operation. When we say this we do not suggest that Congressmen should not work the Act and co-operate in this way. Our object is only to point out that the fulfilment of the promises implied in the manifesto would require some constructive work to be done in the legislatures —mere opposition and a negative sort of work will not do.

The manifesto leaves the question of the acceptance of office for decision after the elections are over. The strength of the Congress will not be the same in all the provincial legislatures, and perhaps the decision will depend to a great extent, if not entirely, on such strength. Will Congress then declare for acceptance of office in some provinces and for non-acceptance in others? If so, that would affect Congress solidarity injuriously and make Congressmen opportunists of the wrong kind, not men of principle.

Congress Manifesto on the Communal Decision

With regard to the Communal Decision the manifesto says, "the Congress attitude towards it has been misunderstood by some people." As it does not say who these "some people" are and what is their misconception, it cannot be definitely stated whether this remark is correct or not. But we think that they were not wrong who thought Congress was sitting on the fence.

The manifesto proceeds to state:

> The rejection in its entirety of the new Act by the Congress inevitably involves the rejection of the Communal Decision. Even apart from the Act as a whole, the Communal Decision is wholly unacceptable, as being inconsistent with independence and principles of democracy; it encourages fissiparous and disruptive tendencies and hinders normal growth and consideration of economic and social questions, is a barrier to national progress, and strikes at the root of Indian unity. No community or group in India profits by it in any real sense, for the larger injury caused by it to all outweighs the petty benefits some have received. Ultimately, it probably injures most those groups, whom it is meant to favour. The only party that profits by it is the third party, which rules and exploits us.
>
> The attitude of the Congress is, therefore, not one of indifference or neutrality. It disapproves strongly of the Communal Decision and would like to end it.

This is a decided improvement upon neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Decision. But how is it to be ended? By passivity, by refraining from directly attacking it? But let us quote the manifesto.

> But the Congress has repeatedly laid stress on the fact that a satisfactory solution of the communal question can come only through good-will and co-operation of the principal communities concerned. An attempt by one group to get some communal favour from the British Government, at the expense of another group, results in increasing communal tension and exploitation of both groups by the Government. Such policy would hardly be in keeping with the dignity of Indian nationalism; it does not fit in with the struggle for independence. It does not pay either party in the long run; it side-tracks the main issue.
>
> The Congress, therefore, holds that the right way to deal with the situation created by the Communal Decision is to intensify our struggle for independence and at the same time seek common basis for an agreed solution, which helps to strengthen the unity of India. The effort of one community only to change the decision, in the face of opposition of another community, might well result in confirming and consolidating that decision, for a conflict between the two will produce the very situation which gives the Government a chance of enforcing such a decision. The Congress thus is of the opinion that such one-sided agitation can bear no useful result. It is necessary to bear in mind that the whole communal problem, in spite of its importance, has nothing to do with the major problems of India—poverty and

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widespread unemployment. It is not a religious problem and it affects only a handful of people at the top. The peasantry, workers, traders and merchants and the lower middle class of all communities are in no way touched by it and their burdens remain.

Congress says it is against one-sided agitation. It ought rather to have said, it is against *all* agitation against the Communal Decision. For the agitation cannot but be one-sided. It must be agitation by those who are nationalists, including those who have been wronged by it. In the ranks of agitators against it there cannot be any of those whose selfish and party interests the Decision ostensibly promotes.

What then are those to do who have been hardest hit by the Decision, if others will not join in the agitation against it, if the all-sided Congress party will not agitate against it? Sit quiet and thus practically acquiesce in it? That would be suicidal. So the agitation has necessarily become 'one-sided.'

But let us assume that the agitation can be two-sided or many-sided. What has Congress done to make it so? It could have tried to make it so by saying that the Decision is anti-national and anti-democratic and thereby trying to secure the active support of true Muhammadan nationalists in the movement. No doubt, it may also be said against the Decision that it is unjust to the Hindus and discriminates against them. But Congress need not have taken, as it does not in the manifesto take, its stand on that fact.

Congress thinks that by ending the Act, by putting an end to British domination and by winning freedom, it will end the Communal Decision also. And it thinks it can do all this by a joint national front. But it does not or will not see that the Communal Decision has made a real joint national front practically impossible. The Congress has not got, cannot get, the co-operation of the vast majority of politically-minded Muhammadans in its struggle for freedom, because Government has convinced the Muhammadans that an Anglo-Moslem alliance is more advantageous to them than an alliance with the Congress. At the so-called Round Table Conference Mahatma Gandhi promised to agree to all the demands of the Moslems on the condition that they would join the Congress struggle for freedom. His offer was not accepted.

Congress leaders would do well to consider how many Muhammadans they have been able to retain in the rolls of Congress members, how many they have lost, and how many they have added to their ranks, as a result of the attitude of non-acceptance and non-rejection of the Decision. Muhammadans are not fools. They quite realized that Congress leaders thoroughly disliked the Decision and rejected it at heart, but kept up an attitude of non-acceptance and non-rejection simply to please them. This attitude has not pleased them. Only definite acceptance of it would have pleased them.

Why then set store by a make-believe, a fiction? Why not courageously assert, We reject the Communal Decision? That would be an acid test to find out who are the genuine nationalists among Muhammadans. We may be wrong, we do not want to be dogmatic. But we believe, if Congress had taken the first opportunity after the announcement of the Decision to condemn and "reject" it, the number of sincere adherents to the Congress cause, the cause of freedom, would not have been less than it is at present; and there would not have been what Congress calls a one-sided agitation against the Decision.

The manifesto says, no useful purpose would be served by one-sided agitation. But can it be denied that one useful purpose has been already served by it? It has compelled —let us say, induced—the Congress to make its position quite clear so far as enunciation of opinion is concerned, though so far as acting up to that theoretical opinion is concerned it chooses still to remain passive.

The manifesto wants an agreed solution. An agreed solution would remain an impossibility so long as the Congress cannot *actually* give (not merely promise to give) Muhammadans more than the British Government has given or can give. But Congress will not be able to outbid the Government so long as British domination lasts. Congress, however, believes that British domination cannot be terminated unless there is Hindu-Moslem Unity. But there cannot be Hindu-Moslem Unity so long as British imperialists are in a position to offer better substantial inducements than any Indian organization. So here is a vicious circle. We cannot say how this circle can be broken. But we believe in seeking the truth and, when found, following it in a straightforward manner.

Congress expects great things from a Constituent Assembly. It is not, however, within the range of practical politics. But should it somehow come into being, Muhammadan communalists, who are far larger in number and more influential than Muslim nationalists, would insist upon some arrangement like the Communal Decision before supporting the

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constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly. A constitution based upon anything like the Communal Decision would not be a nationalistic, democratic or representative constitution. It would, therefore, be undesirable.

This line of thought leads us nowhere. It makes for pessimism. The British people will not agree to India becoming free. Indians will not be able to win freedom for their country by themselves. No other nation will help them to do so. But though we cannot see or say how India will be free, we do not despair. On the contrary, we hope against hope.

The truth will make us free. The world order and world forces will make us free.

One-sided Agitation Against Communal Decision

Congress calls the agitation against the Communal Decision one-sided. Perhaps it is meant thereby that the agitation has been carried on only by Hindus. But when the Congress Nationalist party was formed, nationalists of all religious communities were invited to join it. In fact, one Muhammadan gentleman, Mr. Abdus Samad of Murshidabad, did join it. So, if the party consists entirely or almost entirely of Hindus, its leaders are not to blame.

Congress itself is not an 'all-sided' movement. It is mainly a Hindu and a middle-class movement. The land-holding class, industrial magnates, capitalists, hold aloof from it. Industrial workers and peasants are not adequately represented in it.

The Congress election manifesto contends in effect that the 'one-sided' agitation carried on against the Communal Decision has enabled Government to induce the Mussalmans to side with it. This is putting the cart before the horse. It is the Communal Decision, not the agitation against it, which has made the Moslems pro-Government. But let us assume the truth of the Congress assertion. Cannot a similar thing be said of Congress work also?

Owing to it, have not the bulk of the Mussalmans sided with the British rulers as against the Congress? Are not all the rulers of the Indian States, and the capitalists and landholders generally anti-Congress? Has Congress for that reason given up its fight against imperialism and exploitation? Why should then the opponents of the Communal Decision be expected to refrain from agitating against the Communal Decision simply because Mussalmans will not join the anti-'award' movement?

Individual and Organized Opposition

Babu Rajendraprasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are reported to have expressed the opinion that Congressmen are at liberty to agitate against the Communal Decision in their individual capacity, but they should not make or take part in any organized endeavour to get it altered or reversed. It may be suggested, therefore, that one opponent of the Decision should in each town and village call a meeting to protest against it, thousands or hundreds should attend the meeting in their individual capacity, and resolutions should be moved, seconded and supported by some persons in their individual capacity. In the legislatures, members should move resolutions against it in their individual capacity and other members should vote for the resolutions individually. Congress allows single combats. Let there be single combats galore then. In military campaigns, when fighting with large bodies of troops becomes impracticable guerrilla warfare has to be resorted to.

Bengal Hindu Conference

A conference of representative Hindus of Bengal was held in Calcutta on the 15th and 16th August last to "take stock of the new situation which confronts Hindus in consequence of the coming constitution." The editor of this Review having been asked to open the conference did so in a brief speech in Bengali. Professor Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji was chosen to preside over the meeting. He read his speech, which had been printed beforehand for the convenience of the audience and the press.

He first gave an account of the common woes of all Bengalis, irrespective of creed or caste, owing to Bengal having been artificially made "the poorest province in India, with proportionately the least revenue, and even her revenue resources renderded incapable of expansion."

> The Bengali to-day is the most heavily-taxed Indian who pays most to the State and gets the least from it. No wonder that every Bengali, Moslem or Hindu, is now losing to his brethren of other provinces in all walks of national life, cultural, economic and administrative. . . With a gross revenue exceeding 37 crores per annum, she has been dismissed with a revenue of only about 11 crores to feed 50 millions of her children. The revenue per head in Bengal is appallingly low, as compared with most other provinces.

Some of the causes of economic depression in Bengal were then referred to.

> World-forces have also conspired with domestic factors against Bengal's prosperity. The brunt of

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economic depression has laid low all her national key-industries on which that prosperity depends, *viz.*, Coal, Tea and Jute. Planned national economy alone can cope with the situation created by the planned economies of national governments all over the world. Along with Jute, Bengal's Agriculture is at its worst, with her dying rivers, with absence of schemes of river-training and control of floods, or of plans for opening up new sources of irrigation, on which provinces like the Punjab and Sind have been spending crores.

Bengalis have other grievances, too.

Bengal is robbed not merely of her revenue and the resources of recovery, she is also robbed of her territory. She has lost the best of her regions, some of her healthiest districts, rich mines, and prosperous plantations. She has also lost a sturdy population. Her loss is not merely material, but moral and cultural. Nearly four million Bengalis are now living as exiles, and discontented minorities, and have further caused to their mother-province a loss of annual revenue assessed at nearly two crores of rupees. The partition of Bengal still remains. His late Majesty the King-Emperor, while announcing its annulment, promised a well-considered solution of frontier problems. The Simon Commission also suggested a Boundaries Commission to settle these problems regarding boundaries. Orissa has seceded from Bihar as a linguistic and cultural unit. It is Bengal alone that must always lose. She cannot call back her exiled sons, nor claim the territories which are hers by both history and right.

Dr. Mookerji then devoted about half his address to a criticism of the Communal Decision. In the penultimate paragraph of his speech he says :

If separate electorate and representation is to be the order of the day, the Hindus do not fight shy of such separation if the Moslems insist on it. But they object to half-measures of separation, which are not good for either community. Separate electorate and separate representation are dictated by a sense of separate nationality. Separate electorate and separate representation do not go with a joint purse. If communities must separate at elections, and also in legislation and administration, they should separate with their purses too. Let the Hindus and Moslems frankly organize themselves as separate nationalities from top to bottom, each fostering its own national culture by its own resources. . . . Our communal differences can only be solved on the basis of a more thorough-going scheme and not mere convenient half-measures of separation.

The suggestion was intended perhaps only to make the Mussalmans realize the great advantage to them of a joint purse, of which the Hindus contribute nearly three-fourths. If the separation proposed were feasible and were carried out, Muhammadan Bengalis would find out how much they stood to lose by such an arrangement.

The president concluded with the hope that

the Hindu and Moslem will still be able to unite as nationals of the same State on the basis of a common citizenship on terms of equality and fraternity in every sphere of their common national life, with due regard for their separate cultural interests.

Which Party Talks Most

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said in the course of a speech at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay :

"Parties other than the Congress talk too much and promise to do a great many things, but experience has shown that they have always co-operated with British imperialism."

As Congress is admittedly the biggest party in India and consequently has both more talkers and silent workers than any other party, and as many of its members have all along during the last fifteen or sixteen years prevented many members of other parties from speaking in public, and as these parties have not returned the compliment, perhaps the championship in talking too much belongs to Congressmen.

As regards promise and performance, all political parties in all countries promise to do many things some of which they fail to do. It is not possible perhaps to ascertain whose failure is the greatest.

As for parties other than the Congress "always" co-operating with British imperialism, it must be observed that it is often very difficult to prove the correctness of sweeping statements.

Dr. Miss Kashibai Navrangé at the World Faiths Congress, London

Dr. Miss Kashibai Navrange, known in Bombay for her unostentatious philanthropic work, was a delegate to the World Faiths Congress, at London. Concluding her address there she said, in part :

Let us emphasize more on agreements than differences in Faith. Let us learn to walk by the spirit of our faith and not make too much of the letter that killeth. Let us appreciate the work that religion has achieved for humanity, and let us not treat lightly or speak contemptuously of religion as a relic of superstition and blind ignorance from the past. In truth religion alone will be the bond that will link nations into a Brotherhood of humanity for the relief of man and the greater glory of God. Universal religion, broadbased upon love, fellowship and service, will alone contribute to peace and good-will among mankind. It is the Brahma Samaj that has laid the foundation of such a faith.

Gandhiji's Abjuration of Politics

M. D. writes in *Harijan* that Mahatma Gandhi told a Chinese visitor :

"I am no authority on politics, and having retired from the Congress for two years now, I am a kind of a back number."

The Chinese visitor asked :

"But may it not be that you have retired to give

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the other people a chance, and in the conviction that, after they have had their chance, they are bound to come back to you?"

Gandhiji replied :

"That is not my way. I am a votary of truth. I meant it cent per cent when I retired from the Congress and the so-called politics of the country. My mind and body are buried in Segaon. What the future has in store for me God alone knows."

Segaon is the village where he lives.

Anglo-Egyptian Treaty Signed

LONDON, AUG. 26

The new Anglo-Egyptian Treaty was signed in the Locarno Room of the Foreign Office.

Mr. Eden said that the Treaty was the beginning of a new stage in the Anglo-Egyptian relations and was a pledge and instrument of future collaboration. Premier Nahas Pasha described the Treaty as a symbol for Britain and Egypt to show themselves to the world as two equal and friendly countries.—*Reuter.*

Supply of Electricity and Transport Service in Calcutta

The Calcutta Corporation has by a majority of votes decided to undertake the supply of electricity to the public and also to undertake tramway and other transport service as opportunity arises. Of course, there were objectors. They should read the excellent City of Birmingham Handbook for 1936, pp. 271-286, for illustrated accounts of that city's electricity and transport departments. Objectors say the affairs of our Corporation are mismanaged. But they are better managed now than when the Europeans ruled the roast, and it is for the citizens to ensure continuous improvement.

Cultural Empire of India

Dr. James H. Cousins, educationist, poet and art critic, said in the course of a lecture at Trivandrum last month :

"In extent, the cultural empire of India has had no equal in human history. In quality, effectiveness and persistence of its influence, the nearest parallel is classical Greece, that has moulded occidental culture for many centuries."

Stalin's Grave Warning to Russians

An exclusive telegram from *The Statesman*'s correspondent, dated London, August 26, states that Stalin, the Soviet dictator, has issued a grave warning to the people of Russia to be ready to lay down their lives. He is reported to have said :

"We are on the very eve of momentous events. At any moment you may be called upon to lay down your lives in defence of the proletariat and the land of your birth. The enemies are getting into position, so be ready."

Who are the enemics?—Germans? Japanese? or both?

Viceroy Pushing Forward Federal Scheme

SIMLA. AUG. 22

In pursuance of his recent pronouncement that the interval between the initiation of provincial autonomy and the advent of the federal scheme cannot in the nature of things be a long one, the Viceroy has taken certain important decisions to push on his scheme.

His Excellency has sent a personal letter giving details of his procedure to all Rulers with a salute of nine guns and above who exercise ruling powers in their States and has further decided to facilitate the task of the Rulers in reaching a decision to send special representatives of his own to various Rulers concerned on a special mission bearing instruments framed by him personally.—*A. P. I.*

The Princes are expected to join the Federation voluntarily. Perhaps their volition requires stimulation.

Devastating Floods in Northern India

There have been destructive floods in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Panjab, Bihar, Bengal and Assam. There has been some loss of life, great damage to crops and extensive destruction of other property and untold suffering caused to hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants of the flooded areas. We can only extend our sincere sympathy to the sufferers.

Petitioning and Petitioning

The Bengal memorialists' memorial to the Secretary of State for the purpose of getting the Communal Decision, so far as it relates to Bengal, altered in some directions, has led some Congressmen and others to make remarks which indicate that they consider memorializing and petitioning humiliating. To petition for any personal *favour* or *favour* for a group or *favour* for the nation is certainly humiliating. But is any request for a thing to which a person or a party or a group or a nation is justly entitled in law and equity—is that humiliating? Does it involve loss of self-respect?

To make even a just and lawful request to any foreigner or Indian who occupies a seat of authority by virtue of any law or constitution framed by foreigners, or to any court or legislature or other body constituted by foreign authority, cannot but be considered humiliating by those who, in their struggle for independence, have adopted the attitude of disobedience, civil or non-civil. But when there is no civil or non-civil disobedience—and particularly for those who have not taken part in any civil disobedience, is it inconsistent with a proper sense of self-respect to address a request—it does not matter whether it is called a petition, a representation, a memorial, or a protest—to some constituted authority for something to which one is legally and justly entitled? Lawyers submit petitions to law-courts for redress, on behalf of their clients or themselves. Members of legislatures ask for permission to introduce bills, to move substantive resolutions and amendments, and to ask questions. Are

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these requests humiliating? If they are not, on the ground that such requests are just and permitted by the law, why should the memorial of Bengal Hindus in particular be considered humiliating in spite of the fact that it does not ask for any favour but wants something which is provided for in the Government of India Act, 1935? Not a single Bengal memorialist felt or feels proud of having had to address a request to a foreign authority, any more than the most or least liberty-loving Congressman outside Bengal feels proud of having to live under foreign rule.

Background of the Spanish Civil War

Widespread poverty, illiteracy and ignorance among the masses have, not unoften, been the precursors or pre-disposing causes of revolutions in many countries. Such has been the condition of Spain, too.

According to *The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today,* by G. D. H. Cole and M. I. Cole, though Spain is not very much smaller than France and substantially larger than post-war Germany, in population she is much behind the other great States of Western Europe.

"For she has only between 23 and 24 million inhabitants as against over 40 millions in France and 67 millions in Germany. This thinness of population is accounted for partly by the undeveloped character not only of Spanish industry, but also of the methods of agricultural production. But these are closely connected with the nature of the country itself.—P. 315.

The authors of the book add :

". . . hitherto both the forms of government and the systems of land tenure have been exceedingly unfavourable to economic improvement. Huge tracts of land were, until the Revolution of 1931, and for the most part are still, in the possession of great landowners, who feel small incentive to provide for any improvement in their cultivation. The masses of the peasantry are ignorant, living at a very low standard of life, and entirely shut off from the means of learning how to improve their agricultural methods; and successive Governments, though they have made from time to time sporadic attempts at educational reform and at capital expenditure on improving the use of the land, have until the coming of the Revolution of 1931 achieved practically nothing either to educate the peasant population, or to help it improve its standard of life. Since 1931 the revolutionary Governments, based on coalition between the Socialists and the *bourgeois* Republican parties, have began seriously to introduce a general system of education and to set on foot schemes of agricultural improvement. But there has been no time as yet for these reforms to become effective; . . . The Agrarian Law which forms the basis of the Republic's attempt to tackle the land problem was only passed in September 1932; and the process of actual redistribution of the land is barely more than begun today, and has not been applied at all in many districts." Pp. 315-316.

The Indian public should take note of what is said above about the peasantry and the landowners of Spain.

The authors then proceed to describe the effects of the world depression.

"In the meantime the peasants in Spain as elsewhere have suffered seriously from the effects of the world depression; for Spanish exports, which consist mainly of agricultural products, have fallen heavily in price, and the instability of the Spanish currency has added to the difficulties of the agricultural population in purchasing imported industrial goods. Under any circumstances Spain would be today an exceedingly poor country; but her poverty is the greater and the difficulties of the new Republic are gravely aggravated by the co-existence of the world crisis with the attempt to set the new Republic firmly on its feet."—P.316.

For fuller information readers may turn to the book from which we have quoted passages above, which was published in September, 1933. The extract from the *New Republic,* given in the Foreign Periodicals section in our present issue, contain recent history.

China's Problem

The People's Tribune of Shanghai, dated August 1, 1936, writes :

Now that the most serious phase of the crisis in the South is past, and the differences between Nanking and Canton happily disposed of without an actual clash of arms, China is at peace again—but not with all the world. There still remains the great problem which, until it is satisfactorily disposed of, makes it impossible for China to feel at peace even though there be no actual fighting going on. . . . Undoubtedly Sino-Japanese relations should be fundamentally readjusted, said Mr. Arita, the Japanese Foreign Minister, "but inasmuch as the task involved immense difficulties, it could not be accomplished without time and patience." Japan's Foreign Minister said "he had been striving to attain that goal," and he fully endorsed the Chinese view that a satisfactory readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations could only be achieved "on the basis of mutual respect and equality," adding that he was "also convinced that only so can friendship be established." Mr. Arita agreed "that a powerful Central Government in China would be a favourable factor in facilitating future Sino-Japanese relations."

"Falling Birth-rate : A Warning"

Under the above caption *The Inquirer* of London has published an informative and interesting article. Its first paragraph contains the statement :

Nearly all European countries are showing a fall in the birth-rate which constitutes a growing danger to the survival of the white races. Moreover, the true state of affairs is disguised by an abnormal distribution of the populations according to age. The statistics for a number of European countries reveal that although there is an apparent surplus of births over deaths, in reality the number of births is no longer sufficient to maintain the population in the long run at its present total. Statistics from the different countries show a decreasing birth-rate from the South East to the North West, with a pronounced depression over Great Britain and Scandinavia.

This "growing danger to the survival of the white races" is due mainly to the use of contraceptives.

The last sentence of the article runs :

Germany is striving to be not only the first country to show a rise in the birth-rate, but is also placing the promotion of hereditarily healthy families in the forefront of the measures undertaken for the welfare and preservation of the population.

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Russia does not suffer from low or falling birth-rate. She has a high birth-rate. But, not satisfied with that, the Soviet Union intends to bring about an indefinite increase in its population.

It has passed a bill according to which the mother of seven children will receive 2,000 roubles a year for five years and a like sum for each child in excess of seven. On the birth of an eleventh child the mother will receive 5,000 roubles and 3,000 roubles annually for four years and like amounts for each subsequent child. The policy of the Soviet Government, according to the chairman of the Government Planning Commission, is to plan for a population of not less 300,000,000 in 1975.

On January 1, 1933, the population of Soviet Russia was estimated at 165,748,000.

Different countries of Europe convey warnings to and have lessons for India.

Brahmo Samaj Exhibition

The Amrita Bazar Patrika writes :

The Exhibition relating to the history of the Brahmo movement was opened by Lady Bose at 4-30 P.M. on Saturday the 22nd August last in the Sivanath Memorial Hall, 211/1, Cornwallis St. The Ceremony began with a short prayer offered by Sj. Satish Chandra Chakraverty. Mr. Monindra Nath Nandi, the joint secretary of the Bhadrotsav Committee and the organizing Secretary of the Exhibition, read out his report in which he briefly explained the purposes for which the Exhibition was opened.

In order that the attention of the younger generation may be focussed on the achievements of Brahmo Samaj either in the shape of the deeds of the great men or their lives or their thoughts and that a nucleus for the creation of a Museum be formed, this present exhibition was organized. He exhorted the Brahmo public to take full advantage of it.

Lady Bose, the president of the ceremony, emphasized the usefulness of such Exhibition and she pointed out the necessity of creating a Brahmo Samaj Museum. She narrated some of her experiences regarding Exhibitions and Museums in the West and hoped that full utilization will be made of the exhibition and its educative value realized.

The exhibition contained some old paintings and many photographs of Brahmo leaders, some idealistic pictures, photographs of Brahmo house of worship, rare books and first editions of books in many languages, some original letters written by some prominent Brahmos, relics and books of Rammohun Roy lent by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, old files of Brahmo newspapers and periodicals, a map of Bengal showing the work done among backward classes, a map of India showing the places where there are Brahmo Samajes, four charts showing institutions under Brahmo management throughout India, and many other charts and objects of interest.

Teaching of Religion in Schools

While schools maintained by any religious community solely for its own children may teach its own religion to the pupils, no school which is maintained by Government or aided by Government and attended by pupils of different religious communities should teach any religion. That has been and is our opinion. A similar view of the question has been taken by Mr. Ernest Thurtle, M.P., in *The Literary Guide*. Some extracts from his article are given below.

What should be the attitude of the State towards the teaching of religion in the schools? My answer is that this attitude should be one of strict impartiality and this can best be carried out by the State refraining from accepting any responsibility for the teaching of religion either directly or indirectly. The nation, as we know, is made up of citizens who subscribe to varying forms of religious belief, and of those who have no religion at all.

Faced with such a variety of belief and unbelief the State, if it wishes to maintain an attitude of impartiality —and no other attitude would seem to meet the facts of the case—must either take steps to instruct all children in the kind of religion desired by their parents, or, alternatively refrain from teaching any religion at all. It is obvious that there is no body of doctrine or belief common to every variety of religion which could be taught by the State without offending the susceptibilities of many parents.

The truth of this matter was set forth a long time ago by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. He said : "There are only two ways of settling this question. One is that the State should pay for no religious teaching, and the other is that the State should pay for all religious teaching." And it is interesting to recall that the support of that clear-headed statesman was always given to the first solution—namely, that the teaching of the State should be confined to secular subjects.

Now the way out of the difficulty suggested by Mr. Chamberlain so long ago is what is known as the *Secular Solution*, and the more it is examined the more does its essential fairness and logical soundness become apparent. It is this policy which is advocated by the Secular Education League. The basis of it is insistence upon the fact that religious teaching is a matter with which the State, as such, should have nothing to do. To prevent misunderstanding, let me add that the word "secular" used in this sense denotes no particular school of thought and has no anti-religious meaning.

The plain fact is that the State cannot in practice, become a "Universal Provider" of religious teaching without doing grave injury to the cause of real education and serious harm to the ideal of a unified nation. A policy of exclusive separatism is, as pregnant with evil in the field of national education as it is in the field of international politics.

The last paragraph quoted above should receive particular attention.

Appeal for Help for Famine Relief in Bankura

We appeal once again to our kind-hearted compatriots, wherever they may be, and to other generous persons, for help to relieve the distress caused by famine in many districts in Bengal.

Those who wish to help the Bankura Sammilani in its famine relief work in the district of Bankura may send their contributions to any one of the persons named below.

1. Ramananda Chatterjee, President of the Bankura Sammilani, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

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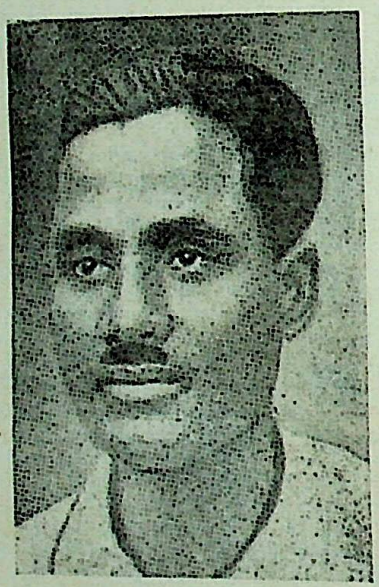
2. Rishindranath Sarkar, Secretary, 20B, Sankharitola East, Calcutta.

3. Bejoykumar Bhattacharya, Treasurer, 3, Bhawani Dutt Lane, Calcutta.

4. **(Cloth and rice to be sent direct to)** Dr. R. Banerji, Superintendent, Bankura Sammilani Medical School, Bankura, B. N. Ry.

Championship of India in Hockey

For the third time in succession India has established her world championship in hockey in the Olympic Games. In the recent Olympic Games in Berlin the Indian team defeated the Japanese, French and German teams in succession. Without meaning any disparagement to the other players, credit should be given in great part to Dhyan Chand, India's leading hockey player, for this achievement.



Dhyan Chand

Hanuman Vyayam Mandal in Berlin

The Statesman writes :

Less attention has been paid than it deserves to the visit to Berlin of a group of 24 Indian athletes from the Hanuman Vyayam Prasarak Mandal of Amraoti. Their visit was in connexion with the International Sports Students Congress held in conjunction with the Olympic Games and they were among the most striking and admired of the 31 delegations at the Congress. It is not too much to say that they brought great credit to this country, more so than the small group of athletes who failed even to pass the preliminary tests at the Games. The Indians, looking very smart in their dark blue blazers and blue and saffron turbans, gave demonstrations of Indian games that even in this country are seldom seen and which were quite novel and greatly appreciated by those who saw them. Their displays of Ha-du-du, Malkhamb, Lezim, Kho Kho, Atya Patya, their feats of Yogic physical culture, their Indian club drill and old-time fencing were highly praised by the many professors of physical culture as well as by those lay spectators who could not but admire the rhythmic beauty with which the displays were carried out. Films were taken of several of the games and both Ha-du-du and Lezim were eagerly taken up by the delegates of many other nations. Nor did the activities of the Indians end here. At one of the evening camp entertainments they sang Rabindra Nath Tagore's song "Ekla Chalo Re" so impressively that they were invited to sing this on the opening night of the Olympiad before a crowd of 200,000 people at the Stadium. Taken altogether, the visit of the Indian delegation was a great success, and, as London and Paris are to be visited before they return to India, we shall perhaps hear more of these quaint Indian games.

Provisions of the New Anglo-Egyptian Treaty

According to *Reuter*, the provisions of the new Anglo-Egyptian Treaty are, briefly, as follows :

LONDON, AUG. 27

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, which was signed here yesterday, terminates military occupation and establishes an Anglo-Egyptian alliance which will continue for 20 years whereafter it will be subject to a revision by an agreement on the request of either party.

The negotiations for revision may be begun after a decade if both parties so wish it.

Any revision must provide continuation of the alliance in accordance with the principles of the present Treaty, namely, that neither party should adopt an attitude or conclude a treaty inconsistent with the alliance, but consult each other with a view to a peaceful settlement of any dispute with a third State threatening the risk of a rupture.

WARTIME MEASURES

In the event of either party being engaged in war, the other will come to its aid as an ally, subject to its obligations under the Covenant of the League or the Pact of Paris.

In the event of war, imminent menace of war or apprehended international emergency, Egypt will accord all facilities to the United Kingdom, including the use of Egyptian ports, aerodromes, means of communication and all necessary administrative and legislative measures, including the establishment of martial law, also facilities for sending British forces.

SUEZ CANAL DEFENCE

With a view to ensuring the defence of the Suez Canal the United Kingdom is authorized to maintain the canal zone forces not exceeding 10,000 land forces and air forces not exceeding 400 pilots until the two parties agree that the Egyptian Army are capable of ensuring proper and entire security for the navigation of the Canal, but these numbers may be increased in the event of an international emergency.—*Reuter.*

Data for Cattle Policy

SIMLA, AUG. 26

As part of the "better cattle" campaign inaugurated by His Excellency the Viceroy, a rapid survey is contemplated of seven typical areas in different parts of India, where a distinct type of cattle predominates, to ascertain the actual position as to the amount of land under fodder production, the number of animals maintained, and the amount of milk and dairy products produced and consumed or disposed of, and a questionnaire has been drawn up for this purpose. The amount of milk obtained from buffaloes and goats will also be recorded.

It may be noted in this connection that an All-India Agricultural and Cattle Improvement Society has been established in Calcutta with Sir Nalini Ranjan Chatterjee, Ex-Judge, Calcutta High Court, as its president.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY MANIK CHANDRA DAS, PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA

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THE VILLAGE MAIDEN

By Basudev Roy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1936

VOL. LX., No. 4 WHOLE No. 358

FALSE HOPES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN I arrived in Darjeeling the hills were enveloped in a dense mist of dripping cloud. I hardly felt inclined to stir out; I felt even less inclined to stay in. So, after lunch, I sauntered forth from my hotel, protected by a mackintosh and a pair of thick boots.

It had stopped drizzling, but nothing was to be seen on any side except a smudge of mist, as though the Rain-god had been rubbing out the landscape. I strolled along, pacing to and fro on the Calcutta Road, feeling thoroughly upset at this enforced sojourn in impalpable cloudland, pining for the touch of Mother Earth with her manifold charm of colour and sound, longing to cling to her with all my five senses.

Of a sudden I became aware of an indistinct sound, like a woman crying. In this world of grief and sorrow, there was nothing so strange about this and, elsewhere, I might not have given it a second thought; but, surrounded by this illimitable vagueness, it somehow seemed to me to voice the very plaint of the world that had been obliterated, and I could not treat it cavalierly.

I followed the direction of the sound, to come upon a woman garbed in an ascetic's ochre robe, her tawny, matted locks drawn up in a knot over her head, seated on a slab of stone by the roadside, sobbing softly to herself. Her's did not seem a recent sorrow, but rather the deep-seated desolation of a wearied soul, welling up at length in the privacy behind this curtain of cloud.

Like the beginning of a regular romance, thought I. A *sanyasini* weeping on a mountain top, is a sight I never expected to see with these eyes of mine. I could not make out to what province she belonged; so, availing myself of the kindly Hindustani language, I inquired: "What is the matter?"

She gave me, through the mist, a glance out of her tear-laden eyes, but said nothing.

"Have no fear of me," I assured her. "I am a gentleman."

At which, with a little laugh, she said in the purest Urdu: "I have long ceased to know what fear is, nor have I any shame left. There was a time, Babu-ji, when to enter the seclusion of my apartments, my own brother would have had to take permission. To-day I stand unveiled before the world."

At first I felt rather annoyed. Accoutred in correct Anglo-Indian fashion as I was, what business had the wretched woman to take me for a Babu? Let the story end here, I resolved. I decided to depart in wounded dignity, like a lordly locomotive, puffing out cigarette smoke. But my curiosity got the better of me. I stiffened my neck, as I asked with condescending hauteur: "Where are you from? Do you want any help of me?"

She fixed a calm gaze on my face for a while, and then came out with: "I am the daughter of Nawab Gholam Kader Khan, of Badraon."

Never had I heard of any place called Badraon, or known of any Nawab named Gholam Kader Khan; what kind of misfortune could have made the daughter of such far-distant Nawab sit weeping by a Darjeeling road, dressed as a Hindu ascetic, I had not the least notion; nor was I prepared to believe all

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this. But, thought I, let me not spoil the story; it is getting interesting.

With a profound *salaam*, I said with becoming gravity: "I beg you will forgive me, Bibi-saheb, for being unable to recognise you."

Of course there were a thousand and one reasons sufficing to excuse this inability; for one thing, I had never seen her before; for another, one could hardly recognise one's own limbs in that confounded mist. Anyhow, she appeared to extend her indulgence to me, obviously mollified, as she motioned me to another stone near by, saying: "Be seated, please."

She evidently knew how to command. And I must confess to being elated with a sense of high honour at this gracious permission to sit on that damp, knobby, slippery stone, in the august presence of Nur-un-nesa, or Meher-un-nesa, or perhaps Nur-ul-mulk,—whatever her name might have been,—the daughter of the Nawab of Badraon! So magnificent a finish I could not have dreamt of when starting out from the hotel.

I pursued my inquiry, after I had gingerly assumed a sitting posture: "May I be told, Bibi-saheb, what has brought you to this pass?"

She struck her forehead, the seat of fate, with the palm of her hand. "How am I to know," said she, "who brings about these things?—Who has allowed this flimsy vapour to wipe out the whole expanse of these ponderous Himalayas?"

"Quite so, quite so," I hastened to agree. "Worms that we are, 'tis not for us to question the decrees of Fate."

I would not have let the Bibi-saheb off so lightly, but for the difficulty that my Hindustani, picked up from up-country servants, was utterly unequal to a philosophical discussion on destiny and free will, couched in polite language fit for the delicate ears of the daughter of a Nawab,—as her own polished phrases made me only too painfully realise.

Said the Bibi-saheb: "The strange story of my life has come to an end this very day, here, in this same Darjeeling. Should it be your pleasure, I will tell you of it."

"My pleasure!" I protested. "If you be pleased to condescend so far, it would pour balm on the ears of your anxious servant."

Let it not be imagined that I actually said all this. It must be taken as what I struggled, but miserably failed, to express. When the Nawab's daughter spoke, it seemed like emerald fields of ripening corn gently waving in the morning breeze; while I, like a clumsy barbarian, replied brokenly, with crude, disjointed words, lacking in the most elementary forms of common courtesy.

She began her story. "In the veins of my father's people flowed the blood of the Moghal Emperors. So high was our lineage, it proved difficult, when I came of age, to find a suitable bridegroom for me. At length, when my father was considering a proposal for my hand on behalf of the Nawab of Lucknow, the sepoy people broke out in mutiny against their English masters, and all Hindustan was darkened with the smoke of gunfire."

This was the first time I had ever heard high-flown Urdu spoken by a woman, a cultured woman, and it was borne in upon me, that this was indeed a language fit for the Nawabs and Amirs of old, but hardly in keeping with these days of railways, telegraphs and bustling business. As it flowed from the Bibi-saheb's lips, it conjured up for me towering marble palaces, gaily-bedecked prancing steeds with flowing manes and tails, stately elephants bearing richly decorated *howdahs*, streets gay with the many-coloured turbans, the gold-worked curly-nosed shoes of the citizens and the flashing curved scimitars of the soldiers,—an ample leisure, flowing robes, endless ceremonial etiquette.

The Nawab's daughter continued her narrative. "Our fort was on the bank of the Jumna. The captain of our forces was a Hindu Brahmin. His name was Kesharlal."

Into that name, Kesharlal, she seemed to pour out, in one moment, all the music that is stored in a woman's voice. I settled myself down on my stone seat and sat up straight, all attention, letting my walking stick slide to the ground.

"Kesharlal was a devout Hindu. Every morning, at dawn, I used to look on him, through my little window, taking a purificatory immersion, standing in the water of the Jumna up to his breast, his joined hands uplifted in salutation to the rising sun. He would then finish his prayers, seated on the upper bathing steps in his wet clothes, before he wended his way home, singing hymns of praise.

—"Born though I was in a Muslim family, I had never heard a word about our own religion, nor was I taught to go through its devotional practices; for, all around me, reigned license, dissipation and self-indulgence. But, perhaps because God had endowed me with a natural bent for religion, or for some other reason I cannot divine, these daily devotions of Kesharlal, on the alabaster steps leading down to the tranquil, blue waters of the Jumna, amidst the

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peace of the dawn of the first rays of the sun, filled my freshly awakened mind with an unutterable, overflowing worship. The slim, youthful, fair-complexioned figure of Kesharlal seemed to me like a pure-burning, smokeless flame. The religious fervour of the Hindu youth melted the untutored mind of the Muslim girl in an ecstacy of devotion.

—"I had for companion a Hindu slave-girl of my own age. She used to go forth each morning to do him reverence, taking the dust of his feet as he rose from his prayers to walk homewards,—a sight that gave me joy, and also made me jealous. On Hindu festival days, this girl would invite Brahmins and tender them ceremonial gifts. I once asked her to invite Kesharlal, offering to give her the money for some present worthy of him. But she bit the end of her tongue,—a gesture dismissing this profane suggestion. 'He never demeans himself by accepting ceremonial offerings,' she said.

—"Thus deprived of any way of showing my reverence, directly or indirectly, my heart's hunger remained unsatisfied. One of my ancestors had married a captive Brahmin maiden. It was her blood I felt coursing through my veins, as I spent my days in the seclusion of our *zenana;* and the thought of this blood connexion with Kesharlal gave me some relief.

—"From my companion I learnt all about the Hindu religion,—its gods and goddesses, its social rules and customs; and repeatedly heard wonderful stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata; till my mind was filled with the picture of a glorious Hindu world,—its gorgeous images; its rich variety of worship with conch-blast, gong and bell, lamps and flowers and incense; the magical powers of its *Sanyasins;* the superhuman austerity of its Brahmins; the marvellous deeds of its god-men, the *Avatars,*—seeming to me like the enchanted castle of some fairy tale, through the vaulted chambers of which my soul flitted about, like a bird that had lost its nest.

—"Then broke out the Sepoy Mutiny, and its disturbing waves dashed into our fort, invading our very *zenana.* 'Now is the time,' declared Kesharlal, 'to get rid of these foul-feeding White-skins; afterwards it will be for us Hindus and Muslims, to have a great gamble for place and power in this Hindustan of ours!'

—"But my father, the Khan-saheb, was a cautious man. Delivering himself of a string of uncomplimentary epithets against the white-skinned usurpers, he said: 'There is nothing on earth these people cannot do. It is not possible for us of Hindustan to cope with them. I will not risk my little kingdom in the vain hope of uncertain possibilities, by joining the insurgents.'

—"At a time when the blood of all Hindustan was boiling, this cool, calculating attitude of my father revolted us all. Even my mother and step-mothers, the Begums, became restive.

—"Thereupon Kesharlal turned up at the head of his troops, and said to my father: 'Look here, Nawab-saheb, if you refuse to join us, you will be a prisoner in your room till the business is done. Meanwhile I shall take charge of this fort.'—'Oh nonsense,' laughed my father. 'No drastic measures for me! I am with you right enough.'—'I shall require money from the treasury,' said Kesharlal.—My father handed him a trifle, as he promised: 'I will pay out more as it is actually needed.'

—"I had a profusion of valuable ornaments for every part of my body, from the crown of my head to the tips of my toes. I made a bundle of these and sent them by the hand of the slave-girl to Kesharlal. He was pleased to accept them; and every one of my limbs, thus bared of adornment, tingled with gladness.

—"Kesharlal was busy cleaning up the rusted swords and firearms stored in the fort, when suddenly one afternoon the English commander of the district marched in with his red-coats, covering the whole place with the dust they raised.—My father had betrayed his followers!

—"Kesharlal had such wonderful influence over our men, they all resolved to die fighting. As for me, to stay on under my treacherous father's roof would have been like living in hell. My heart was bursting with sorrow, shame and repugnance, but never a tear escaped my eyes. I left the fort, dressed in the clothes of my coward of a brother, there being none in that uproar to pay heed to my doings.

—"The dust and smoke, the cracking of the guns and the cries of the combatants, filling earth and sky, had subsided into the dread stillness of death. The sun had set, reddening the water of the Jumna with the colour of blood. And the moon, nearly at its full, now shone over the scene.

—"At any other time, my heart would have been racked with grief and compassion at the ghastly sights that met my eyes. But I wandered round and round the battle field, like one walking in sleep, looking for Kesharlal,—so full of this one object that everything else became trivial. I sought and sought, till at last, near midnight, the bright moonlight revealed

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two figures lying side by side, in a mango grove by the river: one was Kesharlal, the other his devoted lieutenant, Deoki. They must have dragged themselves, wounded to death, to breathe their last in this secluded spot.

—"The first thing I did was to allay the pangs of my long unsatisfied reverence, by letting down my hair and wiping with it the grime off his feet. The coolness of his lotus-feet I then placed against my fevered brow, and as I kissed them, my pent-up tears at last streamed forth. Whereupon a slight tremor passed through Kesharlal's body, and a feeble moan escaped his lips. I released his feet with a start, and heard him try to articulate, with closed eyes: 'Water!'

—"Off I rushed to the river, and returned with my saturated scarf, which I wrung over his parted lips. I then cleansed and bandaged the wound which had nearly destroyed one of his eyes. Fetching another supply I assiduously bathed his face and neck, till Kesharlal gradually regained consciousness.

—"'Shall I bring you more water?' I asked.—'Who are you?' he inquired.—'Your humble devotee,' I replied, and could not help adding: 'daughter of the Nawab, Gholam Kader Khan.' It had been my hope, that on this, his last journey, Kesharlal would carry with him my offering of devotion, and I would be left with a joy of which none could ever deprive me.

—"But he sat up with a violent effort, crying: 'Begone! Infidel daughter of a faithless father. Dare you defile my caste at the moment of death?' and dealt me a blow between the eyes, making me reel back, almost fainting."

"The beast!" I ejaculated.

My unsmoked cigarette remained clutched between my fingers, as I had been tensely listening, with no word, not a movement of interruption. At this point I was unable to contain myself.

"Who is a beast?" flared up the Nawab's daughter. "Does a beast refuse water in the agony of death?"

"I beg your pardon," I apologised. "I meant to say 'divinity'."

"What divinity?" she exclaimed again. "Does a divinity reject a devotee's heart-felt worship?"

"Quite so, quite so," I was reduced to mutter, as I relapsed into silence.

The Bibi-saheb went on with her story. "At first I felt hurt to the very core. It seemed as if the heavens and all the world had crashed over my head. The next moment, however, I came to my senses, and saluted from a distance this embodiment of Brahminhood, saying within myself: 'O purest of the pure! You accept nothing from outside, neither the service of the undeserving, nor the largesse of the self-seeking, nor the love of woman. Aloof, ever unsullied, unapproachably distant!—unworthy am I even as a sacrifice for such as you.'

—"What Kesharlal thought, to see the Nawab's daughter make him the obeisance of the eight-fold prostration, I know not, for his features remained expressionless. He impassively looked on my face; then he made a shift to rise. I hurriedly took a step forward to offer him a helping hand, but he ignored my gesture. Struggling up, somehow, unaided, he tottered off to the bathing steps. There a small ferry-boat was tied to its post. Into this he managed to clamber and, loosing the rope, to push it out into the current.

—"The boat floated away with him, slowly fading into the distance, till it passed out of my sight. How my whole being yearned and strained to dedicate the burden of its heart, the burden of its youth, the burden of its unclaimed worship, in one last salutation to him who had thus vanished into the unknown; and then, in the stillness of this night of nights, to merge its frustrated life, like a flower untimely plucked from its stem, in the limpid depths of the Jumna, swooning under the caress of the moonlight!... But I could not. That frail bark with its frail burden, invisibly borne along the unruffled stream, called me away from the longed-for embrace of death, back to life."

Here her words came to a stop, as she went off into a reverie. I did not disturb her.

After a time the Nawab's daughter broke the silence. "In these last few days," said she, "I have learnt that there is nothing impossible for man, nothing of which man is incapable.

—"You might think, Babu-ji, that for a girl who had never left her own chamber, the outside world would prove too difficult. But there you would be wrong. Once out in the open, a way is always to be found,—not the way of the nawabs, but along which men have gone on for ever; beset with every kind of obstacle of joy and sorrow, endlessly complicated with diverging branches of every variety, but nevertheless a way. How the Nawab's daughter trod it, all by herself; the buffetings of sorrow, travail and contumely she encountered, and yet desisted not from her quest,—the story of all this is a tangled skein, which would hardly

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interest you even if I tried to straighten it out, nor am I in the mood to attempt it.

—"I was all the time on fire. And, like a rocket, the more I burned, the farther I sped. While I was speeding I did not feel the burning. To-day the brilliant flame of that supreme striving, with its depths of sorrow, its heights of joy, has been quenched, dropping me here on the roadside, spent and lifeless. My journey is ended; and with it my story."

Here she stopped again. But I inwardly shook my head. No, thought I, here this story cannot have its end. So, after allowing her a short pause, I ventured: "If you will excuse this impertinence, Bibi-saheb, your servant's distress of mind would be greatly relieved if he be told the end of the story a little more clearly."

The Nawab's daughter laughed. My broken Hindustani, I could see, had its effect. Had my diction been faultless, she could never have come to the point of baring the secret of her heart. But my unfamiliarity with her mother-tongue served as a screen between us.

She took up the thread of her narrative. "I used to get news of Kesharlal every now and then, but could never manage to get within sight of him. He was skirmishing about with the insurgents, now here now there, making thunderous onslaughts, disappearing like a streak of lightning.

—"I dressed myself as a Hindu neophyte, and took initiation from Swami Shivanand of Benares. News from all over the country found its way to his feet, and there I sat, reverently receiving his instruction in Hindu *shastric* lore, while also anxiously gathering news of the mutiny, till at length I learnt of its being stamped out under the heels of the conquering English. The brave leading spirits, of whose gallant deeds tidings had been reaching us in flashes, receded into the limbo of darkness. And nothing further was heard of Kesharlal.

—"I could bear it no longer. I left Benares and took the road again. From shrine to shrine, from temple to temple I wandered, but could find no trace of Kesharlal. Some who knew him by reputation said he must have been killed, either on the battle field, or by his captors. But my heart said: 'Never! Kesharlal cannot die. The flame of Brahminhood cannot go out. He must be waiting, in some unknown, inaccessible place, for the consummation of my self-immolation.'

—"We are told in the Hindu scriptures of Sudras becoming Brahmins; true, there is no mention of Muslims becoming Brahmins, but that is simply because then there were no Muslims. I knew that it would take long before I could be united with Kesharlal, because before that I would have to attain Brahminhood. And in that endeavour, one by one, uncounted years passed by. At length, within and without, in word and thought, in feeling and action, a Brahmin I became, justifying the blood of the Brahmin ancestress which flowed in my veins. And established, at length, in the status of that first Brahmin of the beginning of my youth, that last Brahmin of the end of my youth, that only Brahmin for me in all the world, I shone in the radiance of conscious attainment.

—"I had listened, enthralled, to ever so many stories of Kesharlal's daring exploits during the course of the mutiny, but what remained engraved on my memory was the picture of him floating away on that moonlight night, alone in the little boat, silently borne along by the current of the Jumna; and, ever since, I have had visions of his austere figure irresistibly drawn towards some grand mystery, with no companion, none to minister to him, nor wanting any, self-sufficient, self-illumined, moon and stars gazing on him in silent wonder.

—"At last I happened to hear that he had escaped from the vengeance of his victors and found refuge in Nepal. To Nepal I accordingly hied; and, after a long search there, I came to learn that it was some time since he had wandered away eastwards, through the hills,—whither no one could say.

—"Since then I have been in this part of the Himalayas,—by no means a place for Hindus; for, with these Bhutia and Lepcha people, their gods, rites, manners and customs, everything is different. I began to be alarmed for my Brahminic purity, the fruit of life-long striving, lest it should be the least bit tainted, and I took the most severe pains to keep myself safe from contamination. For I had a feeling that my ship was nearing its harbour, that the fulfilment of my life could not be far off.

—"What am I to tell you of the end? The last is the shortest part of my tale. It takes but one puff to blow out the light,—why make a long story about it? At the close of the best part of my life, after I arrived in Darjeeling this morning,—I got sight of Kesharlal."

She stopped.

In my impatience I bluntly blurted out: "Where,—how did you find him?"

"I found him in the Bhutia quarters, with his slovenly Bhutia wife and her children around him, unkempt, uncleanly clad, seated in a squalid yard, shelling peas."

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Her story was really at an end.

A word of consolation seemed to be called for, so I made bold to remark: "We must make allowances for a fugitive from pursuing vengeance during so many years. He could hardly be expected to keep up, through it all, his Brahminic niceties."

"That I know well enough!" snapped the Nawab's daughter. "But it is of myself I have been thinking,—of the incomprehensible illusion that has haunted and hunted me about all this time! Did I ever know, could I even suspect, that this Spirit of Brahminhood, which had captured my woman's heart at the moment of its first unfolding, was but a matter of tradition, of blind habit? To me it had appeared as *Dharma*—immemorial, everlasting Truth. How else could I have accepted as the benign touch of initiation so dire an insult at the hand of the Brahmin, in return for the tremulous offer of worship of my newly-blossoming body and soul?

—"Alas, O Brahmin, so easily have you discarded one set of daily practices to take up another set,—but how am I to replace the life, the youth, I have wasted?". . .

The woman rose from her seat. "*Namaskar* Babu-ji!" she said by way of bidding me good-bye in the Hindu way. The next moment she corrected herself, saying, "*Salaam* Babu-saheb!", in Muslim fashion, as good-bye for ever to the ruins of her Brahminhood, which fate had so cruelly razed to the dust. And before I could make any reply, she had vanished into the Himalayan mist.

There I remained seated, with closed eyes, musing and musing. Pictures rose before me: first of a pile of cloth-of-gold cushions by the little window opening over the Jumna, on which reclined at ease a youthful figure of sweet sixteen, the Nawab's child, looking out with single-minded fascination, as gazes a girl-devotee, during the vesper worship, on the illuminated image of her divinity; and then of the despairing, middle-aged ascetic, enveloped in mist, sitting with her dispelled illusions by the side of this Calcutta Road of Darjeeling; and the music of the meeting of two opposite currents of Brahmin and Muslim blood in the body of a sensitive, high-strung woman, kept rippling through my mind, in perfectly-spoken, mellifluous Urdu accents, for how long I cannot say.

When I opened my eyes, it was to find the clouds dissipated, and bright sunshine filling the pure blue depths of the mountain sky. English men and women on horseback and in rickshaws, as well as Bengali clerks muffled in their comforters, were passing by,—they all seemed to stare at me curiously.

I sprang to my feet. In this naked world of revealing sunlight, that fantastic story no longer seemed true. I cannot even swear that it was not a figment of my own imagination, born of mingled mist and cigarette smoke,—that the fort on the Jumna, the Muslim-Brahmin damsel, and the devout, austere, dare-devil mutineer, were not all hallucination.

[Translated by Mr. Surendranath Tagore for *The Modern Review*.]

In the springtime of wistful hours
they came into my garden path,
some with timid steps and shy hesitation
picking up fallen petals among wayside shadows,
and some whose loud foot-prints spoke of the trodden grasses
bruised under a casual unconcern,
who in youth's arrogance tore away flowers
leaving a thrill of pain in the pillaged branches.

The boisterous season is over.
The bees have deserted the desolate lane,
and the laughter and hum of the flower-gathering
dies away into the dimness of a tired remembrance.
I wait now alone, my basket filled with reticent fruits,
like the night that has gathered its stars
for the far-away morning of an unrevealed sun.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly

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HOMAGE TO REV. Dr. J. T. SUNDERLAND

By TARAKNATH DAS

This morning I saw the announcement of the death of the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland in the home of his son Prof. Sunderland of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, at the age of 94. With the death of Dr. Sunderland America has lost one of her great religious leaders, and the world has lost one of the most broad-minded champions of Freedom, Justice and Peace.

As a young man Dr. Sunderland championed the cause of human freedom and fought for it in all parts of the world. He fought in the American Civil War, because he was an advocate of the emancipation of the Negro slaves. He espoused the cause of the oppressed Jews in Czarist Russia. He supported the cause of Egyptian, Arab and Indian Freedom and was in favor of the establishment of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

As a believer in human brotherhood, he tried his best to bring about better understanding between the peoples of the East and the West. To remove misunderstanding among the peoples of the West about the oriental people, he tried to popularise the study of comparative religion and the covilizations of the East, so that there might be genuine appreciation of all that is best in Oriental culture. Possibly, Dr. Sunderland, in the capacity of a Unitarian Minister, truly believing in human brotherhood, did the most valuable work, which will be more remembered among the people of the Orient than in the Occident. He did also his best to interpret the ideals and aspirations of the peoples of the Orient through his writings and lectures.

I do not know any other man in the occidental world who has served the cause of the people of India so unselfishly and devotedly for nearly half a century. As early as 1896, after his visit to India, Dr. Sunderland, after very careful and thorough study of Indian conditions, expounded his thesis on the causes of famines in India, which attracted the attention of the whole world. He boldly asserted that Indian famines were not due to want of food or lack of rain; but were caused by unbelievable poverty and exploitation of the masses. It was Rev. Dr. Sunderland's observations which roused interest in the study of Indian poverty by such British statesmen as William Digby, who wrote his famous work *Prosperous British India*, and Indian patriots like Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., who was the first Indian to be elected to the British Parliament and who wrote the famous book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* and the late R. C. Dutt, who wrote his studies on the Economic History of India in the Victorian Era. Dr. Sunderland's writings awakened righteous indignation of such Christian leaders as the late Dr. Cuthbert Hall, the President of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, who later on visited India and became a champion of Indian self-government. It is not generally known even in America that Dr. Sunderland was so successful in interesting a large number of intelligent Americans on Indian questions that British imperialist leaders of the type of the late Lord Curzon and others tried to counteract Dr. Sunderland's work through underhand and secret activities.

Dr. Sunderland was not anti-British; but as a British-born American, he was a champion of all that is best in British tradition, and he felt that the best and the noblest section of the British people would support the cause of Indian freedom, as men like Burke and others had sided with the American people in their fight for Freedom: and as British workers, during the American Civil War, supported the cause of abolition of slavery while many rich British industrialists were favoring the cause of the slave-owners of the United States. To fight for the righteous cause of Indian freedom he wrote his monumental work, *India in Bondage and Her Right to Freedom*, which was suppressed in India by the order of the British Government. But this work remains the best study on Modern India. He rightly held that Indian Freedom is one of the requisites for world freedom; and, therefore, the Indian issue must not be regarded as Great Britain's private affair but it should be considered as one of the most important international problems affecting directly the lives and liberty of 350,000,000 people of India and indirectly the whole world.

Dr. Sunderland was so genuinely impressed with the necessity of the solution of the Indian question, that only a few months ago, in a letter, he presented to me his plan of writing

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another short book on India and to appeal to King Edward VIII and British statesmen to release all Indian political prisoners who are still being kept in prisons or Indian concentration camps, without trial on mere charge of sedition. He believed that unless British statesmen agreed to confer real freedom—at least Dominion status—on the Indian people, there would be a revolution in India. He wanted to have the cause of Freedom succeed in India with peaceful means and not through revolution.

From my personal knowledge, I can say that Indian Christian, Moslem and Hindu leaders are unanimous in extending their hearty recognition to Dr. Sunderland's unselfish work for Indian Freedom. Great Indians like Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Ramananda Chatterjee revere Dr. Sunderland for his saintly life and love of freedom.

Dr. Sunderland served not only the cause of Indian freedom, but served the United States of America also, by popularising among the Indian intelligentsia the ideal and spirit of true Americanism. In 1934 he published in India his book, *Eminent Americans Whom India Should Know*, to counteract the false impression spread in India about the United States by ventilating the news of the dark side of American life.

It has been my privilege to know Dr. Sunderland for more than 25 years. I wish to place on record that he tried to help me on many occasions, as he helped all Indians like the late Lala Lajpat Rai and others who sought his co-operation. The example of Dr. Sunderland's life has given me courage in hours of depression in my life to carry on the struggle. His life will always serve as a source of inspiration to me. Dr. Sunderland was undoubtedly one of the noblest Americans I have come to know; and he served the cause of India better than many Indian patriots. Indians all over the world and especially Indian patriots pay homage to the Rev. Dr. Sunderland's memory.

NEW YORK CITY,
August, 15, 1936.

J. T. SUNDERLAND : TRUE FRIEND OF INDIA

BY DR. N. S. HARDIKER

I AM grieved to read the sad news of Dr. J. T. Sunderland's death.

When I was in the United States of America, I had the good fortune of working with Dr. Sunderland for nearly five years. As the General Secretary of Indian Home Rule League of America, of which Lala Lajpat Rai was the President, I used to have many occasions to go to the house of Dr. Sunderland, who was the League's Vice-President, and take advice and instructions from him. Therefore, I knew him well.

He always thought of India and helped Lalaji in his innumerable activities in counteracting the anti-Indian propaganda in the United States during the European war. It would be but natural if any Indian thinks that it was by mistake that Dr. Sunderland was bred and brought up in America and that his place was in India. During my stay of eight years in the States I did not meet any other American who loved and worked for India as much as Dr. Sunderland did. In him, therefore, we lose one of the best supporters and exponents of the Indian cause.

When I met him first, he was 74 years of age. At the request of Lalaji, he accepted the Vice-Presidentship of the Indian Home Rule League and worked for that organization single-mindedly. After Lalaji's return to India, Dr. Sunderland became the President of the League and the Editor of *Young India*, a monthly, and carried it on until the beginning of 1922. At no time did he shirk his responsibility of working for India either on the ground of health or for any other reason. At all times, during day or night, he was available. We could depend upon him for any kind of service.

The book-shelves in his house were full of volumes on India. During his exile in the States Lalaji had the misfortune of depending upon others even for his bread. No wonder, he borrowed books from his friend Dr. Sunderland. Lalaji asked him to go through his manuscripts of *England's Debt to India*, *Young India* and other books which he wrote in the States. Dr. Sunderland made his own suggestions and advised Lalaji from time to time. Lalaji liked him immensely and thought of him highly. When he was about to return to India he said to me, "Be guided by Dr. Sunderland, my boy, and take his advice in all that you do. He is our reliable friend in America."

Dr. Sunderland, though old in age, was young in spirit. The youthful energy in him made even youngsters blush, and hang their heads in shame. He was a cool and calculating man, clergy by nature and profession. With his silvery hair and long black coat, he looked like a sage—always thoughtful and serene. A high-souled man as he was, he never irritated any one and by his sweet temper he tried to attract everyone who approached him. By my long association with him, that is what I found of him.

Such a friend is lost today. Can India get the like of Dr. Sunderland again?

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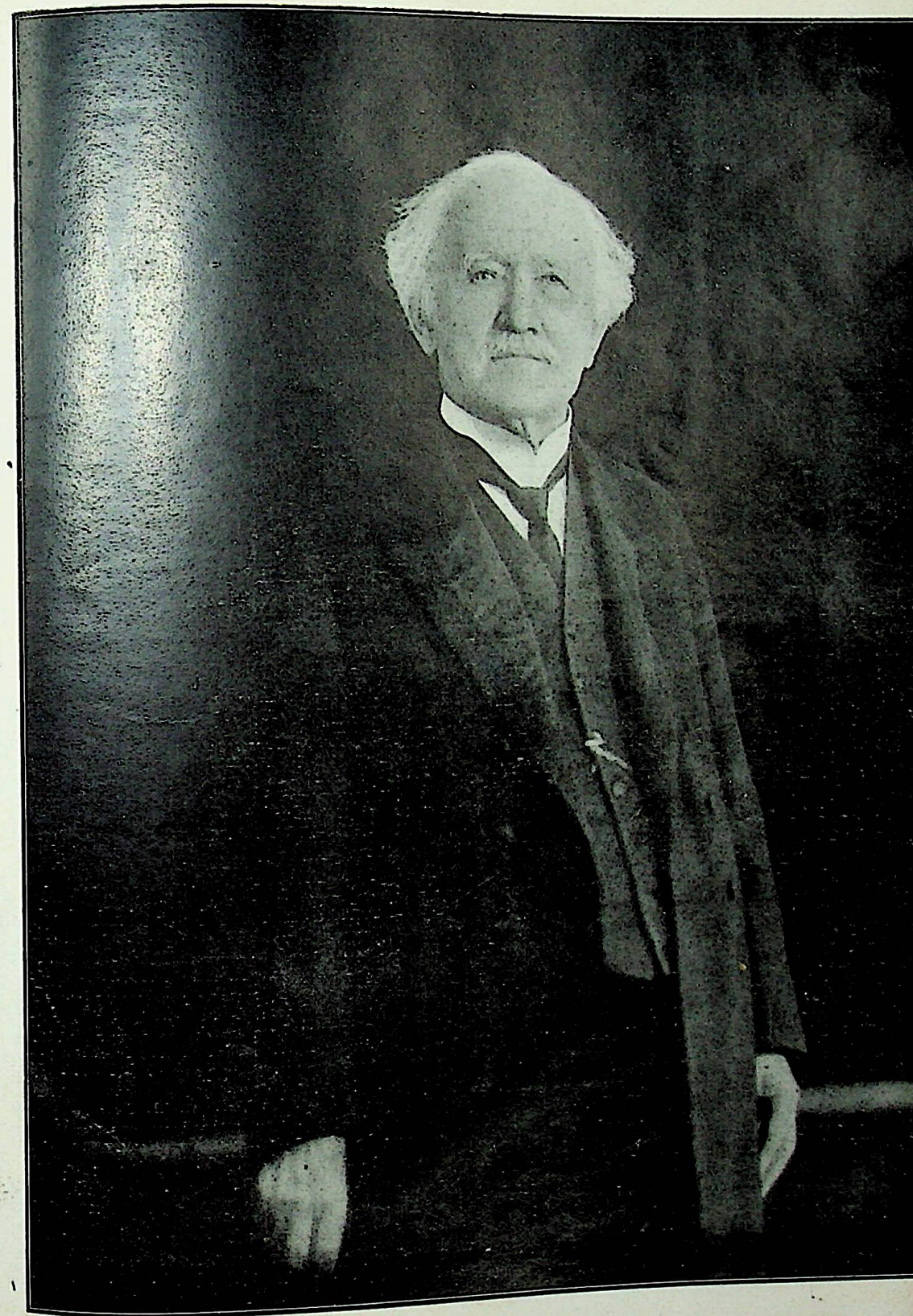

Reverend Dr. J. T. Sunderland

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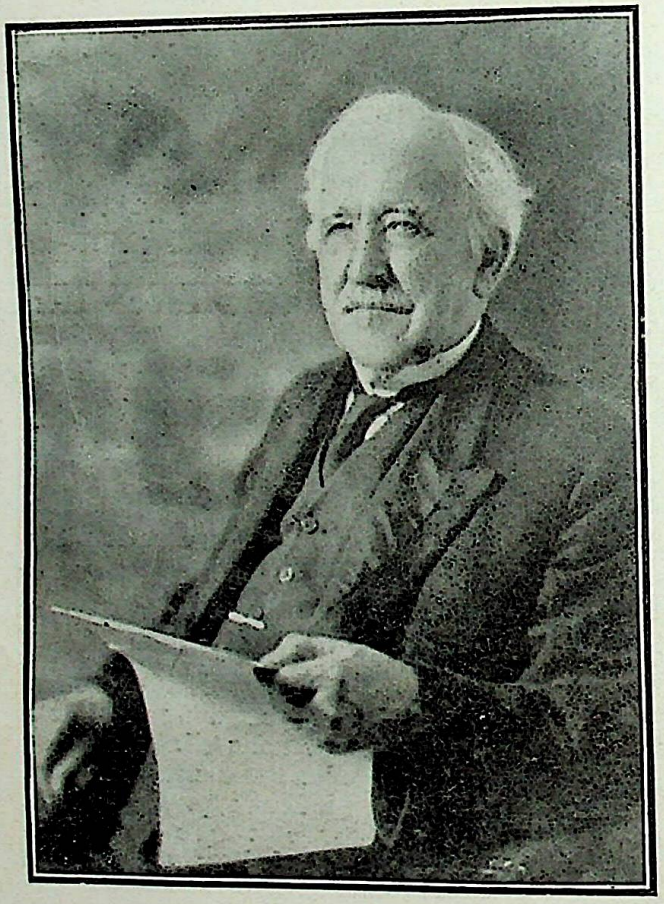

Reverend Dr. J. T. Sunderland

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CHAMPION OF INDIA'S FREEDOM

The Late Dr. Sunderland

By CHAMAN LAL

India's best friend in America has been snatched away by the cruel hands of destiny. No other foreigner had served India so sincerely and selflessly as the late Rev. Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland. He served India with brain, pen and money right to his last days.

Only last month I received an article (perhaps the last he wrote) from his pen, which, despite his being 94 years old, he could hold with a strong grip. His death is an irreparable loss to the cause of India in America. It was his sincere desire to see India free. Alas! he could not realize his dream in his life time. His death is a great personal loss to me, since he was making several plans to make my coming visit to America of best use to India.

I am sure my country men would read the life story of a stalwart friend and a great benefactor with interest.

This great champion of the cause of India's freedom was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1842 and was taken to America by his parents at the age of two. It was in the "Land of Liberty" that he learnt to love freedom for self as well as for others.

He was educated at the University of Chicago, from where he graduated in 1867. He obtained his master's degree in 1869 and the degree of Doctor of Divinity of Tufts University in 1870, when he was ordained to the Baptist Ministry. He had been a pastor at a number of important churches in the United States and Canada.

He first came to India in 1895 on commission from the British and Foreign Unitarian Association to study and report upon the educational, social and religious conditions of our people. It was during his stay in India that he came into contact with most of the social reformers and especially the Brahmo Samaj leaders.

When I met him last year at his cottage at Ann Arbor, he recalled with great pleasure his visit to India and his association with social workers in India, especially the veteran journalist Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee, of whose friendship he was very proud. He felt extremely sorry for not having met Mahatma Gandhi and in a letter to the Mahatma (which he gave me) he prayed that India may soon be free. For more than three decades he took a very keen interest in India and was one of the staunch advocates of "India for Indians."

For years he was a non-resident lecturer on Sociology and the religions of India in Theological Schools in Meadsville, Pennsylvania and New York. Since his return from India he had been a devoted student of Indian History, Literature, Art, Civilization and, especially, social, political and economic problems.

In 1913-1914 he was Billings Lecturer of the American Unitarian Association to India, China and Japan. While in India Dr. Sunderland was president of the All-India Theistic Conference. On return to America he took still greater part in Indian affairs. He was president of the India Information Bureau of New York (1918-22), was Editor of the *Young India* started by Lala Lajpat Rai (1918-21) and president of the India Society of America (1923-28).

He was president of "The American League for India's Freedom" and Vice-President of "All World Gandhi Fellowship."

The Rev. Doctor used to contribute extensively to Indian periodicals and special numbers of leading papers. Out of his twenty-five books, five were published in India. His book *India in Bondage* can properly be called a "Bible of Indian Struggle for Freedom." It had recently been brought up to date by the addition of 8 new chapters. But no Indian is permitted to bring this "Bible" to India and I had to leave Dr. Sunderland's presentation copy on board the "Victoria" for the use of passengers.

This "Bible" is of great value to students of Indian Politics and anyone who is armed with a copy of this "Bible" can challenge any opponent of Indian freedom to a debate and the victory is assured. I found it most helpful during my lecture tour in America. The Americans also appreciate the book. The New York City public library purchased 26 copies of it.

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore wrote in a foreword to the American edition as follows:

"If Americans would know the true India, they cannot have a better guide than Dr. Sunderland. I regard this book as among the best informed, most just and most trustworthy that has come from any pen."

It is a pity that my countrymen have been deprived of such a useful book, which

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should have been made a text book in all High Schools.

Dr. Sunderland was also a successful journalist. In his early ministry he established and for twelve years edited *The Unitarian*, a monthly magazine, which obtained a large circulation in America and England. The circulation reached 300,000.

Besides his banned book *India in Bondage*, *Eminent Americans* and *Evolution and Religion*, published in India, are very popular. The former is full of inspiring lessons to the younger generation in India.

Dr. Sunderland wrote profusely since 1878, when he produced *A National Faith* and *What is the Bible*.

His two religious books which are the most popular and have the largest sale are his *Origin and Character of the Bible*,* *The Bible and Bible Country*. The former has been translated into the Russian and Bulgarian languages.

Dr. Sunderland was a great leader of the masses. He always secured a great following.

When I told him about my jail experiences in India, he related to me a story of his visit to Toronto (Canada), where his Sunday evening addresses were such as to give him the unique experience of being visited by the Chief of Police, who informed him that unless measures were taken to overcome the crowding of his church, the law would be enforced upon him and his congregation.

Dr. Sunderland was a master of many qualities, but what appealed to me most was his love for justice and his championship of the cause of down-trodden people. His doors were always open for Indian students and he always helped them to secure scholarships and be self-supporting. He was a guardian to Indian students in America.

He wanted each one of them to return as soldiers of freedom. He asked me why Indian students rushed to England in hundreds while there were only a few dozen of them in America.

He wanted every young man of India to follow Abraham Lincoln.

Will young India fulfill his dying wish?

* The Prabasi Press will soon publish an Indian edition of this book.

SUNDERLAND MEMORIAL MEETING

By Dr. HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR, M.A. Ph.D.

The Hindusthani Community of New York and the vicinity held a Memorial Service Meeting on Tuesday the 25th of August, 1936, at 8-30 P.M., at the Community Church Center, 550 West 110th Street, New York City, in grateful memory of the late Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland, who recently passed away.

As a fitting tribute to the universal spirit of Dr. Sunderland's religious outlook in life, the Memorial Service was sponsored by the Hindusthani Community embracing all religions: Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Zoroastrians, Jews.

"In the passing of Dr. Sunderland," said Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, in opening the meeting, "America has lost an outstanding worker for good-will among nations; India, a dear and consistent friend; mankind, a distinguished citizen of the world."

"Every moment of his long and fruitful life of four and ninety," continued Dr. Muzumdar, "was literally devoted to the furtherance of good-will among nations and the championing of the cause of justice, of righteousness, of self-determination and freedom for countries like India. English by birth, American by breeding, world citizen in outlook, Dr. Sunderland was in truth a Maharshi, a great sage. May his life work be an ispiration to us all."

Among the sponsors of the Sunderland Memorial Meeting were:

Dr. Tarak Nath Das, author and publicist;
Dr. V. R. Kokatnur, chemist;
Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, author and publicist;
Mr. Gobind Behari Lal, Science Editor, *The N. Y. American*;
Mr. Satya N. Mukerji, President, Hindusthan Association of America, New York Chapter;
Mr. N. R. Checker of Indo-Persian Fine Art Company;
Mr. Magan S. Dave, jeweller;
Mr. Hamid Gorey, lecturer;
Mr. M. S. Ansari, student;
Mr. K. Y. Kira, of the Ceylon India Inn;
Swami Bodhananda, of the Vedanta Society;
Dr. Bhagat Singh Thind, Sikh teacher and lecturer;
Mr. R. Wadia, businessman.

Brief addresses were delivered by the re-

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presentatives of different faiths and by the friends and admirers of the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland.

The Memorial Service was as simple and dignified as befitted the noble character of Dr. Sunderland.

A musical number was played on the organ by Mr. Dill, a Negro member of the Community Church and a loved friend of India and Indians in New York. Two Sanskrit verses were chanted by Dr. Tarak Nath Das. Amidst such solemnity the services started.

Dr. Muzumdar, speaking in Hindi and in English, opened the meeting by announcing the order of services.

Swami Bodhananda delivered a brief address, dwelling upon the immortality of the soul according to the Hindu belief.

Mr. M. Bux, speaking for the Muslims, recited a verse from the Quran.

Then Dr. Bhagat Singh Thind offered a prayer according to the teachings of Sikh teachers and referred to the noble work of Dr. Sunderland.

Dr. Tarak Nath Das next delivered the eulogy. As one of those who had intimately known and loved Dr. Sunderland, Dr. Das presented significant aspects of the life and career of Dr. Sunderland. "Dr. Sunderland," said Dr. Das, "was a friend of India and the Orient and a consistent worker in behalf of justice, freedom and peace." Dr. Das' eulogy of Dr. Sunderland was most touching.

Finally, Professor Dan Singh Chowdhry of Lucknow, gave the benediction, from the Christian point of view, dwelling especially upon the characteristics of the "Christian gentleman" so nobly exemplified by Dr. Sunderland.

At the end of the formal memorial services, a business meeting was held under the chairmanship of Dr. Muzumdar.

Dr. Das proposed that a Sunderland Memorial Fund be established for the purpose of establishing a Sunderland Memorial Scholarship for an Indian girl in India.

The proposition was received enthusiastically by the assemblage of Indians and Americans. Mr. Gobind Behari Lal suggested that a Sunderland exchange lecturership be also considered if ways and means could be found. Several other suggestions were likewise made to the end that the spirit of Dr. Sunderland may be concretely translated into a living memorial and serve as an inspiration to the younger generation of India.

An exploratory committee of six, with power to co-opt, was formed to go into the whole matter and to give effect to the resolution of the meeting. The committee of six consists of: Mrs. W. J. Bolton, Miss Frances R. Grant, Mr. Safford, Mr. N. R. Checker, Dr. Tarak Nath Das, Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar.

The Committee will actively begin its work in October. In the meantime persons in India and America, interested in the Sunderland Memorial Fund, are urged to get in touch with Dr. Tarak Nath Das, Hotel Milburn, 242 West 76th St., New York, U. S. A.

Besides the leading Hindusthanis of greater New York, there were present at the memorial meeting a number of American friends and admirers of the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland, including Mrs. W. J. Bolton of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and Mr. and Mrs. Safford, grandchildren of Dr. Sunderland.

It is our hope that India will fittingly do honour to the memory of our dearly beloved Dr. J. T. Sunderland.

Blanche Watson's Tribute to Dr. J. T. Sunderland

To the Sponsors of the Sunderland Memorial Meeting:

Dear Friends:

I want to try to frame my tribute to that fine soul and wise teacher of men,—Jabez T. Sunderland—as I am unable to be present at your meeting.

In his recognition of, and his acclaim of India's greatness, and in his tireless agitations in behalf of the freedom which such greatness demands, this man voiced the best thought of this United States of America; for which all Americans should be grateful to him. That this was the thought of humanitarians the world over make his works and his words the more noble and fine. However, all our appreciation of him is as nothing in the light of his own life, —truly a life as greatly lived as it was widely spanned.

Like all of you, I feel that I have lost a dear friend and co-worker. But, it is India's loss that is irreparable!

Sincerely

BLANCHE WATSON

The Homestead Camp
Crafts, N. Y.
August 25, 1936

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WILL WOMEN VOTE IN THEIR FIRST ELECTION?

By MANORAMABAI RAMKRISHNA MODAK

The air is full of preparations for the first election, although it is several months away. The preparations are still in their infancy; new parties are forming which will probably not see election morning in their present form, candidates who will vanish from the headlines a few weeks before the election are now making many prophecies. With all these beginnings it is pertinent to enquire about the new women's vote.

Who are the women who will vote? Who can be depended upon to go to the polls? Undoubtedly their number will be small, limited to the comparatively small group of women with advanced opinions or who come under the direct influence of men eager for their votes. From Ahmedabad it is reported that out of 76,000 applications for registration only 7,000 were women. From Poona the Congress reports that of the 15,000 enrolled through it only 4,000 are women. However, considering that through long centuries Indian women have not been interested in politics, nor have they now as a class agitated for the vote and thus made themselves politically conscious, this number of registered women is rather large. But it is not as large as it should be, considering the present qualifications. Surely the number of those women who are literate, added to the number of those who are enfranchised through the male family-member upon whom they are dependent, will be as great as, if not greater than, the number of men voters.

Who are the women who have a right to vote? The greater number of them is from the middle class of society, the small-salaried, rent-paying families. It is a class now being formed in modern India, cutting across caste-boundaries, politically conscious, and the most politically powerful class because the most numerous. The old aristocracy may lead this group, but it will also be dependent upon it for power. Will the woman of this numerous class avail themselves of their power? The women of the aristocracy, the women who have, comparatively speaking, the most advanced ideas, must lead them. These leading women must study their background and their habits in order to interest them in their new world.

What kind of women are these of the middle class? The majority of them do their own housework, read and write in their own mother-tongue but not in English. They are orthodox in their attitudes towards their household duties, towards men and toward public affairs. They are intelligent, practical, hard-working women who live behind a real or imaginary purdah whose untroubled comfort they enjoy and are loath to loose. Their household work leaves them tired mentally and physically. They carry water—for there are few taps in their houses, they scour their metal vessels, they knead and roll the bread and cook it, one cake at a time, for a large family. They grind the spices and interminably clean rice and wheat and dal. Many-yard *sarees* must be washed every day, and for all these operations they must rise from the floor and sit a thousand times. When the early afternoon lull in these activities comes, they are weary, very weary. To sleep or chit-chat with a neighbour in the adjoining house is all the exertion they are able to make, unless it is for some unusual occasion. And the meetings which they could attend, if they were not too tired, are held after school-hours (because the leaders are so often people in school-work), which is just the time they must be at home to receive their children or start preparations for the night-meal.

Most of these women have a great apathy towards outside affairs. The weariness occasioned by their household duties is but one of many factors involved in these matters. They are shy of women educated beyond themselves and with a wider experience than their own; they are shy of women of a higher caste than themselves, and where there is patronage by the higher castes, they resent it. Some Brahmans gave a dinner for Depressed Class people in the writer's town: it was resented, and is bound to be. Such affairs must be managed by the people who are being aided, at the suggestion of the people who wish to aid them and with their assistance. These middle class women largely lack a knowledge of their own legal needs, which can be met through the legislatures. Satisfied at home, out of touch with the larger circle of life, they do not know the disabilities of unhappy women, of widows and minors, nor the need for

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women's property rights, etc. They must be informed. And they withdraw from the new world, fearfully. Women are the conservers of society. They see girls riding cycles and fear what it will do to their womanliness. They see the marriage of girls being delayed and fear that harm will come to them in the meantime. They go to the kitchen when men visit in the house : it isn't proper to see men. They fear to break the old customs. Evil will come of it, they think. They must be shown that there is no need for such fears, and that by women who do these things and still maintain their home interests and their personal charm. They must be shown that the family will be best preserved by going out to face these new customs rather than in turning away from them. The hand of the clock cannot be moved back. Time goes forward. It can only be *used* well—not denied. Education, not only in schools, but in friendly converse, must be imparted along these lines by women leaders, if a large number of women is to go intelligently to the polls.

And it is not only a woman's task. The men, with their experience, must help. On the cover of the August number of '*Kirlosker*' there is a picture of a young woman holding a bow and aiming an arrow. Behind her a young man is holding her elbow and arm so that she may shoot the arrow straight. The physique of both is equally strong, and rugged, with no weakness visible in the woman. Their postures are identical. Her *saree* and his *dhoti* are pulled above their knees ready for action. They both wear coarse sandals, ready for hard walking. She looks to the goal with expectant hope and his attention is fully given to instructing her. This is the modern India : not Krishna absorbed in the charms of Radha while she sits idly swinging. Men must help women, and must want them to shoot their own arrows. The complaint is often made by men that their women are not willing to come out of the kitchen. I wonder how much actual effort they have made to prove that they want their women to come out ; how much they have really done to make it easy for women to take an interest in things outside. Men must teach the women of their own houses how to vote—not send them to the polling-stations ignorant of what to do when they get there. They must help them to vote intelligently and not merely repeat their husband's vote like parrots. Women, you may vote for your husband's choice, but do it knowing why he has chosen that candidate. Don't do it only because he is your husband. Be intelligent!

And don't be silly ! When registration of names for the electoral roll was being made in Poona, great difficulties were encountered because women would not tell or write their husbands' names. That is being silly. It is conserving an old custom far beyond its original intention, bringing dishonour rather than honour upon your husbands. One questions the dignity of the Nagpur women who threatened not to cook for their husbands unless some demand of theirs was acceeded to. Rather, one likes to see such dignity as was displayed by the women of Poona and Bombay on the several occasions within the last eighteen months in connection with the Hindu Widow's Adoption Bill. These women picketed the Councillors in the lobbies, but they did it so graciously, so winningly, that the men honoured them. And they were extremely effective.

Western women fought and suffered for enfranchisement, sometimes literally. They were thrown into jail, ridiculed in the press, on the lecture platform, while parading and picketing. They suffered hard through snow and rain. They won the right to vote by their own valour. That was twenty years ago. Indian women have succeeded to their inheritance. Three Indian women were *invited* by the men to the London Round Table Conference ! In committee these women and others hammered out the present plan of enfranchisement, and so it was incorporated in the new Constitution—whether we like the remainder of its articles or not.

Now, with the right in our hands, let us see what valour we can prove ourselves to have by the use we make of it. What personal sacrifices are we prepared to make in order that the large mass of voters may come out from behind their purdah and take an interest in the outside world ? Are we to be worthy of our inheritance ? We have a legal inheritance from the West and a cultural one of our own. Let us be worthy !

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PROCEDURE IN LABOUR LEGISLATION

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.SC., PH.D.

Labour legislation is one of the most important social institutions in modern times. With the rise of industrialism, considerable numbers of men, women and children work and live under conditions which are often detrimental to their health, safety and welfare and from which they are unable to protect themselves. It has thus become the duty of the State to regulate the working and living conditions of the workers and to mediate or arbitrate in their relations with the employers by a series of legislative measures which have become an important branch of statutory law in almost all industrially advanced countries.

Although essentially an agricultural country, India has made considerable progress in modern industrialism since the middle of the last century, and about five million workers are at present employed in her organized industries. The rise of industrial labour has been followed by the growth of legislative measures which form an important and dynamic institution in modern India. The present writer has already described the historical development of labour legislation in his treaties on *Labour Legislation in India*,[1] *Factories Legislation in India* and *Plantation Labour in India*;[2] the object of the present article is to analyse the procedure in labour legislation, which throws considerable light not only on its mechanism but also on its principles and problems.

1. Enquiries and Representation

The Government of India is the supreme authority in labour legislation, but scarcely undertakes any measure without consulting Local Governments or without proper enquiries and investigations, both departmental and public. Moreover, employers' associations, labour organizations, and other interested parties, are generally consulted in all enquiries, and are represented in public investigations *e.g.*, committees and commissions.

Departmental Enquiries

The commonest way of undertaking enquiries by Government is the action taken by the department or departments concerned. A large amount of information becomes available to Government in the course of the administration of labour laws, and other material is also collected as occasion arises. These enquiries may be classified under the following headings (1) periodical returns; (2) inspectors' reports; (3) special conferences; (4) occasional enquiries; and (5) researches of labour bureaux.

Periodical returns are a very important source of labour information. Under regulations, most of the important industrial undertakings, such as factories, mines and plantations in Assam, are required to submit returns on various subjects, such as production, hours, accidents, wages and similar other subjects, as prescribed by the competent authorities. To this may be added the reports of inspectors and other administrative officers or bodies, such as compensation commissioners, trade union registrars, and mining boards and committees. All these similar other statistical reports are published by the following authorities: (1) all the provincial Governments publish annual reports on the working of the Factories Act, which are also summarised and published by the Government of India as factory statistics; (2) an annual report on the working of the Mines Act, as prepared by the Chief Inspector of Mines, is published annually by the Government of India; (3) the Assam Government publishes, with some comments, the reports of the commissioners from two divisions of Assam on immigration, employment, vital statistics, wages, inspection, and other similar topics; (4) the supervisor of railway labour publishes an annual report on the working of the hours of employment regulations; and (5) periodical reports are also made by both the Central and Local Governments on the working of the Workmen's Compensation Act as well as by Local Governments on the working of the Trade Unions Act and on industrial disputes. All these labour statistics, though available automatically, must be regarded as the most organized systems of enquiries which have been established on a permanent basis. They not only throw considerable light on the working of labour legislation, but are also essential for undertaking further legislative measures.

1. A reprint from the *International Labour Review*, November, 1930.

2. Published in Berlin, 1923 and in Calcutta, 1931 respectively.

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Special conferences held by the Department of Industries and Labour, whenever the necessity arises for quick and immediate action, may also be regarded among the departmental enquiries, inasmuch as employers, employees and technical experts are invited to take part in them. For example, a fire accident in a mine early in 1936 and the possibility of its repetition in other mines led the Department of Industries and Labour to call such a Conference and, on its recommendation, to pass the Indian Mines (Amendment) Act of 1936.

Occasional enquiries are also undertaken by both the Central and Local Governments. The Government of India may undertake such enquiries either independently, through the specially appointed officers, or through Local Governments. The Government of India, for instance, directed the Government of Bengal to undertake an enquiry into the shortage of labour in organized industries in Bengal in 1906.[3] The Government of Bengal undertook an enquiry into industrial unrest in 1921, and the Government of Bombay undertook an enquiry into industrial unrest in 1922 and into the periods of wage payments in 1925. At the instance of the Royal Commission on Labour, several Local Governments made investigations into the wages, earnings and family budgets in their respective provinces in 1930.

The most important departmental enquiry is, however, undertaken at present by the Bombay Labour Office, which, since its foundation in 1921, has become a very valuable source of information on the labour question. The accurate data on hours of work, wages and earnings, and family budgets, are largely the contributions of this Office. A similar Office, established by Burma, has also made contributions to the data on wages, earnings and family budgets in Rangoon. Labour Commissioners have also been appointed in Bengal and Madras, but they have scarcely undertaken any enquiries into labour conditions worth the name.

Public Investigations

Although statistical data on labour published by various departments, as mentioned above, may form a source of labour information, the undertaking of far-reaching labour legislation as well as the development of labour policy depend largely upon public investigations, such as committees and commissions, which the Government of India and Local Governments have appointed from time to time. They have also contributed much to the creation of public interest and to the development of public opinion on the labour question.

There are some essential differences between departmental enquiries and public investigations. First, while the former is dominated by the official view the latter generally reflects public opinion. Most of the members of these committees and commissions, including the president, are taken from outside, and although the discretionary power of Government in the selection of membership is not eliminated, there is a limit to which any arbitrary power can be extended, specially in the presence of intelligent public opinion. Secondly, they are representative bodies inasmuch as employers, employees and the public participate in them. Moreover, if some of the members are not in agreement with the majority, they have a chance of expressing their opinion in a minute of dissent. Thirdly, most of these public investigations are much more comprehensive than departmental enquiries, and are based upon facts collected from a very wide range and in different parts of the country. Finally, the value of the reports of these committees and commissions does not depend upon their recommendations alone, but also upon the vast amount of evidence which is published separately and which forms the most important source of information for further labour research.

Most of the important legislative measures in India have been based upon the reports and recommendations of committees and commissions appointed by Government. Both the enactment and amendment of factory legislation were, for instance, preceded by the Factory Commissions of 1875, 1884 and 1890, the Textile Labour Committee of 1906, and the Factory Labour Commission of 1907. The enactment and amendment of labour legislation in other fields was also based upon the reports of similar committees and commissions. A landmark of industrial and labour investigations is the Industrial Commission of 1916-18, which, while laying down the foundation of national economic policy, made some very valuable recommendations for improving labour conditions and social welfare.

The most important public investigation undertaken by Government on the labour question is, however, the Royal Commission on Labour which was appointed on July 4, 1929 and which, after two years of exhaustive investigation all over the country, made its report in June 1931. In spite of its exhaustiveness the report has several defects which the present writer has pointed out in the pages of this

3. *Report on Labour in Bengal*, by B. Foley, M.A., I.C.S., Calcutta, 1906.

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Review.[4] Nevertheless it is the most up-to-date and comprehensive study of labour conditions in organized industries, such as plantations, factories, mines and transport, and forms the basis of most of the recent legislative measures on labour.

Representation of Interests

Another important factor in labour legislation is the representation of interested parties. As indicated above, the views and opinions of Local Governments as well as of employers' associations, employees' organizations and other interested parties are duly considered in all departmental enquiries and, what is more, both employers and employees are represented in all public investigations. Most of the members of the committees and commissions visit industrial plants as well as workers' quarters, and they are also very often assisted by assessors from both employers' and employees' groups with the special duty of bringing forward witnesses to represent their party interests.

Nor does the representation end in enquiries and in investigations. As soon as proposals are formulated and a Bill is adopted, it is submitted to Local Governments, to employers' and employees' organizations and to other interested parties. Moreover, there are also representatives of both parties in the Legislative Assembly as well as in the select committee before the Bill is finally considered and enacted. It must also be mentioned that labour is at present represented in the Legislative Assembly only by one nominated member and there is no labour representative in the Council of State, though there are several public-spirited men in both the Chambers who take an active interest in the cause of the workers as well as in the well-being of the country as a whole. In the coming legislative bodies, however, labourers will be much better represented in both the Provincial and Federal Legislatures under the new Constitution.

The labour representation at present takes place, however, only indirectly. Indian labour is mostly illiterate and uneducated and not in a position to represent its own interests in any public organizations such as committees, commissions, legislatures and conferences. It is mostly outsiders, such as social workers, political leaders, lawyers and professors, who represent their interests. This was also the case in the beginning of the labour movement in other countries. But although organized industries have developed in India for over two generations and over five million workers are employed in them, they have not yet been able to find leaders from their own rank.

The indirect representation of the workers has some serious defects: (1) it fails to carry much weight with employers and the Government and also to make any effective impression upon the public; (2) it makes them liable to exploitation by designing persons who may use the cause of labour as a stepping stone to their own personal ambition; and (3) it is a hindrance to the creation of self-reliance and self-help among the workers for the protection and development of their own welfare. What is needed is the training of the workers for conducting their own organization and for presenting their own case before the public. Although most of the workers in plantations, mines and factories are illiterate and ignorant, there are considerable numbers of educated men among foremen and other lower-grade officers, especially among the railway employees, who may be easily trained to represent the rank and file of the workers.

2. Enactment and Enforcement

The enquiries and investigations as well as the recommendations based upon them are merely preliminary works for the development of labour legislation. Proposals for labour legislation must pass through different stages before they can become Acts. First, the proposals must be formulated into a draft Bill; secondly, the Bill must pass through the Legislature and be assented to by the Governor-General; thirdly, there must be administrative regulations before the act can be given effect to; and finally, there must be provisions for the enforcement of the law.

The Drafting of the Bill

Proposals for labour legislation may arise from any of the following sources, namely: (1) the agitation of philanthropists or public men who have played an important part, either through the platform or the press, in the development of labour legislation in all countries; (2) commercial rivalry such as that between the Lancashire cotton manufacturers and the Bombay cotton mill-owners, the former being responsible for the enactment of the factory legislation in the early days of the factory system in India;[5] (3) the initiative of Govern-

4. *Cf. The Modern Review*, January and May, 1932: "Royal Commission on Labour in India, Analysis of the Report; and Observations on the Report."

5. *Cf.* See the writer's treaties on *Factory Legislation in India*, 1923, Chaps. ii and iii.

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ment itself, which, realising the danger in some industries, may take steps to remove some of the conditions detrimental to the health, safety and welfare of the workers; (4) debates and resolutions in the Legislature, both of the Central and Provincial Governments, demanding legislative or executive actions for regulating labour conditions; (5) the demand of labourers or their leaders, who have recently become class-conscious and have suggested measures for the improvement of their conditions: and (6) the International Labour Organization, which has now become the most important force in national labour legislation in most countries, since its inauguration in 1919.

After the proposals have been accepted or decisions have been made for legislation, the first question arises as to the formulation of the measure into a Draft Bill, which involves two processes: (1) the definition of the objects and reasons of the measure; and (2) the putting of the proposals in precise legal forms, so that all the subsequent interpretations of the provisions may conform to the avowed objects and reasons. The Draft Bill may be circulated for eliciting public opinion, and in that case the Bill may be redrafted in the light of suggestions, opinions and criticisms of the parties concerned or of the public in general. In some cases, the Bill may be circulated even after it has been introduced, and may be redrafted before reintroduction into the Legislature.

Passage through the Legislature

The next step is the enactment by the Legislature, which consists of several stages: (1) the introduction of the Bill into the Legislative Assembly, when it may be debated by all the parties concerned; (2) the reference of the Bill to a select committee, when it may be again debated by the interested parties; (3) the close study of the Bill by the select committee, which is an important stage inasmuch as it may undergo important changes; (4) the consideration of the Bill, as it emerges from the select committee, by the Legislative Assembly, and the debate clause by clause before the Bill is adopted and any amendment made: (5) the consideration of the Bill, as passed by the Assembly, by the Council of State, which may again amend the Bill, and in case of such amendment it has to be sent over to the Assembly for agreement; and (6) the assent of the Governor-General, as a party of the Indian Legislature, to the Bill, in order to make it an act. Unless specially mentioned in the act itself, the date when it will come into force is left to the discretion of the Governor-General-in-Council.

In the case of provincial legislation, the procedure is almost the same as in the Central Legislature, except for the fact that the assent of the Governor-General-in-Council is required before a labour measure, which, as a "reserved" subject, cannot otherwise be introduced into the provincial legislature. Moreover, the provincial legislature is a single-chamber body, and the process of enactment is also simple, but, after the assent of the Governor, the Bill must again be assented to by the Governor-General-in-Council before it can become an act in any province. As in the case of the Central Legislature, all interested parties, such as employers, employees, and the public and government have chances for amendment of the Bill in the process of its becoming an act.

Administrative Regulations

Besides the legislation proper is enacted by the Central or Provincial Legislature, the administration of the law calls for further legislative action, inasmuch as the regulations must be made under these legislative measures before they can be enforced. These regulations include rules, by-laws, executive orders, and court decisions, which are made by the competent authorities in the exercise of their administrative powers, and which have the same force as the act itself.

Among the competent authorities empowered to make such regulations, the most important are the following: (1) the Government of India; (2) the Local Governments: (3) coal and other mines as far as by-laws are concerned; (4) the inspectorate; (5) the controller of emigrant labour; (6) the mining boards and committees; (7) workmen's compensation commissioners; (8) the registrar of trade unions; (9) courts of enquiry and boards of conciliation under the Trade Disputes Act of 1929 and the Government labour officer and the chief conciliator, as provided by the Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act of 1934.

Besides the labour acts proper and the regulations made thereunder, there are also other acts and regulations which control both the working and living conditions of the workers. Most of the organised industries, such as plantations, factories, mines, railways and steamships, work under a number of regulations regarding the use of power machinery, construction of plant, sanitary arrangements, safety provisions, supply of drinking water and conservancy and sewerage systems. All these

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acts and regulations are the concerns of the Central and Local Governments as well as district boards and municipalities, and may be regarded as supplementary to labour legislation and the regulations made thereunder.

The powers to make regulations are granted by these acts to different authorities. The most important powers for making regulations under labour legislation are granted to the Government of India, which exercises them in a threefold capacity: (1) as a supreme authority in legislation, the Government of India may extend the scope of any act, by notification in the Gazette of India, thus supplementing the legislative measures whenever they are necessary, *e.g.*, the regulations of 1929 for the gradual elimination of women from underground work in mines; (2) as administrator of certain labour acts, the Government of India may make regulations under those measures which are directly its own concerns, such as railway and mining labour; and (3) the Government of India may also make regulations under those measures which come under the jurisdiction of its legislative power, but the administration of which is given over to Local Governments.

Local Governments also enjoy large powers to make regulations: (1) subject to the control of the Central Government, they may, by notification in the local gazette, extend the scope of an act, as in the case of the Factories' Act; (2) they may make supplementary regulations under those measures, the administration of which is the direct concern of the Central Government and only indirectly their own concerns; (3) they may make regulations under those legislative measures the administration of which is primarily their own concern; and (4) they may also make regulations under those legislative measures which they have themselves enacted, *e.g.*, maternity benefit acts.

All these regulations are essential for the proper administration of the law. The provisions of the acts are often very general and the Legislature leaves the detailed regulations to the administration of the Central and the Local Governments. Moreover, large mines are required to pass by-laws which, when approved by the competent authorities, have the same effect as acts and regulations thereunder, and the observance of which becomes obligatory upon managers, foremen and workers in a mine. The executive orders of the inspectors are still another class of important regulations. Both the Factory Act of 1934 and the Mines Act of 1923,[6] grant, for instance, powers to inspectors to serve, in the case of any danger to life and safety, on the manager an order in writing specifying the measures which, in their opinion, must be adopted within a certain period. What is the more significant is the fact that these inspectors are empowered to prohibit the working of a factory or a mine until certain danger has been removed. Similarly, the Commissioners for workmen's compensation,[7] are empowered, to settle any dispute arising from the proceedings of the Act as to the liability of a person to pay compensation and the duration of the compensation. The decisions of the boards of conciliation and the Bombay conciliator are not obligatory but they are invested with the same powers as the courts under the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, in pursuing their work.

The importance of such administrative regulations becomes evident for several reasons; firstly, they secure the flexibility of an act according to the changing conditions in industrial and technical organisation so that the Government of India may extend its scope or make the necessary changes in conformity with its spirit at its own discretion without referring it back to the Legislature for amendment. Secondly, in a vast country like India, where the conditions vary from province to province, Local Governments must have discretionary power to make regulations suitable to local conditions, provided that they are consistent with the Act. Finally, the rules, by-laws, executive orders and court decisions, although involving personal discretion, make an act more adaptable to the varying conditions of an industry.

General uniformity among these regulations made under an act is maintained in the following ways: (1) the Governor-General-in-Council may make regulations only by due notification in the Gazette of India and in consistence with the act; (2) the Local Government may make rules only subject to the control of the Governor-General-in-Council, by notification in the local official gazette, and in consistence with the act; (3) a mine may make by-laws in consistence with the act and subject to the approval of its draft by the chief inspector of mines, or even a mining board if necessary, and finally with the approval of the Local Government; (4) the executive orders of inspectors are subject to the regulations of the Local Governments: and also to appeal by the employers to the Local Government. Moreover, it must also be

6. Sections 25 and 26 and Section 19 respectively.

7. *Cf.* Section 19 of the Women's Compensation Act of 1923.

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remembered that all the inspection of mines is under the control of the Chief Inspector and thereof railway labour under the supervision of the railway supervisor and the Railway Board, and factory inspectors also occasionally meet to compare notes.

Enforcement of the Law

The most important part of administration lies, in fact, in the enforcement of the law, which consists of the following: (1) inspection in order to determine whether the provisions of an act as well as the regulations made thereunder are observed or not; (2) the adjustment of the claims of the workers upon the employers as in the case of compensation and wage payment, and the settlement of any dispute arising between the two parties; and (3) the prosecution of violators of the law and the infliction of penalties in the case of conviction.

The first step in the enforcement of the law is provision for inspection, for which the law provides the appointment of qualified and competent authorities, who may be either *ex-officio* inspectors or specially appointed inspectors, the latter including chief inspectors and inspectors as well as their assistants. The most important part of an inspection is entrusted to specially appointed inspectors. Their work is often supplemented by other administrative officers or bodies, both executive and judicial, who are specially appointed under different acts for the administration of the law.

The *ex-officio* inspectors are those officers of Government such as district magistrates, police superintendents and health officers, who, in addition to their usual duties, are empowered to inspect industrial plants within their respective jurisdictions. Every district magistrate, for instance, is an *ex-officio* inspector of factories in his own district, and may also exercise the powers and perform the duties of an inspector of mines subject to the general and special orders of the Local Government. All the principal officers of the mercantile marine department are *ex-officio* inspectors within the limits of their charges.

The effectiveness of *ex-officio* inspectors has often been questioned. It has been pointed out that they have no technical knowledge to be expert inspectors in the enforcement of any particular provisions of the law. But the importance of inspection by such officers cannot be denied, specially under the present conditions of the country, where seasonal factories, small mines and plantations are scattered over a wide area and the number of inspectors is rather small. Both the local experience and the proximity to some of these industrial undertakings enabled them to make effective inspection. Moreover, though lacking in technical knowledge, they are as district or subdivisional heads, in a commanding position to enforce the law.

Inspectors are appointed by both the Central and Local Governments. The Governer-General-in-Council, for instance, may, by notification in the Gazette of India, appoint (1) the Chief Inspector of mines for the whole of British India and also his subordinate inspectors; (2) the controller of emigration labour and his deputies; and (3) the supervisor of railway labour. The Local Government may, by notification in the local official gazette, appoint such persons as it thinks fit to be inspectors for the purpose of any act within such local limits as may be assigned to them, such as (1) factory inspectors and (2) dock inspectors. Factory inspectors may also act as inspectors under the Maternity Benefit Acts in some provinces and also under the Payment of Wages Act of 1936.

The powers and duties of the inspectors are defined by the provisions of the Act, which state that every inspector shall be deemed to be a public servant within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code (XLV) of 1860 and shall be officially subordinated to such authorities as the Central or Local Government may appoint. The Factory Act of 1934, for instance, defines the power of an inspector in the following terms: Subject to the rules made by the Central and Local Governments, an inspector may, within local limits for which he is appointed, enter any place which he thinks to be a factory or capable of being declared to be a factory with a view to examining the premises and plant and exercising such other powers as may be necessary in order to carry out the purpose of the act. The other acts grant similar powers to the inspectorate.

It has been noted that although imperfect in the beginning, the system of inspection has gradually improved in almost all industries. The inspectorate has been enlarged and has also been granted more and more powers. The inspection consists of several functions, namely: (1) regular and surprise visits to industrial undertakings with a view to finding whether all the conditions required by the law are fulfilled or not; (2) occasional advice to the employers as to the matter of devising means for improving sanitation and providing safety;

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(3) the giving of warnings, generally written, for taking, by employers, of precautions against some imminent danger or some fundamental defects in sanitation or safety provisions, or even against neglect in the observance of some provisions under the Act; (4) prosecution of the violators of the law before ordinary or special courts provided for under the act; (5) the granting of sanction to workers for bringing suits against the employers as required by the provisions of some acts, and (6) rectification of violations of railway regulations in collaboration with the local supervisory staff, whenever possible, as provided by the railway labour regulations.

The second point in the administration of the law is the adjustment of claims of the workers upon the employers under the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 and the Payment of Wages Act of 1936 as well as the settlement of industrial disputes between the two parties by competent authorities under the Trade Disputes Act of 1929 and the Bombay Trade Disputes Reconciliation Act of 1934. The administrative and judicial authorities under these acts are appointed by both the Central and Local Governments.

The Governor-General-in-Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, appoint (1) compensation commissioners or other officers with experience as a judge of a civil court or a stipendary magistrate for the adjustment of the claims of railway employees under the Payment of Wages Act of 1936; and (2) courts of enquiry and boards of conciliation in the case of industrial disputes, where the Government of India is the employer. Reference has already been made to the appointment of the Controller of Emigration Labour who has the double function of an inspector in the case of recruitment and of the adjustment of the claims in the case of repatriation. The Local Government may, by notification in the local official gazette, appoint (1) commissioners for workmen's compensation, who may also act in the case of all claims under the Payment of Wages Act, except those relating to railways, (2) mining boards and committees, (3) courts of enquiry and boards of conciliation in the case of all industrial disputes except those which are the concerns of the Central Government, and (4) the Bombay labour officer and counsellor.

The powers and duties of these administrative officers[8] are also defined by these acts. They shall have the same power as those vested in courts under the Code of Civil Procedure (No. V) of 1908, when trying a suit in respect of the following matters: (*a*) enforcing the attendance of any person and examining him on oath; (*b*) compelling the production of documents and material objects; and (*c*) issuing commissions for the examination of witnesses, and shall have such further powers as may be prescribed. Moreover, every enquiry or investigation by court or board shall be deemed to be a judicial proceeding within the meaning of Sections 193 and 228 of the Indian Code (No. XLV) of 1860.

Finally, the administration of the law consists also of the provisions for prosecuting the violators and for inflicting penalties if they are convicted. The main object of penalties and prosecutions is to make them deterrents to violation rather than to victimise the violators As in the case of most other provisions, those for penalties and prosecutions have undergone improvement in recent years. Penalties have been better adjusted to offences and high penalties have been provided for repeated offences as in the case of the Mines Act of 1923 and the Factories Act of 1934.[9]

Every year there are many cases of violence of the law and the penalties inflicted thereunder in the case of all convictions. While they imply that the law is in force or the enforcement of the law is actively pursued they are no indications of the proper observance of the law or of its beneficial effect, inasmuch as prosecutions depend a good deal upon the attitudes and activities of individual inspectors. Some of them are strict in securing compliance with the law and may have more easily recourse to prosecutions, while others are more prudent and may have the same or better results with advice and persuasion.

What is more important is the provision for prosecutions which involves several questions such as (1) the responsible persons to be prosecuted, (2) competent courts to hear cases or to receive appeals from other courts, and (3) the competent authorities to conduct the prosecutions. Responsible persons liable to prosecutions are also defined by legislation. The Factories Act, for instance, requires a factory to designate a person as the occupier, *i.e.*, the person who has the ultimate control over the offices of a factory and in case such offices are trusted to a managing agent, that

8. Such as commissioners under section 23 of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, courts and boards under Section 9 of the Indian Trade Disputes Act of 1923 and the Conciliator under Section 12 (*1*) and (*2*) of the Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act of 1934.

9. *Cf.* Section 40 (2) and Section 61 respectively.

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agent should be deemed to be the occupier. Similar provisions have been made by other legislative measures. Competent courts to hear the cases are also defined by legislation. Most of the cases under labour legislation are tried by courts specified by various Acts,[10] which lay down that no court inferior to that of a Presidency magistrate or of a magistrate of the first class shall try any offence against that act or any rule or order made thereunder.[11] Appeals from these decisions may be made either to an appellate court or the High Court of a province. The competent officers to conduct prosecutions are the following: (1) inspectors of factories, mines and supervisors of railway labour; (2) commissioners appointed under workmen's compensation, and (3) the Bombay Labour Officer. For the discharge of these functions they are granted special powers under the respective acts.

The essential feature of the labour legislation is the fact that the enforcement of the law is entrusted to specially appointed officers, either executive or judicial, work on behalf of the workers and are empowered to settle their claims and grievances with the employers. It is only when they are unable to do so that they can bring the cases before the competent courts. These officers are prosecutors in most labour cases and even when an employee himself is entitled to bring a suit against the employer, he can do so in most cases only with the permission of these officers. Both the Mines Act of 1923 and the Factories Act of 1934, for instance, lay down that no prosecution shall be instituted except by or with the previous sanction of the inspector.[12] The Payment of Wages Act of 1936 makes a similar provision in certain cases, and provides in others that no prosecution shall be instituted until a successful complaint has been made before the proper authorities and due sanction has been granted for the purpose.[13]

10. *Cf.* The Mines Act of 1923, Factories Act of 1934, Dock Labourers Act of 1934 and Bengal Workmen's Protection Act of 1935.

11. The Factories Act of 1934 makes an exception in the case of an offence relating to smoking or using naked light in the vicinity of inflammable material or using false certificates.

12. *Cf.* Sections 41 and 74 (*1*) respectively.

13. Section 21.

HEALTH EDUCATION THROUGH SCHOOLS IN BENGAL

By KAMALA DEBI

"Mens Sana in Corpore Sano"

We do not know why we are born—what is the meaning and end of our life. But once born, we instinctively and irresistively want to live and multiply. Our life on this planet being a fact, we must see that we live in health and that, as long as we can. From the earliest times it has been the endeavour of man to discover ways and means that go to secure for him a long and healthy life. He has made endless experiments to this end through ages. The garnered knowledge of centuries, coupled with that acquired during the last few decades of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by devoted and untiring labours of men of science, like Louis Pasteur, to rid humanity of sufferings from diseases, is now at our command. We can intelligently apply the knowledge that is already at our disposal to our best advantage, as the progressive peoples of the occident are doing. As "knowledge is power," they have been able, by its proper use, to banish for good from their parts of the globe fell diseases like small-pox and cholera, which, not very long ago, used to ravage the whole of Europe. With the rapid spread of health education they are within a measurable distance of completely eradicating diseases like typhoid, dysentery, etc. It is recent history how the Americans successfully carried on a campaign against malaria during the operations in connection with the opening of the Panama canal. We are told that American millionaires now frequent the canal region in search of health in healthy America. We also know how the Italians are equally successfuly combating malaria in that land and they hope, not vainly to fight it to a finish at no distant date.

The tale of malaria in Bengal is now notorious all over the world, not to mention the outbreaks, with regular periodicity, of epidemics like cholera and small-pox. As a result of the ravages of malaria the once smiling villages of northern, central and western districts of Bengal have now been deserted and depopulated. For close upon three quarters of a century malaria alone has levied its toll of millions of human lives in Bengal—and this,

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in spite of the means science has placed at the disposal of man.

Malaria and small-pox are preventable diseases. These can be made things of the past by a vigorous and concerted effort on the part of the State and an enlightened public. We need not discuss here what the State has done in this respect. But we can take a stock of what has been done by us—the people. A casual glance over the census report reveals a horrible picture. In 1931, malaria alone was responsible for the death of nearly 3½ lacs of human beings in Bengal. Besides malaria, we have frequent outbreaks of cholera and small-pox, which also have been decimating the population of our province. Beri-beri is having its toll of hundreds of lives. Tuberculosis also is spreading in towns and rural areas with alarming speed. In consequence, the vitality of our people is fast ebbing out.

But we cannot allow this merry march of maladies in our midst to go on unconcerned. We cannot allow ourselves to look on helplessly and apathetically. An organized attempt has, however, been made by the anti-malarial societies in some districts of Bengal in recent years. The activities of these societies have done some good—but it is a mere drop in the ocean. The task is stupendous, and the "sanitary conscience" of the people has not awakened to the degree equal to the task. To achieve this end, an intensive and extensive propaganda should be made. This may be effectively done through the schools for boys and girls in Bengal—both primary and secondary.

My own education began in our own village school, where we had to read a book on elementary hygiene "Sarir Palan." In the High School, we had to read books on hygiene up to class VIII, and had to pass in that subject at the annual examinations. At the Matriculation stage, hygiene being an optional subject, my father insisted on my taking it up as one of my optional subjects, as he thinks that some knowledge of hygiene is indispensable for every man and woman, in the interest of the individual as well as of the community. Thus, from my early girlhood till the Matriculation Examination I had to read books on hygiene, more or less. But I can speak with absolute certainty from my personal knowdelge, limited although, that a mere study of books on hygiene in a school ends in passing the examination in that subject and that a mere knowledge of hygiene is of no use to us, unless we are made to live a life, while at school, based on hygienic knowledge acquired through books. I have noticed on close observation of my friends and acquaintances that very few of us observe the ordinary rules of health in our personal lives, although there is no lack of knowledge of the fundamental laws of health on our part.

To make the study of hygiene effective and useful it is imperatively necessary for health habits to be inculcated in the pupils during the most impressionable years of their lives, along with the lessons in hygiene at the class. It ought to be regarded as a part of their duty with the teachers—men and women—to scrutinize each pupil every day if he has come to school with clean teeth, clean finger-nails, clean skin, combed hair, and clean clothes. They should also see that the pupils, while at school, do not disfigure the walls, desks and stools by inscribing or scribbling letters on them with knife or pencil or ink.

Youth being the period when habits are formed in boys and girls, and school having the advantage of developing habits, as it can provide repitition, arrangements should be made in all schools, primary and secondary, to make it incumbent upon teachers to stimulate the repitition of health practices in the pupil which would ultimately become confirmed habits with him. He will receive instruction on health through books. At the same time the authority of the school-master will go a great way to impress on him the infallibility of the health knowledge and health habit he is made to acquire, as the child has implicit faith in his teacher. Besides this, the school has the additional advantage of developing group mentality in the child, who tries to conform to the conduct expected of him by the children in the groups, just as grown-ups try to conform to the standards laid down by society. Moreover, we have seen in our own lives that we often do things to please our teachers which we do not for our own parents. It is for the teacher to turn to his own advantage, as well as to that of the child, and finally of society, the psychology of a child. By the time a child reaches the higher classes of a High School he also reaches his period of adolescence when he can be easily inspired with lofty ideals of social service by wise and patriotic school-masters.

If this noble work is thus carried on unimpeded for some length of time, hundreds of thousands of boys and girls will come out of the schools, primary and secondary, with a decent knowledge of hygiene and sanitation, and with firmly formed health habits, who in their turn will spread the knowledge of health

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among the illiterate masses. In this way the desired *sanitary conscience* may be awakened in the people at large.

It is high time that a wise, practicable scheme should be drawn up for introducing health education through schools in Bengal. The University and the Education and Public Health Departments of the Government of Bengal may jointly work in this direction, as concerted and co-ordinated action on their part is likely to bring about a speedy result. In their combined scheme, imparting of health education in schools for girls should have greater emphasis, as the girls are the future mothers of the race, and mothers, with proper education in health, will exercise the greatest influence on their children. In imparting health education a new set of teachers, fired with a lofty ideal of social service, is the desideratum.

The authorities concerned should be very particular and careful in the selection of men and women as teachers for all primary and secondary schools. Narrowness of ideals must have no room in a scheme of health education. All the schools in Bengal should be adequately equipped with health-charts and literature on the subject. Lantern lectures at schools should be organized as frequently as possible. Co-operation of organizations like the anti-malaria societies, the Bengal Social Service League, the Rural Reconstruction Department of Visva-Bharati and other such organizations, if any, may be profitably invited in this respect. Municipalities and Union Boards also should be invited to co-operate with the teachers. Health exhibitions should be organized in all schools at least once a year.

In a programme of health education the following practices of personal hygiene, obtaining in our country from time immemorial, should find an honourable place :

Dantun (indigenous tooth-brush), ablutions, daily bath, washing of mouth after each meal.

Some useful outdoor games and regular exercises.

Greater exphasis should be laid on domestic hygiene for girls' school and the scheme should specially include such things as :

Regular dusting up of floors, walls and ceilings of living rooms and kitchen, of bedstead and other furniture (if any); cleansing of cooking vessels and utensils; keeping the pots of the stores properly covered; and also to keep the food-stuffs (where permissible) exposed to sunlight and air, as often as possible; use of boiled water; preparing meals in a manner which helps more to retain the food value than to make them merely palatable; seasonal use of indigenous fruits, such as mango, lichi, jack-fruit, cocoa-nut, black-berry, guava, pine-apple, papaya, bel, batabi lebu, etc.; proper feeding of babies and children; proper disposal of household refuse; (for rural areas) depositing cow-dung at a good distance from the kitchen and bed-rooms; not to allow flies to settle on food-stuffs; use of mosquito-nets at night; sending for a doctor immediately when there is a case of cholera or acute diarrhœa in the family and where possible removing the patient to hospital, and segregating a member of the family when attacked with infectious diseases like small-pox, chicken-pox, cholera, typhoid or tuberculosis.

Arrangements should be made for periodical health examination of school children on the lines adopted by the Students' Welfare department of the University for the medical examinations of college students. All school children are to be regularly vaccinated at school on compulsion. Whenever there is an outbreak of cholera or typhoid in a locality, all pupils should have inoculation of anti-cholera or anti-typhoid vaccine. Such measures will go a great way to arrest the spread of epidemic diseases and to save many precious lives from untimely grave.

It is my conviction, and I think I am not wrong, that many an illness, which we suffer from in our country is partly due to the ignorance and superstition of our mothers, aunts and sisters, who never had the benefit of health education, or, for the matter of that, any education. The education that our grandmothers used to receive indirectly by living in big joint families in the past is now non-existent. Our present problems and modern conditions of life imperatively demand a re-adjustment of things, in which a well-laid-out practical plan of health education for us, women, ought to be considered as indispensable.

What I feel most strongly on the subject of health education is that much depends on the right type of teachers, and not so much on the courses of instruction. We have read in Poet Tagore's book *Letters from Russia* what a miracle has been done by a number of selfless, devoted and earnest teachers within a brief span of time. They have already brought up a generation of boys and girls who always think in the terms of the welfare of the entire community. There is no reason why a thing possible in Russia or in any other country should not be possible in Bengal.

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PRESENT TREND OF WORLD POLITICS

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS

I

New York, August 25th, 1936: The present attitude of the Government of the United States is to keep away from all forms of international entanglement. This has been made clear by the speech of President Roosevelt in Chautauqua the other day. The positive aspects of American Foreign Policy are these:

(*a*) The consolidation of American-Canadian relations, which will further the cause of international economic co-operation between the British Empire as a whole, and the United States. It is evident that the United States Department of States will do its best to have a reciprocity treaty with Great Britain. Great Britain is anxious to secure American support in international politics, but it is not possible for her to come to any definite understanding unless Great Britain accedes to American demands in the field of international economic problems, such as the stabilization of currency, reciprocal commercial treaty and settlement of the War Debts.

(*b*) The United States Government is decided in its attitude of consolidating her relations with the South American Republics through the coming International Conference to be held at Buenos Ayres in December. It may be said that any nation that will try to oust American commercial predominance in South America will have difficulties with the United States in the field of International Politics. America wishes to invest her surplus capital in South American countries instead of leading her money to European nations who would compete with her in South America.

(*c*) America is anxious to strengthen her naval power as fast as possible so that she will be able to assert her position effectively in the case of any international crisis, either in the Pacific or in Europe.

President Roosevelt is not an isolationist. He is following the policy of the late Woodrow Wilson, who, before the election of 1916, advocated American neutrality, but after the election used his discretion, and entered the World War. America will not meddle in European questions until the election is over in November. If President Roosevelt is re-elected, as might be the case, then he will assert an aggressive foreign policy, which will be in favour of the democratic countries. In many countries, people think that President Roosevelt wishes to play the role of a dictator, but the fact is that he is a believer in democracy, and as a strong man, he imposes his will through the use of the democratic institutions of America.

If there is a war in Europe in which Germany and Italy are on one side and the Anglo-French-Russian combination is on the other, then American sympathy, and possibly support, will go against the German-Italian combination. This fact must not be ignored by any one. Ultimately, powerful America will play an important role in world affairs. She will not remain passive in her attitude, that is certain.

II

In Asia some significant possibilities are developing.

(*a*) It is certain that Japan will continue to assert her Asiatic Monroe Doctrine more effectively than ever before. For this purpose, she is going to increase her naval, air and military power.

(*b*) She is bound to consolidate her position in North China, either with the consent of, or in spite of the opposition of the Great Powers.

(*c*) Japan will be inimical to those Powers who will try to foment an anti-Japanese movement in China.

(*d*) Japan will co-operate with China provided China agrees to co-operate with her and discontinues intrigue with other nations against Japan.

(*e*) Japan will not take chances against the possibility of Soviet Russian and Chinese co-operation. Therefore she will do her best to create a buffer State between China and Soviet Russia.

(*f*) Recent execution of several Russian spies in Manchukuo by Japanese army officers indicates that Japan is determined to have a show-down with Russia now that the situation in Europe is moving towards a crisis.

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(*g*) It is generally held by many people that Japan will prefer a German-Japanese alliance against Russia. But the fact is that at the present time, Japan would prefer to have a peaceful settlement of all outstanding problems with Russia, so that she will not have to fight, and will thus be able to conserve her strength and consolidate her position in North China.

(*h*) To be sure, Anglo-Japanese rivalry is acute in the field of international commerce. Yet Japan will prefer to have an Anglo-Japanese understanding in order to prevent an Anglo-American understanding against Japan in the Pacific. It seems that Britain is also seeking Japanese co-operation in the Pacific, so that the British will be able to concentrate their naval and air power in Europe and in the regions of the Mediterranean. I am inclined to believe that Japan will prefer to co-operate with an Anglo-French Russian combination than to support Germany, provided both Russia and Britain agree to make concessions to Japan in North China.

(*i*) The Japanese statesmen fully realize that the present foreign policy of Germany is to have a Russo-Japanese conflict which will weaken both Russia and Japan and will help Germany in Europe. Japanese statesmen also realize that the French foreign policy is to prevent a Russo-Japanese war, because any weakening of Russia (France's ally in Europe) and Japan (France's ally in Asia) will be detrimental to France. Finally, Japanese are suspicious of both the German and the Italian policy towards China where they are sending military advisers and selling arms and ammunition which might be used against Japan. If Japan can settle her disputes with Russia through Anglo-French indirect mediation, then there will arise an Anglo-French-Russian-Japanese understanding to which the United States will extend her support later on. Japan holds the key to world politics.

III

In Europe, the Spanish situation has given rise to many types of speculation for future development. It has been definitely stated that if the Spanish rebels are successful, then Signor Mussolini will try to get hold of one of the Belliaric Islands for strategic purposes. From this point Italy will be able to use pressure against France and Great Britain in case of necessity. It has been also stated that Germany wishes to get a foothold in one of the Canary Islands. Of course, this is possible if Great Britain and France are coerced to inaction. Because Great Britain and France could not agree with each other on the Abyssinian issue, it must not be taken for granted that France and Great Britain would concede to Italian ambitions in the Belliaric Islands and German ambition in the Canary Islands. To be sure, Great Britain does not wish to fight if she can avoid it, but both France and Great Britain would fight to check Italian and German programs as mentioned above.

Great Britain is apparently supporting the German contention of freedom of trade in Spain, but the real motive of Great Britain is that she is not anxious for the Spanish rebels to be obligated too much to Italy or Germany. Britain is aiding the Spanish rebels through Portugal and other ways. It is certain that Great Britain does not like the idea of German-Italian co-operation in the Mediterranean which may affect her interests. To be sure, Italy has a powerful air-fleet in the Mediterranean, but Britain will have the full support of France, Yugo-Slavia, Russia, Turkey and *possibly* Greece, against Italy. Britain will create an unfavourable situation in Abyssinia. Furthermore, Britain will have support from Egypt as well as India to strengthen her position. Britain may also have support of Japan, as I have indicated above.

It is well-known that British political leaders are not unanimous in their foreign policy. Men like Lord Londonderry and others are classed as pro-Germans and are for an Anglo-German understanding which may lead to the fulfillment of Herr Hitler's foreign policy of Anglo-German-Italian combination against France and Russia. But the rapid growth of German military power and the recent conversations between German leaders and those of Italy, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, have given the impression all over the world that the German ambition of a re-creation of a Mittle-Europa is in the process of active fulfillment. Furthermore, the recent increase of the German army, as if to scare the Russians and the French, would produce an unfavorable effect in Britain. If Britain tries to hitch up with Germany and Italy, she will not have the predominant voice in that combination; on the contrary, it would help to strengthen Germany too much. Therefore eventually, Germany may not have British support at the crucial moment, as was the case in the World War. It may also be considered that, if Great Britain does not support the newly developed Mittle-

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Europa program, then Italy may also desert Germany later on.

A German-Austrian-Hungarian-Italian-Bulgarian combination will not be sufficient to combat a Franco-Russian combination supported by various European powers, including Britain and Japan, and also the United States.

It is certain that at least the German General Staff and seasoned statesmen realize that by threatening other powers or by bluffing, no advantage can be achieved. It should not be forgotten that Great Britain may flirt with Germany, but she will not allow Germany to become too powerful and crush France. In Europe, Britain holds the balance of power, and I believe that unless Germany changes her methods, an Anglo-French-Russian understanding will develop, and pro-German British statesmen will fail in their endeavor to establish an Anglo-German combination.

HOW WE KNOW GOD EXISTS

By the late Rev. J. T. SUNDERLAND

The atheist says there is no God. The materialist says the same. So do some humanists.* May not these persons be right? How do we know that all our ideas about God and our belief of His existence are not mere creations of our hopes, longings and desire? To these questions the theist makes various replies, among them the following.

The thinking mind of man demands an explanation of the universe in which he finds himself and the meaning of his own existence. The theist believes that only by postulating an Intelligence higher than man, is it possible to explain either.

Reason and all man's experience on the earth teach that only in one of two ways can the creation of anything be brought about. One is by intelligence and the other is by chance, or accident. No sane person believes that chance can create even so simple a thing as a spade, or a wheelbarrow, or a fountain-pen, much less a complicated structure like a Brooklyn bridge, or a New York skyscraper, or a great ocean liner. How then without lunacy can anyone believe that chance can create a universe, a billion times more vast and intricate and wonderful than any possible structure of man?

Everybody knows that the thing absolutely necessary, first of all, in every construction, is intelligence; and the intelligence must continue right on all the way through. That is to say, the first thing must be thought, the thought of what the construction is to be; then must follow further thought of how it is to be effected, with plans, blueprints, and the like, drawn by intelligent engineers and architects, and finally the actual work of construction carried out by intelligent workmen. There must be intelligence everywhere; nothing can be left to chance, to accident, to unintelligence, else everything will be ruined. If this is all true, how can any sane mind conceive of a world, a human race, or even a blade of grass being created by chance—without intelligence?

Joyce Kilmer, the brilliant young poet whose death was one of the tragedies of the Great War, gave to the world a poem of great beauty containing these lines:

> Poems are made by fools like me,
> But only God can make a tree.

Here we have the theistic case in a nutshell. Of course, what Kilmer declared about one tree is equally true of all trees, of all objects in nature, of the universe itself.

Botanists can write learned and elaborate treatises about flowers, their structure, their endless varieties, their habits, their chemical compositions and the rest; but only Infinite Intelligence can make a single flower, much less all flowers.

Astronomers can map the skies, count the stars, measure their distances from us, estimate the number of light-years that it takes their beams to reach the earth, and write wonderful astronomical books; but every astronomer of them well understands that what he can do compared with what lies beyond is infinitesimal. The greatest and most learned of them may

*In May, 1934, some thirty leading American Humanists published what they designated "A Humanist Manifesto," which contained the following statement: *"We are convinced that the time has passed for theism."*

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well say: Astronomies are made by fools like us, but only God can make the starry heavens.

Theists believe that knowledge of God, of His existence and of many of His manifestations, is the most certain of all knowledge possessed by men except that of their own existence. The reasons for so believing are plain.

In the very nature of things my most certain knowledge is of myself, of my own existence, that *I am*. My next certain knowledge is of the existence of something else, that *something else* is—a great something, an all-comprehending something, an external world, an environment, something which was before I came on the scene, which confronts me wherever I go, on which I am every moment dependent, which I can know much about because there is intelligence in it which answers to my intelligence. If there were no intelligence in nature answering to my own, if there were nothing in nature but emptiness and chaos, I could know nothing of it; in other words, I could know nothing at all. The great Everywhere-Present Intelligence which transforms what would otherwise be unknowable chaos into an intelligible world, contact with which calls forth the sleeping possibility of intelligence in men, is what intelligent theists mean by God. Is it not undeniable, therefore, that the most certain of all my knowledge, after that of my own existence, is my knowledge of God's existence and of very much that He does?

No one doubts that I know of a certainty the existence of human beings, of my family, my neighbors and my friends, and of much that they do. But, as a matter of fact, I am much more sure of God's existence than I can be of that of my closest friend. True, I cannot see God with my physical eyes. But I cannot see my friend with my eyes—my *real* friend that thinks and knows and loves and has intelligent intercourse with me. *Him* I know only by what he *does*. He does things all the while which cannot possibly be explained except by postulating a doer—that he, my friend, exists.

But Nature does ten thousand times more things than my friend does, not one of which can be explained except by postulating a doer. This is why I say I have more evidence that the Power at the heart of Nature (God) exists, than that my friend exists.

Every intelligent person in the civilized world concedes that gravitation and electricity exist and that our knowledge of their existence is certain. Yet nobody ever saw gravitation or electricity. We know that they exist only because of what they do—only because of the effects which they produce. But what Nature (God) does—the effects which Nature (God) produces—are incomparably greater than the things and effects of either gravitation or electricity; for both electricity and gravitation belong to God—are only parts of His manifestations.

Probably one of the greatest causes of atheism and agnosticism today is our definitions and our names of God.

The reason why so many of our definitions are evil is their narrowness, and the dogmatic way in which they are used.

From the beginning of man's existence he has recognized a great and mysterious Power over and around him everywhere, manifest in all nature, and on which his very life was dependent. Inevitably he has always been trying to find out more about it, and to describe it. The recognition of the existence of something great and wonderful above him, his incessant desire to get increased knowledge of it, and his efforts to define it, have been perhaps the greatest of all causes of his rising from the mere animal and becoming man. Not only have all his searchings been good, but all his efforts at description have also been good. They all have tended to enlarge his thought and to develop his spiritual and ethical nature. His mistake has been his willingness to stop, his easy conclusion that he had reached the end, that he had found out all, that his descriptions and definitions were complete and final; and especially his conclusion, too often drawn, that what other people had found out and their descriptions and definitions were wrong and wicked.

All this has been to a large degree inevitable, because men have had to grope their way to knowledge of God, as well as to all other knowledge. Nevertheless, the consequence of their stopping in their thought of God, their forming definitions of God, not to be changed, and their refusing to allow others to think differently or to form different definitions, has been very serious. The consequence has been a world filled with religious ignorances and superstitions which ought to be outgrown and left behind, fixed creeds which make religions stagnant pools instead of flowing streams, religious divisions where there should be unities and harmonies, sects fighting and trying to destroy one another where there ought to be cooperation and peace.

Men have taken their little and often foolish ideas and definitions of God, and run with them, shouting: We have got the truth, the whole truth. God has revealed it to us. If you don't believe as we do, you are heretics, infidels,

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atheists, and we will persecute you, torture you, kill you, send you to an eternal hell.

Today four things about God need to be recognized and emphasized above all others; namely, first, that all or nearly all our definitions and descriptions of Him contain truth and valuable truth; second, that all are imperfect and far too small, while many unquestionably contain serious errors; third, that the duty of religious thinkers, above everything else, is with open minds to seek for ever larger, truer and better ideas and definitions; and then, after this preparation, to recognize and appreciate all the truth and good they are able to discover in the definitions and ideas of God held by others than themselves.

There are persons who wonder at the many different definitions, ideas and names of God, are troubled by them, and even claim that they throw doubt upon the reality of the divine existence. But why should there be wonder or doubt? The explanation of why there are many is plain. God is infinite; we are finite. The finite cannot know the infinite completely; it can only get glimpses of it. But we have overwhelming reasons for believing that many of the glimpses are true, and that as man advances in intelligence and knowledge, more and more of them are becoming true. Everything great must have many different descriptions, by reason of its very greatness. But no sane person dreams that the number of these throw doubt on its existence. There are hundreds of different definitions of home, of government, of life, of love. These many definitions are all evidences of great reality, and give us increased insight into the greatness and value of the realities. It is lunacy to believe that all the generations of men from the beginning of human history have been trying to define and describe something that does not exist.

Men's different descriptions, definitions and names of God instead of meaning that there is no God mean the exact opposite; they mean that the Great Reality which they are trying to portray is so vast and so many-sided that of course the glimpses, the bits of knowledge, obtained by different persons have to be different. Each glimpse, each bit of knowledge, is infinitesimal compared with the whole; but each as a part of the whole, each as a glimpse of the Infinite Reality, is infinitely precious.

In the Zoroastrian religion, I find many names given to God. The Zend Avesta represents Zoroaster (Zarathustra) as saying to Ahura Mazda, the great God of Light: "O Ahura Mazda, most Beneficent Spirit, reveal unto me that name of thine which is the greatest and best." Ahura Mazda replies by giving him twenty names, all of which are represented as true and proper to be employed by his followers and worshippers. Among the number are the Creator, the Understanding One, the All-Seeing One, the Healing One, the Strong One, the Holy One, the Herd-Giver, he who Gives Welfare. There is no implication that these twenty names are fully descriptive of the Great Ahura Mazda. They are true descriptions, so far as they go, and therefore they may be reverentially and confidently used. But there is more Beyond. There are heights that these names do not scale; there are deeps that they do not fathom.

Among the Mohammedans I find essentially the same thought. Allah is their great central name for God, used constantly and everywhere. Yet other names are freely employed. Indeed, I find in Mohammedan literature frequent references to "the Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God." The most used and dearest seem to be Allah the Merciful and Allah the Compassionate; but others are freely used.

From India we get important names of God. In the old Sanskrit tongue, we find Sky-Father, the earliest form of our Heavenly Father. India also makes very wide, almost universal, use of the name Mother as well as Father, in connection with God.

I need hardly say the Bible contains many names and descriptions of God. Some of them are crude, outgrown and must be laid aside. But others are great, illuminating, true beyond possible denial and precious beyond words. Savior, Redeemer, Comforter, Good Shepherd, are Bible names greatly loved by all Christians. The Trinity, with its three names for God—Father, Son and Holy Ghost—has truth in it, but also evil. The evil lies in its hardening into a lifeless formula, a theological dogma, a relentless thumb-print, by which to measure Christianity, and to detect, persecute and cast out so-called heresy from the Church—thus tending to transform into a stagnant pool a great religious movement which ought to have been a flowing, widening and ever-deepening river. Probably three Bible names (or descriptions) may be mentioned as most important of all, namely, "Our Father," "God is Love," and "In Him (God) we live and move and have our being." Beyond all question these are stars of the first magnitude in the sky of the world's profoundest religious thinking and deepest spiritual life.

In studying the Great Historical Religions

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of mankind it is interesting to notice that while each has many differing thoughts and conceptions of God, and in most cases many names, yet each religion has a central and supreme conception and generally a supreme name. Says Zoroastrianism: God is Light, Illumination, Truth. Says Hinduism: God is Essence, Reality (the only Reality), Spirit. Says Confucianism: God is Permanence, Order, Law. Says Buddhism: God is Peace, Rest—Eternal Peace and Rest. Says Mohammedanism (Islam): God is One, God is Might, God is Omnipotent and Just Will. Says Judaism: God is Righteousness. Says Christianity: God is Love.

Are not all these conceptions of God true? Are they not all messages from the Eternal? Are they not all needed for the world's full-orbed and complete religious life?

I venture to offer the following definitions and descriptions of God which seem to be particularly in line with much present-day thinking, and which therefore may possibly be helpful to some minds today:

God is the Life of the universe, without which there would be no life. God is the Energy of the universe, without which there would be no energy, but only blind static.

God is the Mind Side of the universe.

God is the Intelligence of the universe, without which it would not be intelligible to man, and man himself would have no intelligence.

God is the Law and Order side of the universe, without which there would be only chaos.

God is the Correlating Something in the universe, which holds its parts together, makes them friendly, reciprocal, co-operative, and thus constitutes them a whole.

What the human heart is to the man, and much more, God is to the universe. What the human brain is to man, and much more, God is to the universe.

God is that without which the universe has no meaning or purpose. God is that without which man's existence has no meaning or purpose.

God is the Something without which Science could not be, because there would be nothing in nature or in man to find out—except that there was nothing to find out.

God is the Progress-Creating Something in the universe—the Onward and Upward Urge at the heart of the universe, without which there could be no advances, but only standstill.

This means that God is the Evolution Creating Something in the universe—that without which Evolution could not be. Evolution in its very nature means steady, continuous, dependable progress. For this there must be Intelligence. If there were no Intelligence higher than man, if there were only chance, there could be no progress, and therefore no Evolution; or if there were any progress at all, it could be only fickle, transitory; there could be nothing permanent; it would be liable at any moment, at the next turn of the wheel of chance, to stop or go backward. Hence there would be no possibility of Evolution.

God is the Harmonizing Something in the universe, without which there could be no Unity. It follows that He is the Beauty Creator, for there could be no beauty in chaos. It follows also that He is the Love-Creator, for love is the supreme spiritual harmony, and the supreme spiritual beauty. God is the Creator of the Spiritual Universe; in a sense He *is* the Spiritual Universe. It follows that if God did not exist man would have no spiritual nature, for something cannot be created from nothing. A vacuum has no creative power. But given God, the Infinite Spirit, what so natural, what so inevitable, as man, the finite spirit? In the language of religion, the "Father" "begets" the "child."

God is man's better self. God is man's deeper, higher, truer self. God is the divine in man.

God is to man what the sun is to the earth, and more; what the air is to the birds, and more; what the sea is to the fish, and more; what the fountains in the hills are to the streams, and more; what the mother is to her unborn babe, and more.

God is the "*Great Affirmation*," the greatest of conceivable affirmations, as denial of God is the greatest of conceivable negatives. God is the "*Infinite Yea*," as denial of God is the infinite *Nay*.

What is the value of all these names and descriptions and definitions and affirmations of God? As has been said, the theist believes they are glimpses, *true* glimpses, of the Eternal Reality. They help us to see at least a little of God's greatness. Most important of all, they help us to understand in how many ways He comes near to us and meets our deepest human needs. We do not have too many names, definitions and descriptions of God. We need more; and we shall have more, and ever more, unless men cease to grow intellectually and spiritually, and begin to gravitate downward.

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THE HUNDRED PER CENT PACIFISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN

By FREDOON KABRAJI

For all the technical knowledge of statesmen, militarists and all manner of experts who make wars, frontier agreements, pacts and paper plans for "peace," their psychology is the psychology of the nursery. It takes a detached observer to come to this conclusion after a general survey of international politics. The guiding principles of all their learned deliberations at conferences, staff talks, and diplomatic tables in the various capitals of Europe boil down to the guiding principles in the running of a somewhat backward nursery: tit-for-tat, bluff, threats, terrorising—these are the time-honoured principles. "Let Germany remove her troops from the Rhine *first*, then France will consider the next step" or "*If* Mussolini is allowed to get off with Abyssinia then Hitler will get off with something else" (he did, too, on the Rhine and at Danzig) "and then Turkey will want to refortify the Straits" and so on.

How is all this different from the psychology of maintaining some kind of discipline in a nursery? Introductorily to the subject of Pacifism in Britain we must briefly pursue our European survey. How can we shut our eyes to-day to the most outstanding feature of the European situation, *viz.*, that Mussolini but a short while ago indifferently disposed to Hitler has now jumped high into the latter's estimation, so that the two form a virtual combination —like-attracting-like—which finds them best-riding the European stage as if they were one Collosus?

The landslide of international morality has been swift and catastrophic. Within a matter of a few months Britain's 'moral leadership,' Abyssinia, the League, the principle of collective security have all been swept away into the limbo of forgotten things and we have today the spectacle of naked pre-war alliances tacitly or openly contrived in the full fever of Power Politics. The forces of the Left and the forces of the Right are at the moment matched in conflict on a virtual fighting front which extends from Moscow to Paris and Madrid and from Berlin to Rome and Madrid. With France and Britain playing a waiting game there are at the moment frenzied alignments in progress between the forces of the Left and the forces of the Right for the military and political mastery of Western Europe. The Spanish Brew is being excitedly stirred up on behalf of pan-Fascism by Germany and Italy on the one hand and on behalf of world democracy at stake on the other hand by Russia. It is a touch-and-go minute in history.

During the last four weeks the terrible Civil War in Spain has been featured in British newspapers both as views and news with a marked bias for Left and Right according to the political sympathies of the paper. The *News Chronicle*, the *Daily Herald* and the *New Statesman* have exposed the Neutrality Negotiations as a one-sided sham and urged Britain's speedy intervention—if not in so many exact words, in so many different words, which mean the same thing. Sir Samuel Hoare's recent categorical refusal to commit the nation to the slightest active participation in Spain's "internal affairs" has brought a storm about his ears from Left quarters which see in Spain's stand for democracy no less than world democracy at stake driven almost to the last ditch and threatened with an overwhelming Fascist alignment.

Such in broadest outline is the situation as I write in England *vis-a-vis* the European shifting sands. Britain and France, both non-aggressive Empires, reserve their hands, refusing with the greatest circumspection to be committed or involved in European troubles the while the tide of the Next War draws over nearer and strong sections of the Left or of a much liberalised-Liberal outlook daily urge policies like those of sanctions, which would certainly plunge England into a general war. Force, threats, sanctions, international armed control, "defensive rearmament" are the watchwords of these influential elements, many of whom subscribe themselves as Pacifists. They have not learnt the lesson from history that violence always begets violence. And, burning with righteous indignation, they have devised to themselves a variety of high-sounding shibolleths to cover up the nakedness of their faith in violence.

Yet against this large body of opinion which justifies the "morality" of violence there

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are today very active in the field such organizations as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Society of Friends, the Methodists, the Christian Pacifists and the 100,000 signatories of Dr. "Dick" Sheppard's Peace Pledge Union whose common platform is a *renunciation of war, total disarmament* and *absolute non-violence.*

The glorious Spring of this year ought to prove memorable, for it was at this buoyant season that there sprang into new life projects full of practical proposals clearly enunciated to formulate constructive plans for peace. The crisis of Spring 1936 was thus not only concerned with a rebirth of Nature but also with a rebirth of man. With the first crocuses, violets and primroses of the year a new crisis brought the spectre of War into sharp objectivity on the Rhineland Frontier. The lovely months of March and April throbbed with the delicate step of advancing Spring no less than with the angry step of Hitler's soldiers upon their "symbolic march." It was an electric time, for the menace that still seemed distant and unreal, not to say even "localised" on the Italo-Ethiopian Fronts, had suddenly come nearer and thrown the "National" Government of the imperturbable Mr. Baldwin into a fever of defence-rearmament programmes. Yet *this* was not the rebirth of man with which the crisis of Spring, 1936 was to herald an era of new hope. This rebirth was rather to be witnessed in the buoyant and springlike phenomenon of the bursting into activity of the all but moribund pacifist organizations of this country.

For all the 'statesman like leadership' of Lord Cecil, who saw in the idea of strengthening a discredited League of Sovereign States with a belated British declaration of faith in collective security and an after-the-horse-had-bolted "intensification" of economic sanctions (not to say also a threat to recourse to military sanctions): for all this pathetic spectacle that was staged at vast Albert Hall and other meetings during May to synchronise with the presence in London of the fallen Emperor of Abyssinia—there was growing in volume and intensity of conviction a considerable nucleus of pacifist opinion which had repudiated the principle or the League Covenant as a method unworthy of the fight for peace. Here then was a momentous moral gain in a great moral cause. For if peace is a moral necessity to civilisation then the methods urged by the clamorous pacifists (so-called) were wide off the mark: they would force the shy and gentle Dove of Peace to spread out her benedictory wings upon a European scene bristling with the upturned mouths of cannon and in skies clouded with the dark wings of bombing aeroplanes. They would won the Dove with cries of revenge upon the "mad dogs of Europe" under the aegis of the very Palace of Peace at Geneva! It was little other than the spectacle of an infant nursery staging a revolt!

It took a few weeks' time for the ebullition to subside and it was not until there was a brief if comparative pause in the excitement of European affairs that the voice of the 100 per cent Pacifists began to be heard. The patriarchal George Lansbury returned from his Peace Mission in the U. S. A., the usual early summer peace-conferences met and repeated the usual theses for world-peace and a handful of independent minded Churchmen showed their courage in the Christian* cause of Peace, one or two by refusing to pray for the Minister for War, some by organizing various small oppositions to the spirit and idea of Militarism as embodied in Empire Day and Military Tattoo Celebrations, and some by issuing a paper Manifesto to protest against the Government Rearmament White Paper. The very excellent idea of organizing a passive resistance revolt against Rearmament by refusal to pay a part of the income tax was mooted in *Reconciliation,* a review devoted to "the things which belong to peace" in its April issue. But although the idea did not exactly fire the English imagination, it was clear that a new value had come into the Christian consciousness in so far as the affairs of nations had become a Christian concern. The standpoint of religion had been no new thing but this acceleration of activity, this 'going all out' of Religion (in the sense of the Church) searchingly into politics, this examining of the complicated problems of the interrelationships of nations in the simple light of the Sermon on the Mount—*this,* if not new, was so urgent as to herald new values. Such a new value was introduced in the idea of direct action and the principle of non-violent resistance as they now began to be studied in great earnestness by such thinkers and writers as Aldous Huxley, George Lansbury, Gerald Heard, "Dick" Sheppard and others.

Here it should be mentioned that the 100 per cent Pacifist philosophy had already been thought out in principle by George Lansbury when he decided to resign the Leadership of the Labour Opposition nearly a year

* The word 'Christian' and un-Christian is throughout used in this article in its British connotation.

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ago. But the times were not then enlightened enough for the vitality of such pacifism fully to be appreciated. Today numbers of new adherents to this philosophy in England have added a certain significance to the actuality of the spirit in which Mr. Lansbury felt compelled to resign. A movement has rapidly come into being sponsored by and constituted of thinking people whose position is that *they are hundred per cent Pacifists because they are hundred per cent Realists and hundred per cent Realists because they endeavour to be hundred per cent Christians.*

Out of such a position of faith as well as of intellectual conviction it *is* then, possible to understand what is meant by men of wide learning and acute intellects (such as Aldous Huxley, Beverley Nichols, Lansbury) when they speak of *Christian Economics* and Christian Statesmanship as comprising within the simple commandments of Christianity all that there is to relearn and infuse into international relationships. For it is contended that un-Christian economics and un-Christian statesmanship have had the full run of history and miserably failed to justify themselves for the good of humanity. Therefore—and particularly in our times—an experiment has to be tried. It is the experiment of bringing into working operation these very principles of Christian economics and Christian statesmanship in the affairs of nations through the machinery of a reborn League for the settlement of the disputes that today form the bedrock of the causes of war. It is seriously contended by men of affairs, members of parliament, economists and even a few of the disillusioned militarists that the hitherto-impractical things the despised Christian values offer precisely the only practical solutions left to a sorry world. That the suggestion made in Sir Samuel Hoare's famous speech of 1st September of last year for some kind of an international arrangement to arrive at a juster distribution of markets, raw materials and the present trade-monopolies (by which the Have-nations might be made to disgorge to some slight extent to the Have-Not nations) should not be allowed to be treated as an ornament of that famous speech but translated into practice. *

Thus it comes about that a practical politician like Mr. Lansbury addresses a letter on behalf of the now considerable body 'Christian Pacifists' to the very Herr Hitler himself appealing to the Fuhrer's better conscience in these words :

. . . "we respectfully and earnestly appeal to your good self and all those with whom you are in conference to adopt the principles contained in the gospel of Jesus Christ as the basis of your discussions. In facing the difficult situation which has arisen in Europe let us acknowledge that all governments, all nations have sinned. Let us begin by declaring our willingness to forgive each other. Let us forget the past and face the future."

Thus also it is that the popular Dean of St. Paul's, "Dick" Sheppard, addresses a letter to Hitler "as one who has so often expressed in your speeches a willingness to strive for peace" in which he makes the astounding request that he (Dr. Sheppard) would be allowed to "address free and public meetings in Germany" at which he would urge his German audiences (just as he urges his English audiences) to sign a pledge to "renounce war and never again sanction or support another".

Thus it comes about that Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., draws up his seven points (which ought to become famous) as a practical contribution to arriving at a settlement for a Peace with Justice instead of the old-fangled Peace with Honour. Let us here quote three of these points :

(1) To hand over our tropical and other colonial possessions to be administered by the League of Nations as a trust for the benefit of the whole world, including the native inhabitants.*

(2) To remove the trade barriers that have contributed so cruelly in late years to international embitterment and the destruction of markets.

(3) To remove the strategic stranglehold by interested Powers over commercial routes and fuelling stations (like Gibraltar, Malta, Suez, Aden, Singapore, Panama) and to place these under effective international control.

And thus we have today in the late summer of this year (as I write this) a situation as remarkable as it is startling to the unchanging Tory type. For the fact is that, as war dispositions go, Britain's position is seriously threatened in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Far

* It is the dependencies and colonies of the imperializing and industrialized nations of Europe, like the British, the French, the Belgians,...which provide them with markets and raw materials They are envied by other European nations who have not got such dependencies and colonies. Sir Samuel Hoare wanted to pacify the latter by suggesting that they also should have similar dependencies and colonies to supply them with markets and raw materials. But do these market-countries, these raw-material-producing countries, exist merely for the convenience and enrichment of Western countries ? Not the parcelling out of Africa and the mainland of Asia among imperialist, industrialist, capitalist and militarist countries, but freedom and self-development for all, is the right ideal. So long as this ideal is not accepted and followed in word and deed by the powerful nations of the world, world-peace will remain a dream.—Editor, "The Modern Review."

* Why should India, for example, be administered by the League of Nations ? Indians themselves are capable of self-rule.—Editor, "The Modern Review."

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Pacific and more dramatically at the moment—along the western coastline of Spain. Because each new year of military developments in Western and Southern Europe alters war strategies and because of the present mode for extensive and violent alignments between Fascists against Communists in the different countries, there are today—that is to say, suddenly in mid-1936 forced out of hiding by the outbreak of the Spanish Trouble—new and incalculable dangers that spell something like the most formidable encirclement for Britain in her far-flung possessions that even she has yet had to face in history. Yet it is precisely at such a juncture that hundred per cent Pacifists have increased in large numbers and organized themselves under influential associations with their common platform of total disarmament, renunciation of war and complete non-violence. A vigorous lead to this cause was given exactly two months ago by Dr. Sheppard whereby the creed of his own present vigorously-going 'Peace Pledge Movement' was broadcast to the country, new headquarters opened, and a big 'offensive' (for peace) was launched. Thus this movement from its former position of merely collecting pledges against taking any part in war has shot out in the last two months to become the spearhead of various other pacifist movements. Its greatest drive is yet to come in October when its enthusiastic workers will tour Britain to push the campaign and win as many converts to the cause as it can. Its non-party and non-religious membership increases its scope and it is announced that Dr. Sheppard is receiving a daily average of 300 pledges from men alone, the women being at present a potential reserve. An intensive training through the machinery of district groups under district leaders has already produced striking results in the understanding of the gospel of non-violent resistance which is being urged and expounded in detail as forming the spiritual base of the Movement. To this end the Movement recently brought over from America as its guest Mr. Richard B. Gregg, author of *The Power of Non-Violence*, and touring the industrial cities of the North Mr. Gregg was able to interpret the doctrine of turning the other cheek to his industrial audiences out of his considerable study of the subject from discussions with Mahatma Gandhi and out of psychological material gathered in various parts of the world over several years.

The criticism of being a 'quietist' movement has stimulated its leaders to show how far from being quietist it can become dynamic and activist and this live principle of the doctrine of non-violent resistance has been already so well grasped that Dr. Sheppard has announced his objective as being *a volunteer-force of a million trained non-violent resisters to form the "shock troops" of the Movement. These will be fully trained and prepared to go to goals, be "beaten up," ostracised and generally persecuted by His Majesty's Government "exactly like Gandhi's non-violent volunteers."* The recruiting of Britain's non-violent volunteers is in the capable hands of no other than Brigadier-General F. P. Crozier, D.S.O., C.M.G., the famous Pacifist General and author whose books are so widely read in India. His own conversion to pacifism is paradoxically based on military arguments, for according to his expert view, "modern war offers no defence because it will be fought in the air". Therefore, the only hope for England is to be, as he says, hundred per cent pacifist and exert to make the Kellogg Pact a reality.

At present Government is merely at the stage of being annoyed by Dr. Sheppard's vigorous pacifist campaign. It also confesses to being somewhat embarrassed by the influence of such a movement at such a time, when its energies are much taken up with Empire recruitment. But a time may come when Conscription in this country has to take stock of anything up to 2½ millions of voters pledged to war-resistance, and resorting to well-organized campaigns of obstruction. In a comparatively free and democratic country like England such a movement cannot fail to "force the Government to sit up and take notice".

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INDIAN CHILDREN'S RHYMES AND CHANTS

By Prof. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

All over the world children live in a song-saturated atmosphere : rhymes and chants come as easy to them as the green leaves to the forest plants. Their life is all poetry. They are quite at home with the inspiration of song. Whenever their unsophisticated hearts jump up with the care-free simplicity of life, they cannot but sing. Indian children have their own rhymes and chants. They are numerous like the forest flowers, which blossom of their own accord in the sweet lap of Mother Nature. Indian folk-lore is just a rose-bush with the children's rhymes and chants as its lovely buds.

Says poet Rabindranath Tagore :

"We are like a stray line of a poem, which ever feels that it rhymes with another line and must find it, or miss its own fulfilment. This quest of the unattained is the great impulse in man which brings all the best creations." *

The children's rhymes and chants, too, are the off-springs of their subconscious quest of the unattained. No matter, if they are some times full of apparent meaninglessness, no true lover of India's national heritage can afford to overlook them.

The Mother and the Child
Sketch by M. Allah Bux

Far away, lost in the pearly haze of time, lies the history of the Indian children's songs; the history of these songs is the history of rhyme and rhythm. The full survey of this branch of Indian folk-lore is yet to be done.

With a tender and passionate affection, the Indian mother introduces her children to the great stock of old old rhymes and chants with an effortless ease. The mother herself, too, composes many new chants and rhymes for her off-spring. Then comes a time when in the children's dreamland songs blossom like the native flowers and in their own way they fill the old bottles with new wine. The mother naturally serves as the gardener of her children's song-garden.

See how the Bengali mother makes her child dance :

Gay dance, sweet song :
But what is that to thee?
With a heart, brimful of joy,
We are making our child dance.
While dancing, the child's body got hot,
His mother-in-law presents him a pair of bangles.
Dance no more, my *Yadumani*, thy feet are tired.
See, the sweat is visible on his moon-like face.
O he has danced more than our expectation.

Then she invites the moon :

Dhei, Dhei, Dhei, Dhei,
My child is at dance.
Dhinta, Dhinta, Dhinta,
Tinta, Tinta, Tinta,
Come, O moon, come,
To behold my baby's dance.

The moon should come down from the sky, and, charmed by the child's dance, it should kiss his forehead—this is what a Bengali mother wants :

Come, O moon, and sit
On a branch of our tree :
In a plate of gold
I'll give boiled rice to thee.
Fifty kinds of curry will I offer.
You will take as you prefer,
Listen to me, O moon, listen :
Kiss my baby's forehead and then return.

Again she says :

Come, O Moon, displaying thy light,
But making the tank-water in no way bright,
After I thresh the corn, I'll offer you the husk,
After I cut the fish into pieces, I'll offer you its head.
In a plate of gold, I'll offer you boiled rice.
In a silvern plate, I'll offer you curries.
I'll offer you a calf, whenever it is born.
I'll arrange thy marriage with the king's daughter.
(O in exchange of all this)
Only give a kiss on my golden baby's forehead.

Then the child is celebrated as Moon Child:

Dance, dance, lo! the moon is at dance,
It is too late, when will my Moon Child dance?
O with rhythmic steps just come to me,
A *Nupur* of gold I'll give to thee.

Or :

* *Thoughts from Rabindranath Tagore*, p. 8.

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With rhythmic movements
Here comes the flood.
Lo! the moon is reflected
Everywhere in the water.
My Moon Child is all gold.
Fortunate am I that it came to my lap.
"O whose Moon is he?"
"O it is her, who is all lucky."

Or:

The Moon Child is out for fishing,
Lo! the embankment is broken.
My child is carrying a basket full of *Gugli.**
Two kites are following him.
O let the fish fall into the fire,
Lest my child's feet get dirty with the mud.

The Moon Child is in no way inferior as compared with the moon itself:

Moon, moon,
Lo! there is the moon on the sky.
Shachi† is seen in the palm-forest.
There is the moon on your sky,
Here is my child—my moon.
O. You cannot distinguish
One moon from the other.

All the above-mentioned songs are tokens of the Bengali mother's genius; the credit of their authorship naturally belongs to her. We can hear these songs from the lips of Bengali children.

Whether we hear Indian children reciting a sporting chant, or some nursery rhyme, whether they repeat some refrain set to a dancing tune, or a little note of a jingling nature, the refreshing spirit of childhood is always present there.

The moon—sometimes styled as Uncle Moon—is the great symbol of beauty and it very well colours the frontispiece of the children's imagination. Like the Bengali mother, a mother in the Punjab, too, seems to adjure the moon to come down to the earth. How she asks the moon to come and join the village-children in their peacock-dance:

Listen. Uncle Moon. come down to the earth.
The pretty children 'll play with thee.
Leave the stars and all their glance:
Join the children in peacock-dance.
Listen, Uncle Moon, come to the earth.
The pretty children 'll play with thee.

The Punjab is a land of soldiers. It is natural with the children of such a country to compare the stars to the soldiers, with the moon as their commander-in-chief:

Hurrah, ye friends, hurrah,
Uncle Moon is the stars' Commander-in-Chief:
Hurrah, ye friends, hurrah.

Hir, the beloved of Ranjha, is the peasant-princess of Punjabi folk-lore. Every boy in the Punjab imagines to get a Hir-like bride. But how can Uncle Moon get such a princess of beauty?

Uncle Moon is newly married.
Now each star congratulates him.
Thus laments our Uncle Moon,
"Alas! my bride is not a Hir."
Uncle Moon is newly married:
Now each star congratulates him.

Then the Indian children sing many a rain-song. The Telugu-speaking children in South India sing the following song with an extraordinary vivacity of imagination:

The clouds will pour down,
The tanks will overflow,
The frogs will make a noise,
The crops will be rich,
My mother will cook food—
Readily will I take it,
"Art thou busy in the kichen?
O mother, so dear!"

The Oriya-speaking children of India have their own freshness and suavity in their rain-songs. Here is one:

Listen to me, O frog,
Thou hast brought the rain.
Water, water, all is water:
So overflowing look the streams.
Listen to me, O frog,
Thou hast brought the rain.

The following two rain-songs are from the Punjab. Graceful indeed are the words of the children's prayer:

Send us rain, O God,
Send us rain.
Everywhere will grow green grass,
Whenever the clouds pour down.
Send us rain, O God,
Send us rain.
Black bricks: white stone-bits;
Let it rain, O God, in torrents.

It is well to point out that some of the rhymes and chants, coming from various Indian provinces, reveal an extraordinary association of themes. If, for example, the translation of an Oriya chant reads thus:

'Let me tell a tale.'
'Whose tale?'.
'The tale of a Frog.'
'What sort of Frog?'
'A wooden Frog.'
'What sort of wood?'
'Of a tree from an oilman's field.'
'What sort of Oilman?'
'One who has an oil-press.'
'What sort of oil-press?'
'One resembling a sugarcane-press.'
'What sort of sugar-cane?'
'Thorny sugar-cane.'
'What sort of thorny sugar-cane?'
'Like an official's old wife.'
'What sort of official's old wife?'
'A woman with hoary hair.'

* A kind of snail found in the river-beds.
† The name of Lord Gouranga's mother.

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'What sort of hoary hair?'
'All white like ivory.'
'Ivory of what sort of elephant?'
'The King's elephant.'
'What sort of king?'
'Just a sugar-toy.'
'What sort of sugar?'
'Just deer-dung.'
'What sort of deer?'
'Living behind a bush.'
'What sort of bush?'
'A thorny bush.'
'What sort of thorns?'
'Sharp thorns—'
'One cannot but cry
When pricked by these thorns.'

it is matched to a greater extent by another from Bengal:

'Here is a tale—
'Haven't you heard it?'
'Yes, we've heard it—
'What does it describe?'
'What sort of frog?'
'Which lives in an earthen pot.'
'What sort of pot?'
'Which a Brahmin uses to milk his cow.'
'What sort of Brahmin?'
'Ivory-made Brahmin.'
'What sort of elephant's ivory?'
'One that is very good.'
'What sort of good elephant?'
'Just the son of a monkey
Which lives in a wood.'
'What sort of wood?'
'Which belongs to a high family.'
'What sort of family?'
'A red family.'
'What sort of red family?'
'Which looks after a crane.'
'What sort of crane?'
'Which is blind and spent.'
'What sort of blind crane?'
'Blind like your mother's mother.'

Of great importance are the chants which reveal the inter-provincial coincidences. The translation of an Assamese chant reads thus:

'Who has captured our hands?'
'Our hands are captured by a kite.'
'Where has gone the kite?'
'It fell down in a wood.'
'What happened to the wood?'
'It is burnt to ashes.'
'What happened to the heap of ashes?'
'The washerman has taken it away.'
'What did the washerman use it for?'
'For cleaning the king's garments.'
'Where has gone the king?'
'He has gone to hunt the deer.'
'What happened to the deer?'
'The deer crossed the river.'
'What happened to the river?'
'It became dry.'
'What happened to its fishes?'
'They were swallowed by a crane.'
'Where has gone that crane?'
'It seated itself on a branch of a tree.'
'Lo! the crame flies away—
Here come back our hands.'

It is matched pretty well by a rhyme, current among the Bengali children:

What sort of child is born, male or female?
It is a male child.
Where is he gone?
He is out for fishing.
Where is the fish?
It is caught by a kite.
Where is that kite?
It has seated itself on a branch.
Where is that branch?
It has been burnt away.
Where is the ash-heap?
It has been taken away by the washerman.
What did he do with it?
He used it for washing.
'Tell me, my baby, where will you fall,
On the heap of gold, or in a dust-bin?'
'No, mother, I'll fall on the heap of gold.'

The following two songs—'Grandmother's *Khir* is bitter' (from the Punjab) and 'Give me a needle, O Moon' (from Assam)—appear like real brothers:

1—'What are you looking for, O Grandmother,
What are you looking for?'
'Just for a needle, my sons.'
'Why are you looking for a needle?'
'For sewing a small bag,'
'What for dost thou need a bag?'
'For keeping my money.'
'What for dost thou keep the money?'
'For buying a buffalo.'
'What for dost thou need a buffalo?'
'For getting some milk.'
'What for dost thou need milk?'
'For preparing some *Khir*.'*
'What for dost thou need Khir?'
'For enjoying its taste.'
'Give us some Khir, O grandmother.'
'Give us some Khir.'—
'Grandmother's Khir is bitter, ye friends,
Grandmother's Khir is bitter.'

2—'Give me a needle, O Moon.'
'What for dost thou want the needle?'
'Just to sew a purse.'
'What for dost thou want the purse?'
'Just to fill it with money.'
'What for dost thou want the money?'
'Just to buy an elephant.'
'What for dost thou want the elephant?'
'Just to have a ride on it.'
'What for dost thou want a ride?'
'Dhinna Pakka Kala.'

The antiquity of these parallel rhymes undoubtedly goes back to the times when between the different regions of India there was a great scope of mutual exchange of ideas, especially in the realm of national folk-lore. There must have been some roads of migration at least for the children's rhymes and chants.

* A sweet dish of rice boiled in milk.

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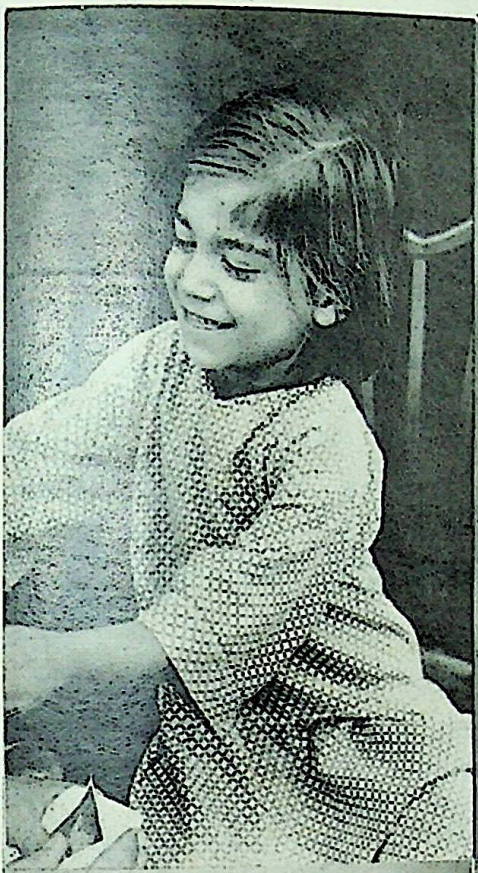

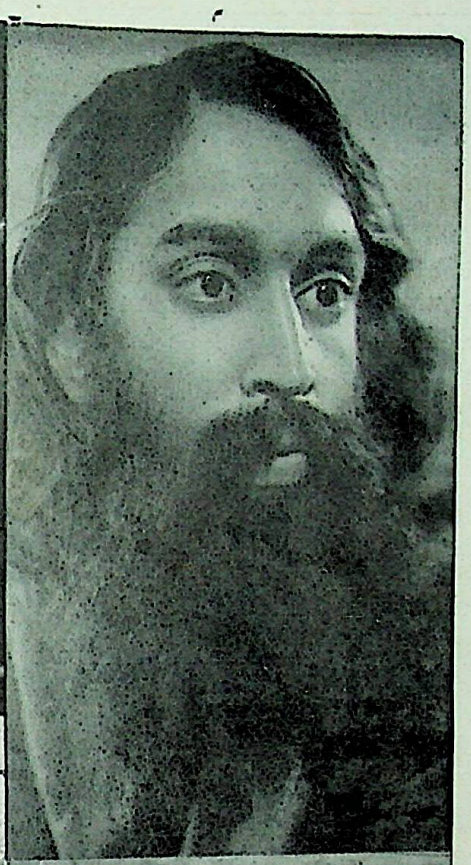

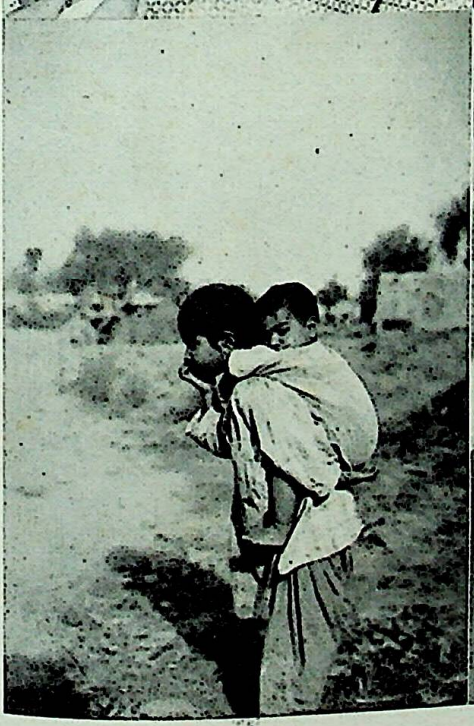

Kabita, the author's daughter
Sister and brother

The author
Children of Modern Bengal

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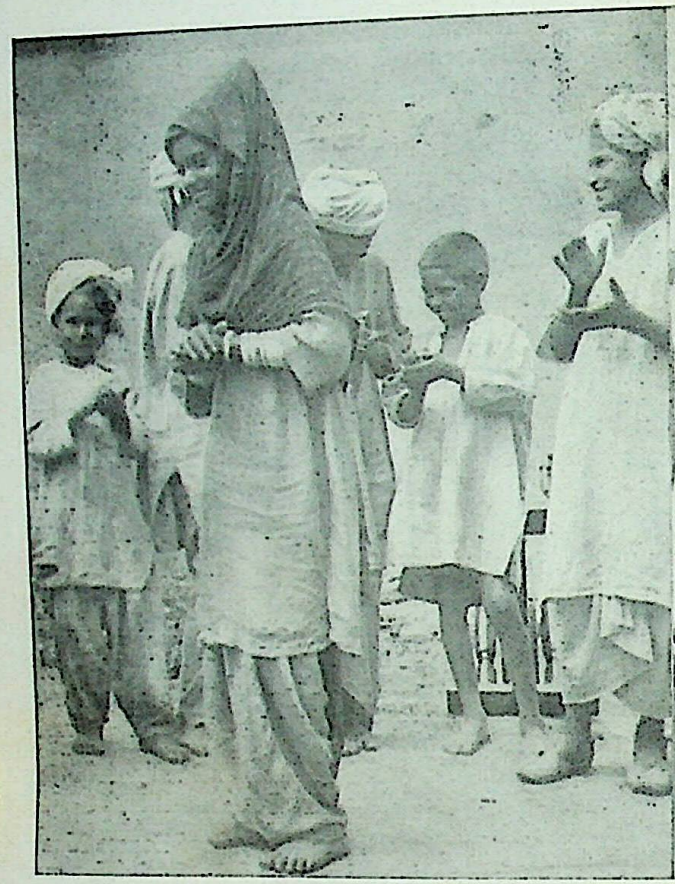
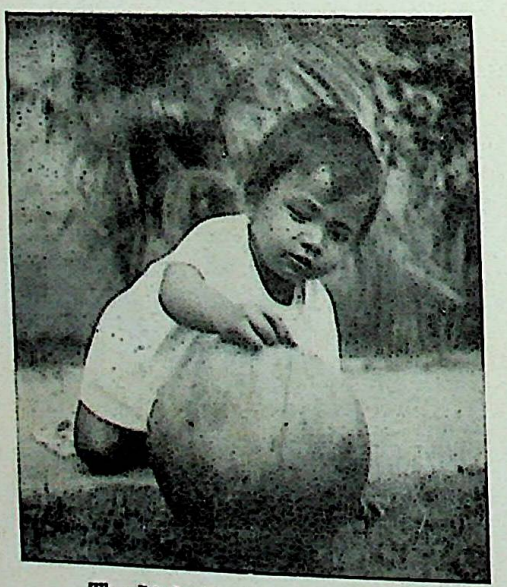


The Joy of Dance

A child of Contemporary India



The Little Footballer of Bengal

The Panjab Children

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TRAVELLERS IN THE NIGHT

By SITA DEVI

Synopsis of Previous Chapters

Satyasaran, the son of Shaktisaran, a millionaire, has fallen on evil days. With a small sum of money borrowed from his sister Saroja, he goes to Rangoon to seek his fortune. Here, on the first day, luck leads him to a narrow lane, where some people from the Madras Presidency are busy effecting the sale of a young girl named Kanakamma. Satyasaran, aghast at the sight, rescues the girl from the clutches of the villains and has to spend two hundred rupees over it. The girl is deeply grateful and falls in love with him. Satyasaran with the help of another Bengali gentleman makes arrangement for the girl to stay in a Bengali family as an Ayah. But after some days, Satyasaran has all his money stolen and is reduced to extreme difficulties. He is on the point of being turned out into the streets and starving to death when Kanakamma comes to his rescue, by selling herself to her former admirer and giving the money to Satyasaran. She goes away immediately afterwards and he loses all trace of her. After some enquiry, he learns that the girl has gone away to Bassein, with her purchaser. Satyasaran returns to India determined to make good and rescue the girl again. He takes service in Allahabad, and here falls in love with Tapati, a daughter of his employer Bireswar Babu. A marriage is arranged between them though the girl's mother is not much in favour of such a poor bridegroom.

But the old lady grows reconciled to the idea of the marriage and preparations for the same begins. It is decided that the newly-married pair will live with Bireswar Babu. Satyasaran receives news of Kanakamma from Rangoon and sends some money for her to Gopal Babu, a friend in Rangoon. But a few days later the terrible news arrives that Kanakamma has been attacked with small-pox.

(15)

In spite of diverse obstacles, preparations for the marriage went on steadily. Articles that had been ordered to be made in Calcutta began to arrive one by one. In Allahabad also many things were being purchased. About a dozen relatives of Satyasaran, of both sexes, were discovered in his native village. They all agreed to come over for the ceremony and expressed their hearty approval of the match. Bireswar Babu now began to feel somewhat relieved. He was assured that the marriage would be celebrated with the proper amount of noise and bustle.

Tapati's two sisters Dheera and Jyotsna agreed to come over one month before the ceremony, as their mother gave them no peace until they did so. They would come with their children and husbands, though the husbands would return to Calcutta after seeing the ladies safe in Allahabad. The gentlemen would come again at the time of the wedding. They were busy people, and could not be expected to waste a whole month on account of a wedding.

Tapati's mother was satisfied with the arrangements. She was a confirmed invalid who spent day and night in bed and was unable to look after her household. In these circumstances, the continual stay of her rich sons-in-law would have meant serious trouble for her. She would not have been able to give them suitable welcome and comfort, and this gross breach of social rule would have driven away all peace from her mind. Her daughters, too, would have been censured on their return to their husbands' houses. So this arrangement met with her sincere approval. Her own daughters would not, of course, find fault with her household arrangements and complain about any lack of comfort.

Another matter was causing her some anxiety. She called her husband to her one day and tried to settle it. "Now look here," she said, "You just rent a small house and send away Satyasaran there."

"What's the hurry?" asked her husband. "We have got more than one month in hand. We could do it in good time."

"You men are too dense!" said his wife. "Do you want all sorts of talk about this? We must remove Satyasaran from this house before Dheera and Jyotsna arrive. Don't you remember what a shrew Dheera's mother-in-law is? She is a regular cat. If she comes to learn from anyone that Satyasaran continued to live in the same house with us, even after the match was arranged and that he used to talk with Tapati, the old termagant would spread no end of rumour about us. Besides, our Tapati is very careless about these matters. She does not know how to act according to circumstances. She may begin to laugh and talk with Satyasaran in the presence of her brothers-in-law. She had been brought up very much like a Mem Sahib, and she could never be made to understand that there is anything unseemly in her behaviour. So I think it would be better for Satyasaran to live in another house for the present."

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"You seem to live in abject fear of your sons-in-law," snorted Bireswar Babu. "What does it matter, if Tapati talks to Satyasaran? She is innocent as an angel, you must not teach her to be insincere. There is no harm done, if they talk. I still harbour the disappointment of not having been allowed to speak to my bride before the marriage."

His wife laughed outright. "Listen to the old fool!" she said. "Why don't you go and marry again then, after a proper courtship like a Sahib? Tapati may be as innocent as an angel, but why should we allow people to talk about her? Since it is settled that Satyasaran is to remove to another house for the wedding, what harm is there in asking him to do so in time?"

"All right, have it your own way," said Bireswar Babu. "When are your daughters coming?"

"They are due here in about a week's time," said his wife.

"Very well, I must get a suitable house within that time," said her husband and left the room.

As soon as Satyasaran returned from the shop that evening, Bireswar Babu sent for him. "I said something to you about renting a small house, didn't I?" he asked. "It would be better if we get it now."

Satyasaran felt a bit puzzled and looked enquiringly at the old gentleman. He interpreted the look rightly and said, "Then I must explain everything to you. We live here in our own way, and don't observe orthodox rules much, as you see. Tapati has been accustomed to this manner of living from her childhood. She does not know the thousand-and-one rules that govern orthodox society, neither does she observe any of them. For instance, you have chosen each other yourselves, not waiting for any match-maker. You talk to each other freely and meet as often as you like. But if you had lived in Calcutta, things could not have gone on like this. Even now, most Hindu families are very conservative in these matters. I have no personal objection to the modern way of looking at these things. Rather I like people to enter matrimony with their eyes and ears open, and not like so many toys in the hands of their guardians. But my wife does not want any gossip about these matters. My two elder daughters are coming down within a week. Their husbands are coming too. But they would leave after a day or two. Now, if they see you living in the same house with Tapati, they may talk about it. You know what orthodox society is in Bengal. So my wife was saying that it would be better for you to rent a small house now and remove to it so that there may not be any talk."

Satyasaran listened to him silently and with bent head. "Very well," he said at last. "What do you think of the small Bungalow that is situated near the shop? Would it be suitable? The house is new and has got a large compound. It would be convenient for me, as it is very near the shop."

"I was thinking about the same house," said Bireswar Babu. "Enquire about it to-morrow, when you go to the shop. Ask whether the proprietor is willing to let it and how much he wants for it. Once the house is decided on, we can arrange about bringing your relatives down. In my opinion, they should not be brought over too early. They should come four or five days before the marriage, and go away four or five days after. Say about ten or twelve days in all. Otherwise the expense would be too great. And they would pester you to death also, with their mania for pilgrimage."

"I shall do as you say," said Satyasaran. He was already feeling rather heavy at heart. The cheerless prospect of going away from Tapati was beginning to tell on him. He would not be able to see her even. How was he going to spend this one month? Nothing except Tapati's companionship gave him any peace or joy now. Her sweet young face shielded him against all fear, shame and sorrow. In this cruel struggle for existence Tapati was his sole armour. He began to feel extremely disgusted with these old meaningless rules, which were going to deprive him of Tapati's company for one whole month. But how could he object? Up to this time, he had no claim on Tapati. He must abide by the decision of her parents. Satyasaran should have been grateful to them for permitting him to mix so freely with Tapati for such a length of time. Satyasaran would have felt much relieved, if he could have erased this one month from the almanac. A mad desire to get Tapati for his very own had got possession of him. This separation was unbearable. He wanted to merge his life that had gone dry and bare in the stream of her fresh young life. A dying person is often saved by the infusion of fresh blood from another person's veins. So Satyasaran wanted to infuse strength into his existence by borrowing it from Tapati. He had nothing to give to her, except his love. But he wanted to have everything.

Tapati felt that Satyasaran was brooding over something, as soon as she met him that

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evening. "What's the matter with you?" she asked. "Why are you looking so gloomy?"

"I hear that you are going to become a great *purdahnashin*," said Satyasaran, "and I am to be debarred from catching even a glimpse of you. I am to live in another house alone like an outcast."

"Are you afraid to live alone, even for these few days?" asked Tapati, smiling.

Satyasaran twined a strand of her hair round one of his fingers and said, "Yes I am afraid. Don't you know that people who fear ghosts are always afraid to be alone?"

Tapati untwined her hair from his finger and said, "Are you really afraid of ghosts? I did not know. But you are not going to remain all alone, there would be servants in the house."

"The ghost I am afraid of, fears you alone," said Satyasaran. "If you are with me, he would never come near me. But he does not mind a hundred other persons."

Tapati did not try very hard to understand what he was saying. She gave him a playful slap on his palm, saying, "What rot you talk! But you must go away to another house for a month. Mother is making such a fuss about it that I have got absolutely fed up."

"Cannot the world grant us even this much, Tapati?" asked Satyasaran. "We were not harming anybody or stealing anything from anyone. We were content to be near each other, to see each other and to speak to each other. Was even this too much for unkind fate?"

Tapati took one of his hands and placed it on her lap. She began to play with his fingers, saying, "Don't be so upset, darling. Why shouldn't you see me even? You will, of course, come over to this house now and then."

"I don't think I shall be allowed to," replied Satyasaran. "You know your mother is sending me away for fear of your sisters. As long as they are here, we could not be allowed to meet and talk."

"I see," said Tapati. "Mother is afraid of my eldest sister's husband and his people. They are extremely conservative. Even a small slip is a great crime in their estimation. I remember that my second sister's husband wanted to see her and to listen to her singing before the marriage was settled. But those people set up such a howl of protest on hearing about the proposal that mother dropped it at once."

Satyasaran clasped Tapati to him and asked. "Are not you feeling even a little bit sorry? I don't think you understand what it means to me, to be denied even a glimpse of you. But won't you miss me even a tiny bit?"

"Oh won't I?" said Tapati. "But you are so terribly upset about this, that I dare not give vent to my own feelings in front of you. You may burst into tears for all I know."

Satyasaran laughed and released her. "I have seldom seen a girl as wise as you. Do you always think of others and never of yourself?"

His own expression became very serious as he said this. Tapati was about to answer, when her mother was heard calling her to her room. Tapati ran off at once.

Next morning Satyasaran set out in search of a house. The small Bungalow, of which he had spoken belonged to a Brahmin, familiarly referred to as Punditjee. The house was situated close to the shop, within five minutes' walk. It had four rooms and a wide verandah all around. It had also a large compound and some out-houses. The house was a new one, and situated out of the city's turmoil.

The proprietor at first refused to let the house for one month only. After a good deal of persuasion and on hearing that Satyasaran was about to become the son-in-law of Bireswar Babu, Punditjee finally agreed to let the house, though on an increased rent. Satyasaran went with him and had a good look at the house again. It contained some furniture also and the rest Satyasaran would have to buy or hire. He paid one month's rent in advance and went back home.

There were only six days in hand. After that Dheera and Jyotsna would arrive and Satyasaran would have to go away from this house. He wanted Tapati before his eyes, all these times and never to let her out of his sight. But how could that be arranged? Satyasaran would have to absent himself from the shop for ten or twelve days prior to his wedding. Bireswar Babu was continually requesting him to set everything in order, before he took leave. So, nowadays Satyasaran had to leave for the shop early in the morning and he had to stay there till nightfall. He saw Tapati once at the tea table before he set out. On his return, sometimes he met her and sometimes did not.

Thus the week passed off. Dheera and Jyotsna were due on Sunday morning, so Satyasaran must leave on Saturday. Removal was easy for him, as he had very few belongings. Even most of these, too, he would be allowed to leave behind here. He only needed some clothing and his bed. All the furniture he needed had been already procured. Tapati's

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mother had engaged a cook and a servant for him. Kitchen utensils and crockery were going to be supplied from this house.

On Saturday Satyasaran returned very early from the shop. He must remove his things now to the new house. He, himself would go over there at night after his dinner. If he delayed longer, he might be caught by Dheera and Jyotsna.

He entered his room and began to pack a large trunk with clothing and other necessary belongings. A number of relatives would come down for the wedding and this room might be needed then. So he must leave the room in such a condition that no trace of its late occupant might be easily discernible. Everything that could testify against him must be destroyed or removed.

Tapati came in suddenly. "Why are you pulling down these pictures?," she asked.

"If I leave them here, your sisters would at once understand that I had been living in this room," said Satyasaran.

Tapati snatched away the framed photographs from his hand. "Let them understand anything they like," she said, "but you must not thrust these in that heap of rubbish. I shall keep them in my room."

"But your mother may not like that," said Satyasaran.

"Mother never goes to my room," said Tapati. "My sisters might jest if they see these pictures, but I don't mind. They jest about everything on earth." She went off with the pictures.

What a strange girl, thought Satyasaran to himself. She lives in the world, yet she is above it. Its pettiness, its squalor did not touch her at any point. Those photographs were all of his relatives. Tapati did not appear to realise that there might be anything strange in their being placed in her room.

After dinner, he sought out Tapati again. "I must go now," he said.

Tapati came forward and placed her head on his breast. Satyasaran put his arms round her and kissed her. "So you are feeling a bit sad now, are you not, little heart of stone," he asked.

"Don't call me that," said Tapati lifting her head. "I don't mind my own sorrow, but I am feeling extremely miserable about you."

"Do you really never think about yourself?" asked Satyasaran.

"When I think of you, I am really thinking about myself," replied Tapati.

Satyasaran kissed her again and released her. "Shall I see you again at the end of this month?" he asked.

"If I am alive, you surely will," replied Tapati.

Satyasaran began to feel extremely uncomfortable in his new house. He had never had an establishment of his own, and he did not possess the slightest notion as to how one should be run. He did not know how much bazar money he should give and how to order meals. He knew that all servants were thieves, but he did not know how thieving could be prevented. He did everything the wrong way and felt as uneasy as possible. The loneliness was too much to bear, he could hardly look at the house. He felt amazed to think that he had lived all alone only a few months ago, and had felt none the worse for it. Tapati had come into his life only very recently. But such a hold had she got on him within such a short time, that her absence was sufficient to turn every thing black in Satyasaran's eyes. If he could not see her, he did not want to open his eyes at all. Satyasaran could never have believed before that one human being could become so supremely important to another.

After that fateful letter from Rangoon, four or five mail days had gone by. He had received no further news about Kanakamma, neither had he tried to get any. He did not know even whether the girl was alive or dead. Gopal Chowdhuri might not send him any more news about the girl, as it was hardly any concern of his. He had done enough, as it was. Kanakamma was nothing to him, nor was Satyasaran. But Satyasaran could not lift up his hand to write to Rangoon. His mind, too, seemed to have become paralysed as far as the unfortunate girl was concerned. He could not even think about her. He turned away resolutely from all thoughts about her. People who are afraid of ghosts never dare to think about them, and thus get rid of their fear. Satyasaran behaved in the same way. He drove away all thoughts of Kanakamma from his mind, thus hoping to cast her out of his life.

Dheera and Jyotsna arrived on Sunday. Satyasaran received a letter from Sarojini in which the good lady informed him that she had sent two pieces of jewellery and some silk clothing for Tapati with Dheera. Sarojini had not sent these by post for fear of their getting damaged. She requested Satyasaran to go and fetch the things from Bireswar Babu's house.

A curious feeling arose in Satyasaran's heart as he finished the letter. He was glad of this opportunity of visiting Bireswar Babu's house,

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at the same time he felt extremely reluctant to go there. He did not want to appear before Dheera and Jyotsna. They were wives of rich husbands. Perhaps they would look with pity and scorn at this poor man Tapati had chosen. For the first time since disaster had overtaken his family, he began to grieve over his lost wealth and position. He did not grieve for himself, but for Tapati. He would have been glad, had he been able to keep Tapati in a style befitting the daughter-in-law of Shaktisaran, the millionaire. But at the same time he could not but admit that Tapati would have looked extremely out of place in that gorgeous setting. She resembled Sati, the bride of Shiva, much more than she resembled Indrani, the queen of heaven. Tapati had the same appearance, the same heart and the same taste. Satyasaran wondered whether a like fate was awaiting poor Tapati

On Monday, he took courage in both hands and paid a visit to his former home. The house had already become full of people and noise. A number of children were playing on the lawn that lay in front of the house. They all looked at him with wonder. Two or three ran inside. Next moment, a number of people rushed out of the house in a body, Bireswar Babu being one of them.

Half an hour passed off with introductions to his future relatives. The outer and inner apartments in the house had now been carefully separated. Satyasaran could feel many pairs of curious eyes on his person. The ladies were having a look at him from behind the curtains.

After two hours or more, he finally returned to his house with the parcel from Calcutta. He wondered where he could keep these costly things. The clothes he could keep in his trunk, but what about the jewellery? He remained absent from the house most part of the day, and the lock on the trunk was none too good. After some thinking he took the parcel with him to the shop and locked it up in the iron safe.

His work here had increased tenfold. He worked till seven in the evening, yet could see no end of it. His attention wondered continually and he felt extremely restless. But the thought of the empty house held him back. His servants, the gardener and his wife were there of course, but they preferred to remain in the out-houses.

"You are looking rather unwell, sir," said Lalmohan solicitously. "You must be careful, else you may really fall ill at that time."

"How can I be careful?" asked Satyasaran without looking up. "I must finish the work in hand."

When at last he returned home, he felt as if he were living in a haunted house. The house had no electric connection. The dim light from the kerosene lamps only made the darkness around more dark. He finished his dinner somehow and went to bed. But sleep refused to visit his eyes. He thought enviously of the residents of the other house. Even if they felt sleepy, they could not sleep. The noise and the bustle kept them up. They were lucky in another way also. They could see Tapati, they could also hear her voice. But the fools did not realise their luck, of course.

Next morning, he began to feel feverish. His head seemed to be filled with lead. Still he could not remain in the house. He did not have his bath or breakfast and went off to the shop.

Lalmohan began to express great concern about him and asked him to go back home at once. "We poor folks have been looking out for the feast, ever since we heard the good news," he said. "You must not spoil everything by getting ill at this time. You better go home, sir, and rest. I shall go to your house in the evening and report."

Satyasaran was obliged to take his advice, though unwillingly, as he was really feeling ill. He bought a magazine and departed for his home. He ordered a cup of strong tea, with plenty of ginger in it and began to turn over the leaves of the magazine, lying on the bed. He did not want to read it, everything bored him so terribly now a days. He dropped asleep after a while.

A sudden turmoil outside roused him after a while. He opened his eyes and found his servant and cook standing in the middle of the room and talking excitedly. Satyasaran was still somewhat drowsy. He asked what the matter was and why they were making such a noise. The cook answered that the gentleman from the shop had brought along a curious person with him.

Satyasaran sat up on his bed and ordered the gentleman from the shop to be shown in. He wondered why Lalmohan had arrived so soon.

Lalmohan came in, followed by a woman. She wore a dirty Madrasi *saree* and carried a large bundle in her hand. Her face was deeply pitted and scarred and both her eyes appeared to have gone blind.

Satyasaran sprang up like one receiving

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an electric shock. "Kanakamma!" he cried out in a hoarse voice.

Lalmohan tried to appear as serious as the occasion demanded and said, "This woman appeared at the shop, suddenly, sir. She had come there straight from the station and carried a piece of paper, on which your name and address were written. I brought her over here in haste, lest she should say something there, that she should not." It was plain from Lalmohan's words that he had already formed his own opinion about this matter.

But Satyasaran was not thinking about Lalmohan just then. The earth beneath his feet appeared to be shaking and his head felt ready to burst. The world with which he had been familiar so long, seemed to be on the point of destruction. But inspite of this terrible cataclysm, a wave of terrible anger passed through his being. Who was this foul demon-like creature, who could turn this fair earth into a howling wilderness within the space of a second?

"Why have you come here?" he hissed through his teeth. "Who asked you to come here?"

Kanakamma had been standing all this while, like one petrified. As Satyasaran spoke, she burst into heart-rending sobs. "Where else can I go, Babu?" she asked through her sobs. "I have lost one of my eyes and so that man has driven me out. Gopal Babu gave me your address and sent me here with a man from my own village. I have no one else in this world." She flung down her bundle and fell rather than sat down on the ground.

His rage left Satyasaran as suddenly as it had come. On whom was he venting his anger, scoundrel and wretch that he was? The innocent girl who had saved him once by sacrificing her young virginal life had now become an enemy in his eyes. She had no longer a place in his life. She was nothing but an agent of destruction now, ruining the earth that had become fair to him. Perhaps Satyasaran would now feel positively happy if a bolt from the blue struck down the accursed woman before his eyes.

Lalmohan appeared to have been looking at a theatrical performance all these while. He now came forward again saying, "I must now be off, sir, as I have left much work unfinished at the shop." He left the room with rapid steps, without waiting for Satyasaran's permission.

The hackney carriage in which Kanakamma had come, was still standing at the gate, as the coachman had not been paid off. He now began to shout lustily for his fare. Satyasaran went out and threw a rupee at him. The man put down a small wooden box and drove off.

There were only Satyasaran and Kanakamma now, inside the house. He went close to her and bent down to ask her whether she was totally blind. His voice had become much softer unconsciously. The storm of rage had quieted down, giving place to dull shame and utter hopelessness. He must now pay back to the full. The girl had sacrificed her life for him and he must now do the same. The price of a human life could but be another life.

Kanakamma wiped her eyes and replied in a voice choked with tears. Her right eye was completely blind, but with the help of the left one she could see still, though indistinctly.

Satyasaran called his servant and ordered him to take up the bundle and the box. He then proceeded towards the out-house, with Kanakamma. There was a small room there by the side of the one in which the gardener lived with his wife. Satyasaran decided to put Kanakamma in that room for the present. Then he would try to think and decide on a further course of action. About himself he need not think much. Fate had taken his affairs in hand and she would bring about his ruin without any help from him.

He called the gardener's wife and asked her to give some food and a bed to Kanakamma. He then returned to his bedroom. He flung himself down on his bed again and took up the magazine. He went on turning the leaves without once looking at them. The pictures he saw before his eyes were not those contained in the pages of the magazine. Two faces, both young and feminine. One was sweet and beautiful and innocent as the dawn. Joy and hope dwelt in every line of the face. The other was ravaged by disease and torture and looked like the embodiment of poverty, sorrow and despair. Both of them had the same claim on him. He could but repay one with his life, the other must suffer.

But whom should he save and whom sacrifice? If he decided on saving Tapati, he would be saving himself at the sametime. If he tried to save Kanakamma, he must sacrifice everything he held dear in his life. And he would be dealing a death blow to Tapati at the sametime. She was a delicate creature and she might not survive such a shock. So if Satyasaran wanted to save Kanakamma, he must be prepared to sacrifice two other lives, while doing it. But how could he give up Kanak-

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amma, so long as he had an atom of humanity left in him? She was the most helpless of all, the worst sufferer in every way. Tapati might forget him in course of time, and might even give her love to some other man. Satyasaran would never more be happy, his life was bound to end in utter futility, but that did not matter. But he must not perpetrate such fiendish cruelty. He could not run after his own happiness now, leaving Kanakamma to die by the roadside. She had none in this world to help her and God had rendered her incapable of helping herself. But once, during the darkest hour of Satyasaran's life, she had trudged by his side, taking his burden on herself. No, she could not be left to die alone and unaided.

(*To be continued*)

ARABIAN ARCHITECTURE

By SHEIKH IFTEKHAR RASOOL

The excellence attained by the Arabs in architecture and decoration has been remarkable in every country subjected to their rule. The style has borne the same characteristics throughout the great Arabian Empire, flourishing most when that empire was dismembered; and there is no difficulty in identifying Arab art in Egypt as a centre, or in India on the one hand and Spain on the other. In Egypt it reached its highest excellence, and has been fortunate in leaving there numerous monuments to testify to it—monuments fast falling to decay, and of which few traces will in a comparatively short time remain. Its beginnings are faintly seen in the edifices constructed by Christian architects for the early Caliphs. In the first rush of Muslim conquest, the art is almost lost for two centuries and a half; until in a mosque at Cairo, erected in the year 276, it appears in its own strength, free from all imitation of other styles. The origin of this strongly-marked art forms an old question, and one that has been variously answered; generally by a reference to a supposed Byzantine influence, to a vague idea of the early mosques of Arabia, and to the religious influence of Muhammadanism, discountenancing all imitation of nature, while supposed to induce a love of the beautiful. All these, however, are mere theories, hitherto without the support of facts, either recorded by Arab historians, or deducible from the style of existing monuments; and it has been an object of curiosity to search for any fact either to maintain or disprove them. This inquiry does not appear to be foreign to the scope of a work on the decendants of those admirable architects who have retained, though in a degraded state, their national art.

Writers on this subject have thrown little light, yet their testimony, whenever found, must be held to be historically weighty, after we have made due deduction for ignorance or prejudice. They are not, however, altogether silent on the sources whence their art sprang, nor on the men who executed some of the earliest, or the finest, buildings. El-Makreezee, whose book on Egypt is the most complete topographical account in the language, although he is in general provokingly silent on these points, gives some facts and inferences of importance; Ibn-Khaldoon, who stands at the head of Arab historians, and comes nearest to European notions of a philosophical historian, is very explicit on the origin of the art; and the scattered notices in the monographs on the holy cities of Arabia throw a clear light on the early buildings of Muhammadans, which are of greater importance than other better-known edifices in the countries conquered by the Muslims.

Persian Influence

On the sources from which the Arabs derived their architecture, Ibn-Khaldoon, writing in his book says:

> When they ceased to observe the strict precepts of their religion, and the disposition for dominion and luxurious living overcame them, the Arabs employed the Persian nation to serve them, and acquired from them the arts and architecture; and then they made lofty buildings. This was near to the end of the empire.

The ascription of Arab art to Persian instruction cannot be too carefully recollected; it explains many difficult points in the style, and deserves further elucidation. The origin of the Arab style may probably be traced to Sassanians as well as to Byzantine sources. Of the early

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architecture of Persia, our knowledge is insufficient; but some of the characteristics of the style which was perfected by the kings of the Sassanians, existed already in Persia. To the architecture of those kings the Arabs probably owed more than has been commonly supposed. Ibn-Khaldoon's remark that the architecture arose with the decline of the empire is exactly borne out by facts.

Besides the Persians, the Arabs were indebted for assistance in building to the Copts some of whom are generally esteemed very skilful and clever.

In Cairo, the mosque of Ibn-Tooloon is also said to have been built by a Copt, and this edifice is highly curious as an example of a building, erected in A.D. 876, of which the arches are all pointed, and which contains the first forms of the scroll-work and geometrical ornament of the style of the Arabs that was afterwards brought to such high perfection. But the most remarkable record of the employment of Copts by Muslims is in conjunction with Byzantines; and must be next mentioned. The most famous historian of Medina (Es Sumhoodee) gives the following account of this rebuilding of the Prophet's mosque:

> When El-Waleed purposed rebuilding the mosque, he wrote to the king of the Greeks, informing him of his intention, and that he was in want of workmen and material for mosaics. Whereupon he sent to him loads of those materials, and between twenty and thirty workmen, or, as some say ten workmen; or, as others say, forty Greeks and forty Copts. When Waleed came to Medina for pilgrimage and saw the mosque, he said, 'How different is our building from yours!' Aban answred, 'We have built after the manner of mosques and you have built after the manner of churches.'

The contrast between the building in Syria and the mosque built in Medina shows that the Copts and Greeks constructed there a building very different from the Byzantine building of Waleed at Damascus, and points to the commencement of the adaptation of foreign materials to form a new style.

Byzantine Influence

The influence of Byzantium on the art of the Arabs cannot be doubted. It was at first the direct use of Byzantine workmen, and afterwards the gradual adaptation of portions of their architecture to a new style. But when the Greeks of the Eastern Empire obtained many of the features of their art, and especially some of those adapted by the Arabs, remains at present an unsolved question. It is probable that the influence of Persia had affected them before it reached the Arabs, and that the characteristics referred to were Persian in origin; just as the same influence more strongly affected the Arabs afterwards. The only persons who, at this day, in Cairo, can execute the scroll-work of the old Arabesque decoration, are the Greek tailors. Their work in embroidery preserves the style of the art, though more elaborated and gracized.

The practice of eastern monarchs has been to carry with them craftsmen from one conquered country to another; besides the number of proselytes to Islam, of these classes, in the ranks of their armies. A notable example occurred on the conquest of Egypt by the Turks, and one which explains the rapid decay of the arts in that country since that period. The Sultan Saleem II took away with him to Constantinople so many masters of crafts from Cairo that more than fifty manual arts ceased to be practised.

The Mosque of Ibn-Tooloon

The mosque of Ibn-Tooloon is remarkable as presenting the art of the Arabs in an independent form. Here the geometrical and scroll ornament is first found, and found, too, with characteristics far separated from any other known ornament. The scroll-work may possibly be traced to Byzantine work, but in this building it has assumed an entirely distinct character. It is the ornament which thenceforth was gradually perfected; and its stages may be traced, in the mosques and other edifices of Cairo, through every form of its development. But in this, its first example, it is elementary and rude, and therefore all the more remarkable. Its continuity is not strongly marked; its forms are almost devoid of grace. In later and more fully developed examples, each portion may be continuously traced to its roots—constituting one of the most beautiful feature of the art—and its forms are symmetrically perfect. The geometrical work, on the other hand, without being as intricate, is as fine in this mosque as in any later. It may be assumed that it owes its origin to the elaborate panelled wood-work so common in Egypt and Syria, and this again to the necessities of a hot climate, in which small pannels of wood are required to withstand the warping and shrinkage inevitable to the material. All the ornament in this mosque is in stucco, and is cut by hand; not cast from moulds, like that of the Alhambra. The artistic difference is plainly seen in the hand-work, in which there is none of the hard formality of castings. The building itself is of burnt brick, and so solidly constructed that it has now for nearly a thousand years withstood the ravages

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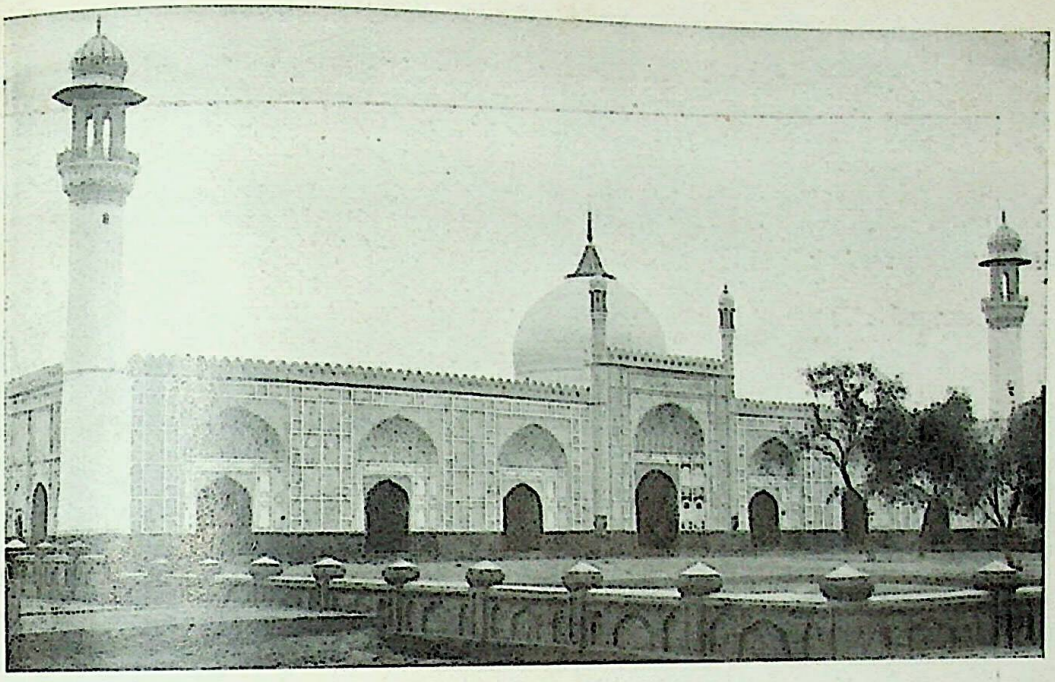
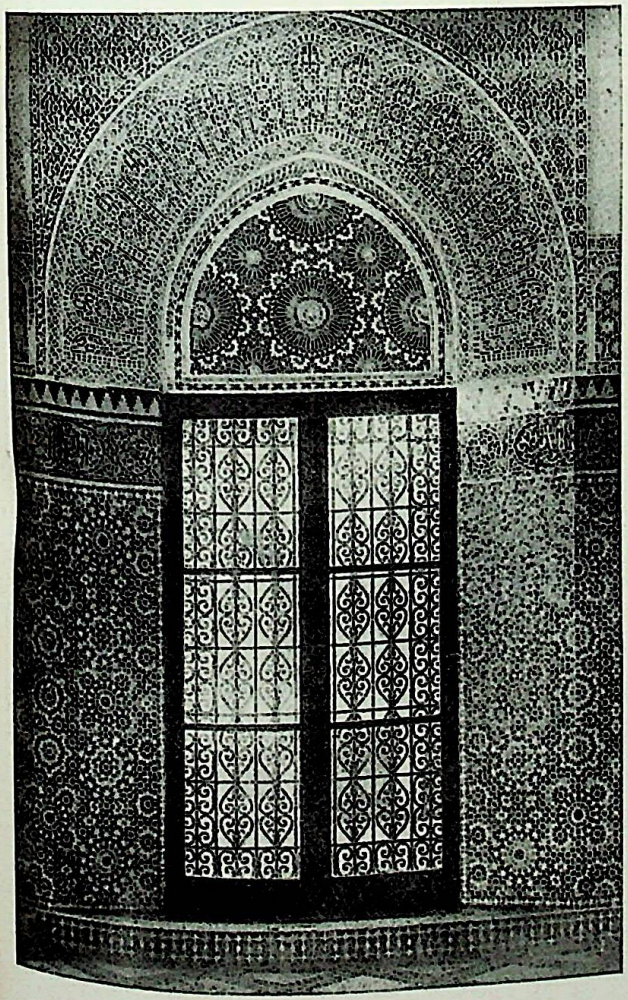
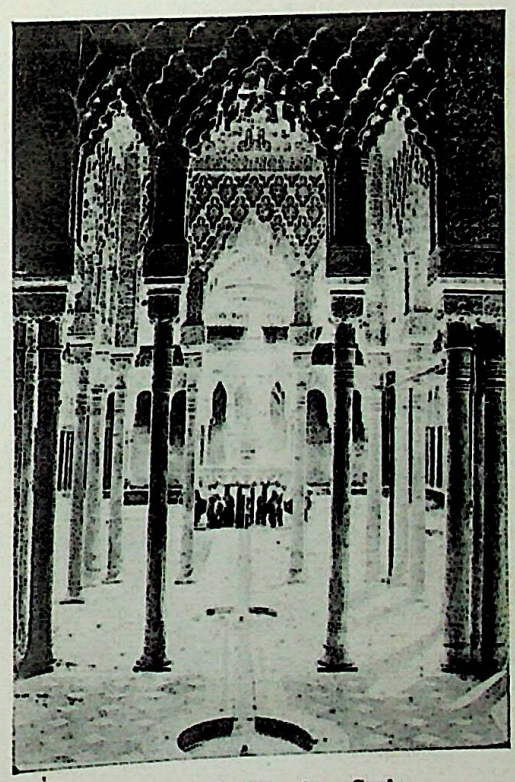


Mohommed Ali Mosque, Cairo



The Mosque of Ibn-Tooloon, Cairo



Hall of Lions, Alhambra, Spain

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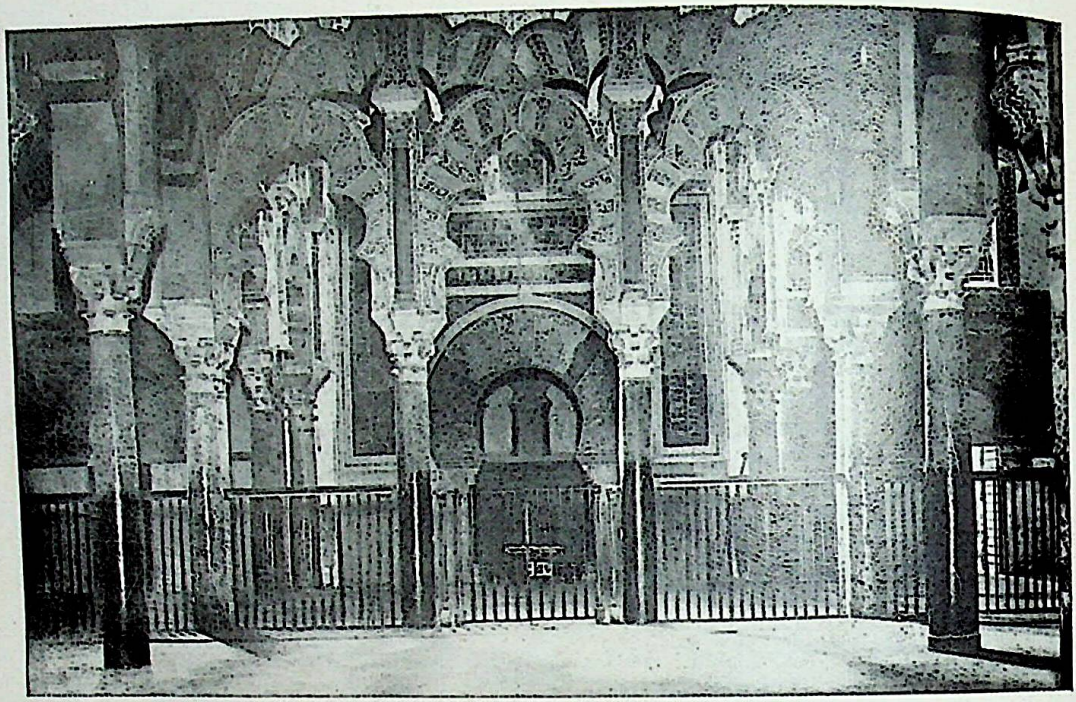
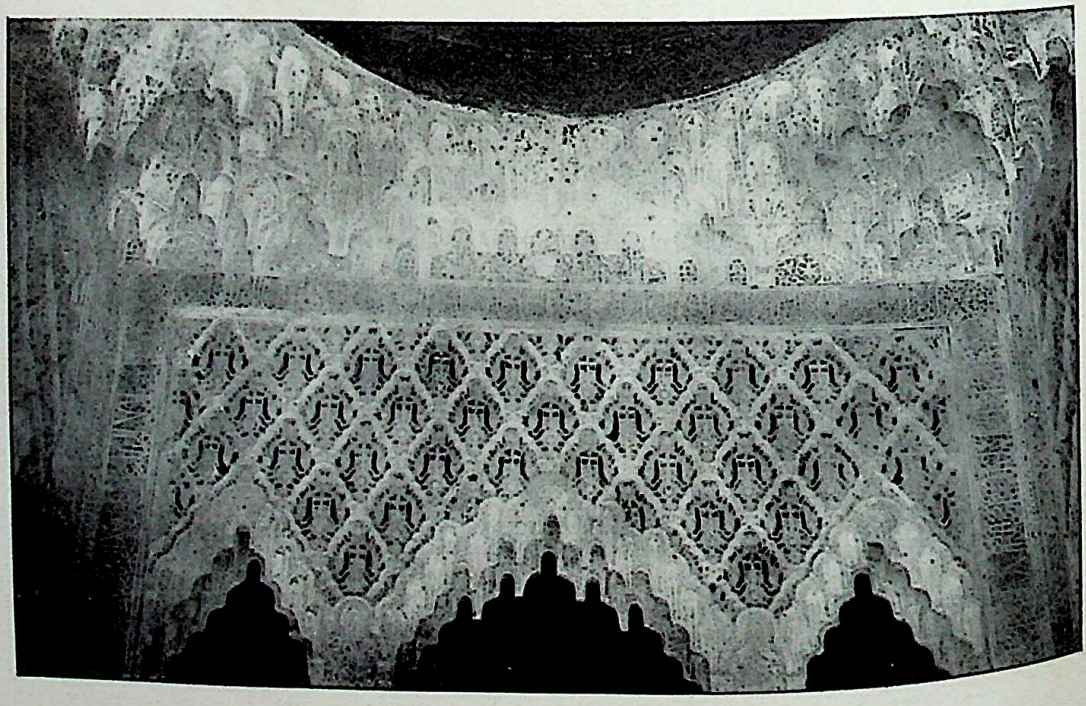


The Mosque, Cordova



Marble Scroll, Alhambra

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of time; and, though suffered to fall into gradual decay, is still entire, and even in its decorative portions almost perfect.

An Ancient Practice

In modern times, the buildings of Cairo are painted in alternate horizontal stripes of lime wash and red ochre. This was an ancient practice, and one which, there can be no doubt, was borrowed from the Roman construction of alternate courses of stone and brick. An example of this the Arabs had at Egyptian Babylon, before which Amr pitched his tent and founded his city and mosque. That old Roman fortress, now called Kasr-esh-Shema, would have given the invaders a ready example to follow. That the colour was a constructive feature may be learned from a study of the mosques of Cairo; especially those in the cemeteries, where the effect is produced by the use of stone of different colours, without the help of red ochre. The use of colour by the Arabs in Egypt was, in their best time, very simple and sparing: red, black, and gold on ultramarine, formed the principal, almost the only, architectural coloured decoration; with the addition of white, and sometimes yellow, in the mosaic pavements and dados. Green marks the decay of the style; and the profuse colouring of the Alhambra is altogether foreign to the true art.

The connection of Arab and Gothic architecture is a subject that would yield most interesting results. The modern fashion of assuming everything Muhammadan to be of true Arabian art has misled art-critics; and the undue importance that has been given to the style of Alhambra has induced the most erroneous conclusions. The topographical work of El-Makreezee is of the utmost value in helping to a correct judgment of dates, and sometimes mentions the very architects. Like all things Eastern, the art is not rapidly changeable, and it is far more difficult there than in Europe to fix approximately the date of an edifice.

The result arrived at about the origin and rise of Arabian art is very simple. It is considered to be of Byzantine nature, and that style always continued to exercise a strong influence; but soon one more markedly Oriental was added to it, and to the half-formed Arabian art then springing up. This was the Persian or Sassanian; and to it must, I think, be traced much of the elegance of the Arabian, and a great proportion of its ornament.

RAMMOHUN ROY

His Possible Influence on American Thought with Special Emphasis upon Periodicals

By ELSA ADRIENNE MOORE, M.A.

(*Continued from the September issue*)

In the fourth, and apparently the last, number of the *Brahmunical Magazine*, which appeared in November 15, 1823, Rammohun Roy gave further expression to his controversial opinions, still concealing his identity under the pseudonym "Shivuprusad Surma." Indeed, he went so far as to say that the issue was published because Rammohun Roy had failed to reply to certain missionary attacks on the Vedanta. The main theme of this number was that the Christian creed is expressed in so many various ways that conversion to simple Christianity is impossible.

Possibly as a practical conclusion to the Trinitarian controversy of 1823, Rammohun Roy published his *Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who Believe in the One True God*, signing it "Prusunnu Koomar Thakoor." His object in publishing this tract, he wrote, was to recommend those to whom it is addressed to avoid using harsh or abusive language in their intercourse with European missionaries, either respecting them or their objects of worship, however much this may be countenanced by the example of some of these gentlemen.[1]

One phase of the unusual character of Rammohun Roy must here be noted. No matter how vigorous religious disputes became, he was never prejudiced against his opponents.

1. Quoted in S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 80, 81. The Trinitarian controversy (1820-1823 inclusive) has been dealt with at great length because of its particular significance with regard to Roy's American influence. The American years of greatest interest may be said to be 1821—1824, allowing one year for transference of information.

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In fact, during the heat of the Trinitarian controversy he attended the Scotch Presbyterian Church and even allowed his name to be used on a petition for the despatch of more Presbyterian missionaries to India. Later he was to be the chief support of Alexander Duff in that missionary's great educational work.[2]

The Trinitarians at last were silenced, but not so the Hindu controversialists. Several tracts were written by Roy and a certain antagonist who called himself "The Establisher of Religion" on the subject of whether or not Roy and his followers, by their unorthodox behavior, had cut themselves off from Hinduism. To this controversy Roy contributed his *Answers to Four Questions* and a Bengali tract entitled *Pathya Pradana* (Medicine for the Sick). The argument, as Miss Collet describes it, was between the "Rabbinism of the Hindu Religion" and "its Prophetism."[3] The "Establisher of Religions" suggested a boycott of Rammohun Roy and his associates, claiming that they had lost caste. On similar grounds, Roy's own mother tried to disinherit him, but without success.[4] Roy's one desire in life was to help his own people, and because of this he was at all times careful not to violate rules which might make him an outcaste. Furthermore, he had no desire to destroy the inheritance of his children, or to cut off his own income, which would have rendered him helpless in the pursuit of his work.

In 1824 a pamphlet entitled *Correspondence Relative to the Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting its Reception in India* was published by the Harvard University Press under the auspices of the Reverend Henry Ware. It centered about certain questions that had been asked of William Adam and Rammohun Roy in 1823, and the answers of both, those of Adam being quite lengthy while those of Roy were very brief.[5] This publication, which also contained other correspondence dealing with the matter, probably marked the height of interest in Rammohun Roy in America, as well as the turning point of Roy's own interest in Unitarianism. The next few years found Unitarian Christianity steadily growing weaker in India. In 1827 Roy and his followers made one more attempt to arouse interest, but before the end of the following year it was clear to William Adam and his fellow missionaries that the entire idea of Unitarianism in India would have to be given up. For Roy and his associates, along with the American and English Unitarians, seemed to have lost all interest in the work.

This change that came over Rammohun Roy was not due to fickleness. Rather, as time went on, he had become increasingly aware that he was fundamentally a religious personality, and that that personality must find expression. He had sought this expression in Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, and in trinitarian and unitarian Christianity, but none of these religions had completely satisfied him. In addition to this personal feeling of unrest, there was the added objection that he was dependent upon strangers for his religious needs. In other words, he was primarily a Hindu at heart. Roy's realization of his position was eloquently expressed in a letter written by William Adam, February 18-20, 1826, to Dr. Joseph Tuckerman :

> Mr. Tuppin in one of his letters asks,—Does Rammohun Roy profess to be a Christian? . . . I find it difficult to give a definite answer to this question, but the nearest approach to the truth, although I hope and believe that it is not the truth itself, would perhaps be to say that he is both a Christian and a Hindu,—Christian with Christians and a Hindu with Hindus. And before you say either that I am contradicting myself or that he is insincere in his religion, you must candidly weigh all the circumstances in which he is placed. In the first place, then, his relinquishment of idolatry is absolute, total, public, uncompromising; and when you reflect who he is and what he is, this is of itself an invincible test of integrity of religious principles and conduct. But his relinquishment of idolatry is not inconsistent with the retention of his Brahmanical rights, and observance of the rules of caste, the latter of which is necessary to the former and both are necessary to enable him to be useful to his countrymen,—the thing which he has most at heart. On the other hand, although he may safely relinquish idolatry, he cannot safely profess Christianity. The profession would involve loss of caste, loss of property, loss of influence, loss of everything but a name; and while he employs caste, property, influence, everything to promote, not the nominal profession merely, but the enlightened belief and salutary influences of Christianity, his claim to be a practical although not a nominal Christian would seem to be undoubted. In this point of view, Hinduism furnishes the antidote to its own inherent intolerance. There is another reason for the course he has pursued. The profession of Christianity would identify him in the opinion of Hindus not with the respectable and liberal portion of the Christian population, but with the low, ignorant and depraved converts recently made by the English, or long since made by the Portuguese missionaries —and in the opinion of Mussalmans who hold him in high esteem, with Trinitarians generally, for such Mussalmans suppose all Christians to be. In other words, the profession of Christianity would inevitably, in the present circumstances of this country, identify him with persons from whom he differs as widely as from those with whom he is now identified. He has, therefore, only a

2. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 172-179.
3. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 82-84.
4. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 215-217.
5. Roy's reply to the twenty-five questions was contained in a letter dated February 2, 1824.

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choice of evils, and he has hitherto chosen that which, although he groans under its bondage, leaves him greater liberty and usefulness than he could otherwise possess. I have thus given you the view of his circumstances and conduct which I have reason to suppose he would himself give you if he were now writing to you; and I have only further to add that . . . I do not feel these reasons to be quite so convincing as they appear to him. . . . I have no doubt that in his opinion they possess all the force necessary fully to justify him in the sight of God and his own conscience in the course which he has pursued.

Since writing the preceding paragraph, I have had an opportunity of showing it to Rammohun Roy, who considers it a correct representation of his feelings and sentiments."

Rammohun Roy's religious dissatisfaction finally culminated in the founding of the Brahma Samaj. This organization, had its inception on August 20, 1828. Miss Collet suggests that possibly William Adam first proposed the formation of this society, realizing that organized religions did not offer the solution for Roy's religious needs; or again, one of Roy's native followers may first have expressed the desire for a native church.[7] Possibly both suggestions were simultaneous.

During the entire period of Rammohun Roy's activities in religious and social reform, two other sides of his versatile nature were finding expression—his interest in journalism and in education. Roy's interest in journalism began some time in 1819, in which year the strict Press restriction was removed, and culminated in the publication of the weekly *Sambad Kaumudi*, the first Bengali paper to be printed and managed by natives.[8] The *Sambad Kaumudi*, established in 1819, had as its purpose the discussion of "religious, moral and political matters, domestic occurrences, foreign as well as local intelligence," for the benefit of the common people, while the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, a Persian paper founded by Roy in 1822, was published for the benefit of the intellectual minority, and was devoted to free criticism of English policy.[9]

The year 1823 brought disaster to the Indian Press by the passage of the Regulation Bill which prohibited uncensored news. In that same year the *Calcutta Journal* was suppressed for its comments on governmental officials and policies, and its editors, J. S. Buckingham and Sandford Arnot, were deported to England.[10] According to law, twenty days, during which protests could be heard, were required to elapse before the Regulation Bill could be declared legal. Rammohun Roy and fifteen other natives immediately drew up a protest and presented it to Sir Francis Macnaghten, the sole Judge in the case. This failing, Roy presented a memorial—which Miss Collect fittingly calls the "Aeropagitica of Indian history"—to the Supreme Court.[11] But this, too, was of no avail, and as a last resort, Roy presented a memorial to the King in Council. All efforts were fruitless, and the deadening measure finally became effective in November, 1824. The *Mirat* soon ceased to be published, though the *Sambad* was continued. Roy's decision to discontinue the former rather than the latter of these papers was based not only on the fact that the *Mirat* was more select, and hence more expensive, but also on the consideration that it was more free in its opinions, and hence more dangerous to the government and more likely to draw upon itself official interference.

Rammohun Roy's first venture in education centered about the Hindu College which he and David Hare had conceived about 1816. This institution developed into the "Anglo-Hindu College," but, in order that it might receive the support of orthodox Hindus, Roy had been forced to sever his connection with it.[12] As early as 1816, therefore, he founded an English school of his own at Suripara. Here boys were instructed free in the elementary subjects, and later a class of advanced students was added. Finally a plot of ground was purchased at Simla, and the "Anglo-Hindu School" came into existence in 1822. After that year the school was managed under the direction of the Unitarian Committee, but financially it was still dependent on its founder. The institution was very successful, but Roy, remembering his former experience with the Hindu College, refused to place it under the direction of a committee.

Rammohun Roy's educational interests, like his religious ones, led him into controversy. In this connection his opponents were the Orientalists who did not share his educational views. Roy felt that education in the New India must mean more than the study of the old classics, and that the new order called for the learning of English rather than Sanskrit. His most important writing in the cause of education was his letter on that subject addressed to Lord Amherst, Governor-General of India.[13] As a

6. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 117, 118.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 125.—G. S. Leonard, *History of the Brahma Samaj from its Rise to the Present Day*, Calcutta, Newman and Company, 1879. (ii+179 pp.) Refer to pp. 36, 37.
8. U. N. Ball. *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 179-187.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 179-187.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184.
11. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 97.
12. U. N. Ball. *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 152-156.
13. December 11, 1823. Quoted in entirety by

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result of this letter, the government ultimately gave up its plan of founding Sanskrit schools and established the modern system of education in India.[14] Roy had already advanced his educational views in the *Brahmunical Magazine*,[15] wherein he had hotly defended the Vedantic *philosophy* but at the same time had ridiculed Vedantic *education as* "imaginary learning." Likewise in his letter to Lord Amherst, Roy assured his correspondent that "the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep the country in darkness," and that he would like to see established "a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences." Roy's seeming inconsistencies in this matter may be explained by the fact that he was primarily a practical man. He realized that Vedantic scholasticism had its place, but he knew that the times called for a more modern educational program. His idea of providing for only discriminating instruction in the Vedanta was best expressed in his treatise entitled *Different Modes of Worship,* which appeared January 18, 1825. This was published in Sanskrit under the pseudonym "Shivuprusad Surma," and thereafter translated into English with annotations by Rammohun Roy and signed "A Friend of the Author." Roy's agitation was probably an influential factor in inducing Government, which was contemplating the construction of a college building, to lay in February 1824 the foundation stone, not in the name of the "Sanskrit College" but in that of the "Anglo-Hindu College," although both were to be housed together.[16]

Rammohun Roy's educational interests led to other publications, among them a Bengali Grammar in 1826. His "Anglicist" tendencies as a whole only further illustrate the tremendous insight of the man, while his cosmopolitanism was influential in causing English ultimately to be declared the official language of India,[17] and English education to become the Indian ideal.

In 1827, Rammohun Roy published *A Translation* (into English) *of a Sunskrit Tract Inculcating the Divine Worship, esteemed by those who believe in the revelation of the Vedas as most appropriate to the nature of the Supreme Being.*[18] A few months later he published *The Answer of a Hindu to the Question "Why do you frequent a Unitarian place of Worship instead of the numerously attended Established Churches?"*[19] This tract he signed "Chandra Shekar Deb." Many other works belong to this short period of revived literary activity, but the important fact to note is that while Rammohun Roy was apparently becoming more interested in religion, he was at the same time becoming less argumentative on the subject. It would seem that he felt that he had finally attained at least a partial fulfilment of his religious nature in the Brahma Samaj (1828). His energy which up to this time had been largely expended in religious controversy, was now being diverted into political channels.

By 1830, Rammohun Roy had left India never to return. But before departing he resumed his literary work which had been temporarily interrupted by domestic troubles.

Rammohun Roy, the man, is more fully expressed in the Brahma Samaj than in any other sphere of his activities, for the founding of this organization, in 1828, was symbolic of an idea which had taken years to crystallize in his mind, namely, that faith must be founded on reason. In 1829, a piece of land was purchased and a building was erected to house the society. The Trust deed, which is said to have been the product of Roy's versatile pen, clearly sets forth the ideas and principles underlying the institution.[20] An interesting fact was that the worshippers did not sever their various connections with the communities to which they belonged, and many of the members continued to perform Hindu rites in their homes.[21] The members of the organization, which Miss Collet speaks of as "the Theistic Church of India," were held together by a common belief in monotheism. The Brahma Samaj was

U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 164-168. See also J. C. Ghose, editor, *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, 1885-1887, 2 vols., and other English collections.

14. Roy's main objection to Sanskrit schools was their abuse of the Vedantic material, which led to over-attention on petty details, resulting in polytheism, etc. However wise his decision may have been, there are prominent Indians today who still believe that Roy's turning of the tide toward English education has delayed the development of native literature and culture almost a hundred years, for it is only recently that interest in Sanskrit and the ancient arts has been revived by the quiet literary and cultural renaissance that is sweeping through India.

15. Fourth Number, November 15, 1823.

16. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 105.

17. English became the official language in 1835, as a result of Macaulay's speech as recorded in the Parliamentary Minutes of February 2. This marked the end of the Oriental-Anglicist controversy. Sobha, 1844.

18. Calcutta, 1827; Tuttuobodheney *Vide* Amal Home's *Rammohun Roy, the Man and his Work*, p. 139.

19. Calcutta, 1828.

20. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 151-154.

21. U. N. Ball. *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 246, 247.

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meeting place for kindred spirits who assembled regularly to discuss religious and theological matters, and to sing and pray. The society had its enemies, however, as well as its supporters. The opposition took the form of the "Dharma Sabha," an organization that sought to excommunicate the members of Brahma Samaj. Despite its wealth, however, the Dharma Sabha was a failure.

In the year in which the Brahma Samaj began to hold its services in the building newly erected, Rammohun Roy left for England. His work in India was done. But there remained behind him a new-born power which, in the course of years, was to wax and wane at intervals, but was always to draw unto itself some of the greatest minds of India.[22]

Although the Brama Samaj represented the most complete visible expression of Rammohun Roy, it, too, was to him, a compromise, a step towards the realization of an ideal. This fact is clearly suggested in a letter written by William Adam to Dr. Joseph Tuckerman, which reveals Roy as a man always in search of an ideal and a man dominated by the intense desire to help his own people. In Roy, as Adam's letter makes it evident, the personal and the collective were always combined, even though the experience was a highly personal one, such as religion:

> Rammohun Roy, I am persuaded, supports this institution [that is, the Brahma Samaj] not because he believes in the divine authority of the Ved, but solely as an instrument for overthrowing idolatry. To be candid, however, I must add that the conviction has lately gained ground in my mind that he employs Unitarian Christianity in the same way, as an instrument for spreading pure and just notions of God, without believing in the divine authority of the Gospel.[23]

It is clear from this quotation that Roy was primarily a comparatively religionist, that the tenets of no one sect not even one of his own creation, such as the Brahma Samaj—were broad enough to hold his undivided interests. Even in 1833, at the time of his death, he was still in search of an unrealized ideal.

For many years Rammohun Roy had desired to go to England, but various incidents had caused the long delay of ten or more years.[24] The time now seemed to have come, for the Emperor of Delhi, hearing of Roy's desire, appointed him his special ambassador to handle certain business matters for him in England. Roy was given the title of Rajah, so that he would have the proper dignity for the mission. The English authorities, however, refused to recognize this title or to allow him to go as a special ambassador. After much delay resulting from this disagreement, Roy finally went as a private citizen. Later, however, his position was evidently recognized in England, for he was given a seat among the ambassadors at the coronation of the king.[25]

Rammohun Roy's trip to England was of great historical significance to India, for he was the first Indian of high caste and culture to visit the Western world.[26] Because of this great departure from tradition, he was subject to much ridicule from the orthodox natives. Attempts against his life had been made during his last year in India, and antagonism was stirred up against him by the Dharma Sabha. Despite this unpleasantness on the part of natives as well as English authorities, Rammohun Roy began his voyage on November 19, 1930, taking with him two servants and an adopted son of twelve.[27] The conditions under which Roy made the journey are best set forth in the letter of introduction written by Mr. J. Young to Jeremy Bentham.[28]

Rammohun Roy landed in Liverpool on April 8, 1831. During his stay in that city he was entertained by such men as William Roscoe, the author.[29] Another friend, James Sutherland, who sailed with Roy to England, gives the best account of the journey and also a graphic description of the Liverpool days :

22. The two greatest leaders of the later Brahma Samaj were probably Keshub Chunder Sen and Protap Chunder Mozoomdar. Under Sen, the organization split into conservative and progressive sections: the progressive group was led by Sen. Latterly, after another split on a question of church government, Sen's church came to be called the "New Dispensation." Both Sen and Mozoomdar came to the Western world, the latter visiting America to attend the Congress of Religions held in conjunction with the World's Fair at Chicago in 1899. Sen, on a visit to England in the 1870's, was lionized by the English, and was enthusiastically sponsored and courageously defended by Miss Sophia Dobson Collet. Illustrative of the high type of the modern member of the Brahma Samaj are Rabindranath Tagore, poet, and Ramananda Chatterjee, editor of *The Modern Review*.

23. January 22, 1829.—Quoted by U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 241.

24. Mr. Sutherland states that Roy had first thought of the trip about 1823; Miss Collet sets the date as early as 1817.

25. Mary Carpenter, *Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, p. 57.

26. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 260.

27. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 260.

28. November 14, 1830. Quoted in part by S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 163. [The whole letter will be published in a future issue of '*The Modern Review*'. —Ed., *M. R.*

29. Henry Roscot, *The Life of William Roscoe by his Son*, London, T. Caddell. Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1883. 2 vols. Boston, Odiorne, Russell and Metcalf, 1833.

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His (*i.e.*, Roy's) arrival was no sooner known in Liverpool than every man of any distinction in the place hastened to call upon him, and he got into inextricable confusion with all his engagements, making half a dozen sometimes for the same evening. . . . He was out morning, noon and night. . . . On all occasions, whether at breakfast, or dinner, a number of persons was assembled to meet him; and he was constantly involved in animated discussion on politics or theology.[30]

All the incidents of this English visit cannot here be related. It is important to note, however, that though Roy attracted the attention of people through curiosity, he made friendships based on esteem. His was a personality that was never misinterpreted, in spite of the dramatic impression that may have been created by his unusual appearance.

The first public place of worship that Roy attended was a Unitarian chapel in Liverpool, but the Unitarians were somewhat disappointed to find that despite the fact that his best friends were members of their sect, he by no means confined himself to Unitarian church attendance.[31] It is also interesting to note that the same officials of the East India Company who had treated Roy with scorn in India now "eagerly sought his acquaintance." The Company even gave a public banquet in his honor.[32]

Public honors were everywhere awaiting Rammohun Roy, but he did not forget that his mission in England was political and not social. The charter of the East India Company was about to be renewed; Roy hoped to secure certain helpful measures for his people. He was asked by the Select Committee to appear for questioning, but he declined, choosing instead to present his evidence in successive "Communications." These appeared officially in the State Blue Books and were also separately printed for public sale,[33] under the title *Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India, and of the General Character and Condition of its Native Inhabitants.* This treatise dealt mainly with the revenue and judicial systems of India, but also devoted some attention to property rights.

Rammohun Roy, after being presented to the king, was accepted as a member of the highest social circles. Taking advantage of this fact, Sandford Arnot, who had become Roy's secretary, urged him into an extravagant mode of living, telling him that this was demanded by his station. This brief interlude of expenditure soon ceased, however, and Roy went to live at the home of Mr. Hare. Recent study of the relationship between Roy and Arnot has made it increasingly evident that the latter deliberately "used" Roy for his own benefit. When Roy later became financially embarrassed, because of the delayed arrival of funds from India, Arnot harassed him for money and threatened to claim that he had written Roy's books and articles for him. This he did imply after the death of the Rajah in October, 1833, but Roy was ardently defended by his friends.[34]

A vivid description of Roy's social life in London is given in the autobiography of the actress Fanny Kemble,[35] but an even clearer picture is to be had through the various letters written by Roy himself to his various English friends.[36]

One of the interesting events of Roy's stay in the Western world was a visit to France in the fall of 1832. Here he stayed but a brief time, returning to England[37] before January, 1833. A brother of David Hare who seems to have gone with him states that Roy was entertained more than once by Louis Philippe.

The constant strain of social life, added to financial harassments and uncongenial clima-

30. James Sutherland, "Sketch of the Rajah Rammohun Roy, the Celebrated Indian Brahmin," *India Gazette*, February 18, 1834.

31. In Liverpool he attended the church of the Reverend W. Scoresby, Anglican; see *The Reverend W. Scoresby's Memorial of his son*, London, 1837. Roy also attended the services of William Jay at Rowland's Hill Chapel; see the *Works of William Jay*, edited by himself. Bath, 1842-1843; London, 1843. While in London, Roy attended the Establishing Church so frequently that members of this church claimed, after his death, that he was not a Unitarian. See "Unitarian Assumptions," *Christian Observer and Advocate*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 669-679 (1834). Roy also attended Presbyterian, Quaker, and Jewish services.

32. *Morning Chronicle*, No. 19, 302, (July 9, 1831.)

33. London. Smith, Elder and Company, 1832.

34. Dr. Lant Carpenter was especially active in defence of Roy, writing several articles in reply to Arnot's articles which appeared in the *Athenaeum* No. 310, pp. 666-668 (October 5, 1833); *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XI, pp. 287-290 (October, 1833); and *Christian Reformer*, Vol. V, n. s. 9: pp. 36-39, 1838). Dr. Lant Carpenter wrote various articles, some of which appeared in the *Monthly Repository*. In 1833, his biography of Roy was published jointly with his refutations of Arnot's contentions, and entitled *Review of the Labours, Opinions and Character of Rajah Rammohun Roy, in a discourse on the occasion of his Death; and a Biographical Memoir, to which is Subjoined an Examination of Some Derogatory Statements in the "Asiatic Journal"*, Bristol and London. (140 pp.)

35. Fanny (*i.e.*, Frances Anne) Kemble, *Record of a Girlhood, an Autobiography*, London, Beccles, 1878.—2d. ed., London, Beccles, 1879. Mrs. Le Breton in her *Memories of Seventy Years*, London, 18(?), also gives accounts of Roy's social activities.

36. Mary Carpenter, *Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 203-207. See also Mary Carpenter, *op. cit.*

37. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 200.

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tic conditions, was beginning to tell upon Rammohun Roy. After many delays he was at last able to accept the invitation of Miss Kiddell, Miss Castle, and Dr. Lant Carpenter to visit Bristol. Roy had been ill at various times during his English sojourn; now he felt that he must rest. His actual mission for the Emperor of Delhi had been successfully accomplished; he had seen the *suttee* petition defeated; and the charter of the East India Company came up for final discussion in the summer of 1833. In September of that year, he went to Stapleton Grove near Bristol, in poor health and financially worried.

Very shortly after his arrival at Stapleton Grove, Rammohun Roy fell ill with a fever. He was attended at this time by his friend J. B. Estlin, whose diary[38] gives the most pertinent information concerning the Rajah's last days. From it one learns that Roy contracted a fever on Thursday, September 19, and that his illness became increasingly worse until the 27th, on which day he died. The nature of the ailment, though not known until after a post-mortem examination, seems to have been brain fever.

According to his expressed wish, Rammohun Roy was not buried in a Christian cemetery or with Christian services. His servants were made to witness the fact that all ceremonies were carried out in accordance with Hindu Brahmin caste requirements, and Miss Castle donated a plot of free-hold ground for his interment, which took place on 18th October. Ten years later, the land having passed out of the possession of the Castle family, the body was removed to the cemetery of Arno's Vale, where it now rests. A suitable monument was erected, but not until nearly forty years later was a worthy inscription added, paying homage to the work of this great man.

Innumerable sermons and poems were the direct result of Rammohun Roy's sudden demise. Five of these sermons were published, they being that delivered by Dr. Lant Carpenter at Lewin's Mead Chapel, Bristol, on October 6, 1833; that of Dr. Robert Aspland in the New Gravel Pit Meeting, Hackney, October 6, 1833; the sermon of John Scott Porter at the Meeting House of the First Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast, November, 10; that by the Reverend William Drummond at the Presbyterian Church of Strand Street, Dublin, October 27, and that by the Reverend W. J. Fox at Finsbury Chapel, South Place, London, October 14.[39]

But matters did not end here. At varying intervals during the following two or three years controversies arose over the question of whether or not Rammohun Roy was a Christian, and if so, to which sect he belonged. At various times, articles and tracts appeared on the subject.[40] Argument also arose over the contents of the various biographies that now began to appear, the most important being those of Sandford Arnot, Dr. Lant Carpenter, James Sutherland, and Montgomery Robert Martin. Arnot, in addition to his biography, had also published an autobiographical sketch of Roy, which appeared in the *Athenæum*.[41] This controversy over the authenticity of the various biographies is of no great importance in the matter of Roy's influence on American literature and thought, but the subject of Roy's religious affiliations is pertinent and must be briefly discussed here.

The Reverend William Jay and the Reverend Richard Warner stated that Roy was a convert to Evangelical religion, while the Reverend John Foster declared that Roy had made a virtual confession just before his death of his belief in the divine authority of Christ.[42] Mr. Estlin's diary, on the other hand, records Roy's "disbelief in the Divinity, but acceptance of the Divine Mission of Jesus." All this confusion is cleared away by a remark made by Roy, before he left for England, to Babu Nanda Kisor Bose. Roy seems to have realized that numerous sects would claim him after his death, that "Mohammedans would call him a Mohammedan, that Hindus would call him a Vedantic Hindu, the Christians, a Unitarian Christian." But, adds Babu N. Bose, "he really belonged to no sect. His religion was Universal Theism."

> As he believed this principle to be the quintessence of every religion, he was able to approach the advocates of the most different creeds with a sympathy and an emphasis on profits of agreement which they could only interpret as complete adhesion.[43]

It is apparent that Rammohun Roy, after coming in contact with western Christianity in England and France, came to feel that it certainly did not produce the epitome of perfection in society. He even went so far as to say:

38. Published by Mary Carpenter, *op. cit.*
39. In my "General Bibliography" will be found more exact dates and places of publication of these sermons, etc.
40. Detailed in my "General Bibliography."
41. "Addressed to Mr. Gordon of Calcutta in a letter to that gentleman." *Athenæum*, October 5, 1833. Also published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Literary Gazette*, etc.
42. Mary Carpenter, *Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*.
43. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 220.

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If I were to settle with my family in Europe, I would never introduce them to any but religious persons, and amongst them only would I select my friends.[44]

He became increasingly dissatisfied with European society, and his attitude toward Unitarianism, too, had undergone a change. As Aront says, Roy

evidently now began to suspect that the Unitarian form of Christianity was too much rationalized (or sophiscated, perhaps, I may say) to be suitable to human nature. He remarked in the Unitarians a want of that fervour of zeal and devotion found among other sects, and felt doubts whether a system appealing to reason only was calculated to produce a permanent influence on mankind.[45]

How much faith may be placed in the statements of such a man as Sandford Arnot is questionable, but it seems certain that Roy, although he at times leaned towards Christianity, remained with that religion merely long enough to become familiar with its ethical and moral standards, with purpose to introduce them into his own Hinduism. Roy's whole religious life, as has been stated, was organized for the primary purpose of ridding the Hindu religion of polytheism.

Roy's shift in his religious attitude is best stated by Miss Collet :

At the outset his Theism was intellectually not far from the Deism of last century; in the end it was religiously not far from the spirit of Christianity. In the earlier stages of his emancipation, his faith seemed to differ little from the fictitious "natural religion" of the eighteenth century philosophers, save for a strong infusion of oriental passion. Towards the close we see him turning with weary disgust from the fanciful abstractions of the speculative intellect to the dynamic facts of human nature and of human history. How much further he would have moved in the direction of positive religion if his life had been prolonged for any considerable period, it is idle to conjecture. The theological transition which lasted all his life was at his death left incomplete. We may not guess at its completion. It is enough for us to observe its direction.[46]

These conclusions as to the inner movement of Rammohun Roy's mind suggest his place in history :

His own career of constant but incomplete transition constituted him the leader and the instrument of a kindred transition among his fellowmen. . . . Rammohun Roy stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned . . . between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and a conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, Theism. He was the mediator of his people, harmonizing in his own person, often by means of his own solitary suffering, the conflicting tendencies of immemorial tradition and of inevitable enlightenment. . . . He was a genuine outgrowth of old Hindu stock, in a soil watered by new influences, and in an atmosphere charged with un-wonted forcing power, but still a true scion of the old stock. The Rajah was no merely occidentalized Oriental, no Hindu polished into the doubtful semblance of a European. . . . We shall find that he leads the way . . . towards a civilization which is neither Western nor Eastern, but something vastly larger and nobler than both.[47]

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 222.
45. S. D. Collet. *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 222.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
47. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 225-227.

DANGER TO HINDU CULTURE IN BENGAL—MAKTABISATION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul : but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.—St. Mathew Ch. 10 : 28.

In Bengal the Muhammadans are 54.8 per cent of the population; but of those who are between the ages of 5 to 10, the respective numbers of the Hindus and the Muhammadans are :

	(In thousands) Male	Females	Total
Hindus ..	14,48	12,79	27,27,000
Muhammadans ..	21,19	18,96	40,14,000

In other words, the Muhammadans are 59.7 per cent of the population of school-going age. If, therefore, the same proportion of Hindu and Muhammadan boys attend the primary schools, as in any scheme of compulsory primary education they are bound to do, we would expect to find 60 Muhammadan boys out of every 100.

Rightly or wrongly the Muhammadans demand separate schools or *maktabs*, and insist on Islamic religious training—and they have got it in Bengal.

"***Maktabs*** are primary schools on an Islamic basis intended for ***Moslem*** scholars. These schools are also open to other boys. The ordinary primary syllabus is followed and ***text-books by Muhammadan authors*** (italics ours) are generally used. In addition, ***the reading of the Holy Quran, Islamic ritual*** and ***Urdu*** are additional ***compulsory subjects,*** (antiques ours) alternative to drill. The growth of these *maktabs* is a proof of their popularity and they may, if properly organised, play an important part when the Bengal (Rural) Primary

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Education Act is enforced." [*8th Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal*, p 80].

While the number of primary schools of all classes has increased by 14.4 per cent, the number of *maktabs* has increased by 25.0 per cent. The above figures do not perhaps convey the real and true nature of the increase of *maktabs* and non-*maktabs;* the non-*maktabs* have increased by 8 per cent as against the 25 per cent increase of the *maktabs*. The difference in the increase in enrolment is still more glaring; in the *maktabs* the number of boys has increased by 36.9 per cent; in the non-*maktabs*, it has increased by 12.3 per cent only.

The teachers in these schools are almost invariably Muhammadans; and it is insisted that they should be none but Muhammadans. In 1930-31, the percentages of Muhammadan teachers in primary schools of all classes in Bengal were :

Primary schools	Percentage of Moslem Teachers
Board	55.2
Aided	53.3
Unaided	57.0
Total	53.9

By now, the proportion has increased further.

The Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education during the incumbency of a Muhammadan Minister issued a *fiat* that, whenever in a primary school the percentage of the Muhammadan boys reaches 51, it should be regarded as a *maktab*. And all the consequences from the appointment of Muhammadan teachers, the use of text-books by Muhammadan text-book writers, down to the exclusion of the Hindu period of Indian history and the inclusion of the alleged base treachery of Sivaji in murdering Afzal Khan (Sir Jadunath Sarkar! your researches do not count with these *political* educationists) and the distortion of language and vocabulary would follow.

As shown above, the proportion of Muhammadan boys of school-going age is 5 per cent more than their population percentage. Had the rule been, the primary schools would be regarded as *maktabs* in areas where the Muhammadans are in a majority; then taking Divisions as units of areas and assuming further that the distribution of the Hindus and the Muhammadans within the Division is uniform, in the three Divisions of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi, the primary schools would be regarded as *maktabs*. But in the actual working out of the rule as laid down by the Muhammadan Minister of Education, primary schools will be regarded as *maktabs* in 4 Divisions; because in the Presidency Division, though the percentage of the Muhammadans to the total population is 47.2, the percentage of Muhammadan boys between 5—10 will be 47.2+5=52.2. This is unjust to the Hindus.

But the real inequity or injustice does not lie here. It is a well-known fact, and a more or less permanent feature of primary education in Bengal, that there is greater "wastage" among the Muhammadans. It has been found, on taking the average from April, 1922 to March 1931, that of the males under going primary education, the percentage in each standard of the total undergoing school education is as follows :—

Standard	Percentage in each standard of the total undergoing school education		
	All Religions	Hindus	Muslims
Lower Primary			
I	50	41	60
II	17	17	18
III	12	12	11
Upper Primary			
IV	6	7	5
V	4	5	3

If 51 per cent of the boys in a primary school are Muhammadans, then the relative proportions of Hindus and Muhammadans in an Upper Primary School of 5 classes, and in a Lower Primary School of 3 classes would be as follows :—

Standard	Upper Primary Percentage of—		Lower Primary Percentage of—	
	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims
I ..	24.5	32.2	28.7	34.4
II ..	10.1	9.6	11.9	10.3
III ..	7.2	5.9	8.4	6.3
IV ..	4.2	2.1		
V ..	3.0	1.0		

It will be noticed that in every class, excepting the lowest—the Infant class, the number of Muhammadan boys is *less* than that of the Hindus. But because there are a few more Muhammadan boys in the Infant class, the whole school is to be treated as a *maktab*.

As to whether the boys in the Infant class (Standard I) are *bona fide* students or not; or how they are secured, we would quote one or two extracts from the *8th Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education in Bengal (1927-1932)* :—

"Although the full course lasts five years, the great majority of children begin and end with the first class; they are *withdrawn* before they proceed further. *Most parents regard the school as a convenient creche*, and teachers are glad to make up anyhow the requisite

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number of pupils for *earning a grant.*" (italics ours.)
[See p. 23.]

In another place of the same Report we find

"that the wastage is greater among Moslems than among Hindus. The Inspector of Schools for Burdwan Division is of the opinion that about two-fifths of the children in the infant class are not ready for school at all—they are at school merely to be out of the way at home." p. 24.

Thus, we see the Muhammadan majority in the Infant class is more apparent than real. The Muhammadan majority of 5.7 per cent in lower primary schools thus gets reduced to 3.4 per cent of *bona fide* students (and nearly 85 per cent of the primary schools are lower primary schools); and the majority of 7.7 per cent in the upper primary schools gets reduced to 4.6 per cent.

If a primary school can somehow make 51 per cent of its boys Muhammadans, it will be regarded as a *maktab;* and the usual consequence of *higher grants for maktabs* will follow. Generally the grant for *maktabs* is 50 per cent higher.

Then there is the attempt, partially successful, to introduce Mussalmani Bengali, in the *maktabs,* which makes Tagore or Madhusudan Dutta difficult of comprehension to such learners.

Now, it may be urged by our ultra-Nationalist fellow Hindus, what harm if the Muhammadan boys are taught Islamic rituals etc., in the school; your boys are not asked to go through them? Before we answer the question we may draw attention to one salient fact that no provision has been made during all these years for giving the Hindu boys religious instructions in the basic elementary principles of Hinduism. Now we shall try to answer the query by the analogy of Egypt.

In Egypt the Coptic population approaches the million mark, whereas the total population of Egypt is about 13 millions. The Copts are Christians.

Rev. Mr. S. A. Morrison of the Church Missionary Society in Egypt says

"The average Coptic fellah knows relatively little about the New Testament or about his Church. His children receive no religious instruction at home. Their playmates are Muslims. If they go to school at all, they attend either a *Kuttab,* where an exclusively Islamic education is given, or a 'compulsory' school, where the only religion taught at the present time is Islam. Nominally they may claim exemption from this instruction, but in practice it is not easy for them to do so." * * * "Brought up in an environment of this kind, Coptic children unconsciously absorb the belief and practices of their neighbours, differing from them hardly at all in their ideas of the nature of God and of Providence. It would be a miracle if it were otherwise."

The consequence is that

"While the Protestant churches may admit into their membership a maximum number of ten converts a year from Islam, the Coptic Church is losing members at a rate estimated by careful calculation at not less than six hundred a year. This landslide towards Islam is causing grave concern to all Copts who long for reform, whether clergy or laymen."

Besides the above unconscious bias towards Islam instilled into young minds, there are other considerations very similar to conditions prevalent here in Bengal. "In Egypt" writes Rev. Mr. S. A. Morrison, "there are many inducements, financial and matrimonial, which entice the Copt into the Muslim fold."

"If unemployed, he may be offered work on condition that he becomes a Muslim, or perhaps he wants to divorce his wife, or to marry a Muslim woman, whatever the motive, the way is easy. A legal procedure exists for registering his change of faith. Facilities are provided for his relatives or the clergy to try to dissuade him, but as the motive is material and financial, not spiritual or religious, he seldom pays heed to their remonstrancy."

Here in Bengal, no legal procedure exists as in Egypt, and no such facilities, as in Egypt, are available. And the probable consequences may better be imagined than described.

Thus we see that the work of proselytizing the Coptic boys begins at the primary schools, it may be unconsciously, and ends in his conversion to the Muslim faith. Who can guarantee that a similar result will not follow here in Bengal from similar circumstances? The Hindu Catholicity is a real source of danger to Hinduism in such circumstances. The Hindu boy cannot read the glorious achievements of the Hindus in the past in such *maktabs;* he reads of the Muhammadan conquest of India—not the true facts about it but such a version as suits the communally-minded Muhammadans at the top, and an inferiority complex is injected into his young mind; he sees before his very eyes the open and unabashed communal preferment of the Muhammadans by the Government; he hears his elders read newspapers in which the aggressive communal speeches and deeds of the Muhammadans at the top are reported; under such circumstances it is only natural for him to think of Muhammadanism as something very superior to Hindusism.

If there is anything worth preserving in Hinduism, our boys should not read in *maktabs;* especially as we Hindus pay 80 per cent of the provincial revenues.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

PUBLIC FINANCE, 1928-1935. *League of Nations. Geneva. Price 15|- : $3.75.*

With the present series the publication of information by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations on public finance is resumed after an interval of several years.

The series in intended to give a conspectus of the development of public finance over a wide area during the past seven years. Information will be given for each country, summarising the main facts and figures relating to its public finance from 1928-1935, or, if it is available, up to a later date. It will include a summary of budget and State Accounts, the main items of receipts and expenditure, the Treasury position, the situation of the Public Debt and, if possible, the balance sheet of State assets and liabilities. Technical notes explain the figures and mark the essential changes which have taken place from year to year.

Further explanatory notes are intended to enable students of the subject to obtain some understanding of the influence of the recent crisis on public finance and the measures taken by Governments to meet the difficulties created by that crisis; the extent to which receipts taken as a whole or individually have been affected; how new sources of receipts have been created; how all or part of State expenditure has been reduced, maintained, or increased, and how deficits have been covered.

For each country notes are given on the budgetary system which give an outline of the general budgetary principles applied. These, it is hoped, will assist students who desire to make a closer study of the situation in any particular country from original sources.

The series is valuable and useful. We have received the following parts: I Preface and General Explanatory Note. II Albania. III Austria. V United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. VI Bulgaria. VII Czechoslovakia. VIII Denmark. IX Estonia. X Finland. XIII Greece. XX Netherlands. XXII Poland. XXIV Roumania. XXVII Switzerland. XXX Yugoslavia. Not India, of course.

THE PROBLEM OF NUTRITION. *League of Nations. Geneva Vol. I. Interim Report of the Mixed Committee on the Problem of Nutrition. Vol. II, Report on the Physiological Bases of Nutrition. Vol. III, Nutrition in Various Countries.*

As stated above, Vol. I is an interim report of the mixed Committee on the problem of nutrition.

The second of the four volumes on the Problem of Nutrition is confined to a study of the physiological bases of a proper dietary. It reproduces the standards of adequate nutrition which were drawn up by the Technical Committee of the League's Health Committee after a period of expert study and consultation.

The Health Committee of the League has concerned itself with the relation between diet on the one hand and, on the other, public health and the control of diseases, since 1925. Its early publications in this field dealt with the problem of food in countries where deficiency diseases were most marked or where the essential foodstuffs were not easily available.

Vol. II contains an Introduction, Energy, Protein and Fat Requirements, Mineral and Vitamine Requirements, and six Tables, containing Dietary Scheme for the Pregnant and Nursing Woman, Infants 0 to 1 year, Children aged 1—2 years, 2—3 years, 3—5 years, 5—7 years and 12—14 years.

The report indicates dietary problems about which further study should be made; methods of discovering malnutrition in children; dietary needs during the first year of life; minimum requirements for vitamins, minerals and fats; the nutritive value of the different proteins, and the value of animal protein for healthy growth; relative nutritive value of the different cereals; the effect upon health of increased consumption of sugar; the influence of climate on dietary needs; consumption of milk to be desired for children of different ages.

Vol. III of the Report furnishes a factual basis for a survey of this important question in both urban and rural districts throughout the western world, **but not, of course, for any Asiatic Country—certainly not for India, whose malnutrition holds the record for the civilized world.**

The Report is prefaced by a chapter of "General Observations," and outlines the measures recently taken by Governments, public authorities and national organizations in some twenty countries, **not in India,** in order to bring about an improvement in the dietary of their populations. These are grouped into the following chapters: (1) Measures taken on behalf of Mothers and Infants; (2) Measures taken on behalf of children of school age and young people; (3) Measures taken on behalf of adults, and in particular of unemployed adults; (4) Army and navy dietaries; (5) Measures to enable particular categories of consumers to obtain foodstuffs at reduced prices; (6) Measures for ensuring the quality of food stuffs; (7) Research, education and popular instruction with regard to food values.

The Report contains evidence on variations which have occurred in the consumption of foodstuffs in recent years in both advanced and less prosperous communities.

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its editors make the following general observation upon the facts which it presents :

"Taking a general view of countries like the United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands, the question of general food shortage is not a matter for anxiety. Thanks to their wealth and their highly developed communications and widespread facilities for distribution, these countries are not exposed to the danger of scarcity. It is true that, among industrial or agricultural workers who have been particularly hard hit by unemployment or trade depression, large numbers may be underfed as the result of lack of purchasing power, in spite of the considerable efforts made to assist them. For the great majority of the population, however, the nutrition problem—though at first a problem of income—is in the main a problem of quality, balance of diet, hygiene and education.

"If in these countries the dietary is bad, it is due less to any deficiency of diet than to the fact that it is ill-balanced and incomplete, containing, perhaps, an excessive proportion of certain substances, while at the same time deficient in important constituents."

In addition to the countries mentioned in the passage quoted above, the Report furnishes information on some aspect of the whole problem with regard to : the Union of South Africa, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Italy Iraq, Latvia, Mexico, Poland, Roumania, Siam, Sweden, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

Though the Report contains nothing relating to India, the ill-nourished people of India, not its government, must learn from it what is being done in western countries for their far better nourished population. It would be of great advantage to us if we could utilize the mass of scientific information it contains.

WHAT IS A BOOK? *Thoughts About Writing. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 7s. 6d. net.*

This is an interesting volume for writers, both successful and would-be successful, and for those who wish to be writers. In it 20 notable authors, 10 men and 10 women, try to answer questions like the following :

What elements must a short story possess? What is meant by style? Narrative interest? Realism? What exactly constitutes a good detective story, essay or children's book? Why do some people write books and others read them?

The writers of the twenty articles in it are : Frances Lester Warner, Ellen Glasgow, Rafael Sabatini, Gertrude Atherton, Havelock Ellis, Mary Agnes Hamilton, Jeanette Eaton, Harold Nicolson, Valentine Williams, Phyllis Bottome, George Fort Milton, Edward I. O'Brien, Frances Frost, Archibald Macleish, Herbert Agar, Margaret Ayer Barnes, Esther Forbes, E. Arnot Robertson, James Norman Hall, John Livingston Lowes.

The twenty chapters are interspersed with more than a hundred aphorisms, epigrams and quotations—culled from the works of authors from Montaigne to Mencken—which relate to the niceties and the technicalities of literary composition.

THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH PROVERBS : *Complied by William George Smith. With introduction and index by Janet E. Heseltine. 21sh. net. Oxford University Press, London, Calcutta, Bombay, etc.*

Like other Oxford dictionaries, it is destined to be a standard work of reference. It is an historical dictionary of English Proverbs from the earliest times, in which each proverb is illustrated by dated quotations in chronological order. The book has been made easy to consult by the very full index in it, giving ready access to the words and the subject-matter of the proverbs. We are told, the compiler has devoted nearly a quarter of a century to his arduous task. In the later stages of editorial work he was assisted by Mrs. Heseltine, who has revised the whole work, written an introduction and compiled the index. No library, whether private or public, whether in a school, college or university, can afford to be without it. Apart from its value as a book of reference, it is very attractive to read. Open it anywhere, you find something which will amuse you or make you wiser—something which you will like to remember.

HUMAN LIFE IN RUSSIA : *By Dr. Ewald Ammende. Introduction by the Rt.-Hon. Lord Dickinson, K.B.E., P.C. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 10s. 6d. net.*

Even advocates of communism admit that the Bolsheviks of Russia have adopted ruthless methods to bring about the results aimed at by them. But according to various authorities, notably Sidney and Beatrice Webb, the results achieved have been remarkable and have greatly improved the condition of all the peoples in the Soviet Union. The author of this book challenges that verdict. Whether that favourable verdict was due merely or mainly to pro-Soviet successful propaganda on an unprecedented scale, or whether this and similar other books are parts of merely anti-Soviet propaganda, we are unable to judge.

It is not a small book. It contains some 320 pages of medium 8vo. size. And it contains 26 realistic photographs—some gruesome—for whose authenticity the author vouches.

The author was, for more than fifteen years until his recent death, the honorary secretary of the Vienna Interconfessional and International Relief Committee for the starving people in the Soviet Union. He "had been fighting, at first almost alone, to draw the attention of the world to the fate of suffering men and peoples in Russia."

The publishers claim that "the present documentary work is based on the experience of years, on a mass of unassailable evidence, and on accounts of reliable eye-witnesses. Its intention is to demonstrate to the public the fact that the Communist agrarian experiments have caused the deaths from starvation of millions of people, and to raise the question whether the world will still continue to disregard the cruel sufferings of the people in Soviet Russia. Parallel with the question of famine, the author deals also with a number of problems directly connected with it, as, for instance, the policy of the Soviet Government towards the various nationalities living under its rule, the propaganda methods employed by Moscow, the conditions in Soviet Russia's industry, agriculture, and transport, the attitude of the outside world to the Russian famine, etc."

The author concludes his preface thus :

"My book differs from most of those written about Russia in that it was written with a purely humanitarian object. Its kernel is simply the fate of the inhabitants of the Soviet State, ... The only question is, 'Is it desirable and is it possible to render help to the people who are starving in Russia?'"

INDIA AND THE WORLD : *Essays. By Jawaharlal Nehru. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 5sh. net.*

This book contains Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's two Congress presidential addresses, at Lahore (1929) and Lucknow (1936) ; the first and the last letter to his

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daughter Indira, both written from prison; and papers bearing the following titles: Whither India, Prison-land, The Mind of a Judge, Quetta, Mahatma Gandhi, A Letter to an Englishman, India and the World, A Visit to England, The Way to Peace, Indian Problems.

Two of these—"The Mind of a Judge" and "The Last Letter to Indira"—originally appeared in *The Modern Review.*

In all the 'essays', even in his two letters to his daughter, when Indian problems and the Indian situation come in for casual mention or more extended treatment, they are generally considered in their world setting. The political, social and economic ideals which are directly or indirectly held up in the book may be considered as thinking India's ideals, inspite of the fact that we have different parties among us who have different ideologies and use different names in speaking of the same ideals.

This book is distinguished by the same literary excellence, directness and sincerity which characterize the author's Autobiography.

WORLD POLITICS, 1918-1936: *By R. Palme Dutt, Editor of "The Labour Monthly," and Author of "Fascism and Social Revolution." Victor Gollancz Ltd., 14 Henerietta Street, Covent Garden, London. 5s. net.*

Considering that the book contains 382 pages, neatly printed on good paper, the price is moderate—as prices of British books go.

As the name of the author indicates, the book is written from the socialistic point of view. Its eight chapters treat of the following topics: The New World Situation, The Problem of World Politics, The Balance Sheet of Two Decades, The Rising Antagonisms of Capitalist World Economy, Attempts at World Organisation (The Question of the "World State", The League of Nations, World Pacts and Regional Pacts, Collective Security), The Issue of the New Division of the World (The Theory of the "Haves" and the "Have-Nots", Proposals for the Peaceful Re-division of Colonies or of Colonial Raw Materials), Main Areas of Conflict (in Asia, Europe and America), The Soviet Union and the World, The Fight for Peace and the Future of World Organization.

This list shows that the author has written on many of the burning topics of the day. His views are worth knowing by the supporters of both the capitalist and the socialist order of society. A 20 page double column index printed in small type has made it convenient to use the book.

ON LIFE AND ESSAYS ON RELIGION: *By Leo Tolstoy. Translated with an introduction by Aylmer Maude. Oxford University Press. 2s. net.*

This is a volume in the well-known Oxford University Press World's Classic Series. The writings in this volume contain Tolstoy's conclusions at the close of the years he gave to the study of religion. They deserve to be known and pondered.

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM HANDBOOK, 1936. *Compiled and edited by W. S. Body, chief clerk, Town Clerk's Office. Birmingham.*

A comprehensive insight into the municipal administration of a large city is contained in the latest edition of the City of Birmingham Handbook, published by the City's Information Bureau.

As is pointed out in the introduction, the interest of the modern municipality in its citizens extends from the cradle to the grave; from the provision of dustbins to the encouragement of an appreciation of good music by the establishment of a rate-aided orchestra. An interesting story has been made of the complex business of efficiently managing a city with a population of well over a million. Successive sections, well illustrated and extending over 320 pages, tell of Birmingham's progress from the time when the granting of market rights placed it in a position of importance in the Midlands; of its parks and muncipal golf courses, its museum and art gallery, its public health service, its education service (including evening institutes, technical colleges, commercial college, school of arts and crafts and other educational facilities), its transport service, its municipal bank, and its lead to the country in the matter of town planning, while appropriately enough in the centenary year of its birth, due regard is paid to the pioneering spirit of Joseph Chamberlain, the maker of modern Birmingham.

Sections on the management of the city's 42,000 municipal houses, how its water is brought by pipe line over a distance of seventy odd miles from Wales, and of the operation of the gas and electric supply undertaking make interesting and non-technical reading, while general information on buildings of interest in Birmingham, together with particulars of hotel accommodation and a list of car parks add to the usefulness of the publication to the casual visitor to the City.

The publication does much to explain the mystery of how the rate-payers' money is spent, and should be of interest to a far wider public than merely that of the City of Birmingham.

Copies of the Handbook may be obtained from the City of Birmingham Information Bureau, The Council House, Birmingham 1.

C.

THE MUSIC OF ORIENT AND OCCIDENT: *Mrs. Margaret Cousins, B. Mus. Published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 2.*

In this neat little but ambitious volume of two hundred pages there are twenty-two essays on as many subjects relating to music. They were written, as the spirit moved the author, for various journals in the course of what may be called her spiritual apprenticeship to Oriental Culture, particularly to the Indian variety thereof. Obviously, this collection of articles and lectures is one well-strung essay on the mutual understanding of the East and the West on the basis of what is best in both.

Given the special circumstances of the origin of this book it will be unfair to discuss its limitations. One, however, must needs be stated. The Hindusthani Music of Northern India receives no attention from Mrs. Cousins. Yet, from the point of view of cultural assimilation, which is the gift of mutual understanding, it is probably richer. The benefit which the Northerner will derive from a perusal of the sympathetic treatment of the Southern style will also be onesided.

In any case, gratitude is the author's legitimate due. And respect as well for her sincere love of music and efforts at understanding the spirit of our music. The importance of music in our emotional make-up no less than in our educational programme is forcibly stressed in these pages. Mrs. Cousins, like her husband Dr. Cousins, has a highly developed sense for the stirrings of new life, almost an intuition for renaissance. I only wish that it strengthen our will to live better by creating new and still newer forms.

D. P. M.

SMALL BUSINESS AND SPARE TIME TIPS: *By G. C. Mukerjee. Price Re. 1-4.*

It seems to be a useful publication.

J. M. Datta

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THE BRITON IN INDIA: *Author and Publisher, Prof. J. T. George. Pp. 708. Price Rs. 5.*

The book is dedicated to "All friends and true well-wishers of Indo-British connections," and therefore one might assume that the object of the book is to improve the understanding existing between the Indians and the British, either by an objective analysis of the situation, or else by attempting to explain the one side to the other. If the author is attempting the first method, then his book must be compared with such masterpieces of objective study as Dr. Dibelius' "England" or Senor Madriaga's "Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Spaniards." Books such as these are a real help to the Englishman in helping him to understand himself. Most people have a curious knack for forgetting facts, when they once begin propounding a theory which they have come to believe. Thus for example one has Englishmen talking in India as though municipal corruption were unknown in England, whereas as some recent articles in the *Nineteenth Century* recently showed, such is by no means the case. Similarly Americans sometimes complain that Indians are always enthusiastic about a thing only so long as it is now; whereas similar effervescent enthusiasms are to be found in their own country. Writers such as Dr. Dibelius are however, all too few, and most of those who try to write on the same lines either become entangled with vague generalisations and stock phrases, or else do nothing but quote from various authors so that the book becomes dull, and tedious to read. Professor George's object is however "to draw the immediate attention of the English people to the unfair and irritating nature of the racial situation at present, and to appeal to them to revise their views and opinions" (p. x). This is an extremely laudable object, but also an extremely difficult one. Professor George has read widely, and his book contains many effective, and striking quotations, but the result of it all is to make it interesting only to those who are already interested. In short, judged by his intention as expressed in his introducetion, the attempt hardly succeeds.

It is interesting to try to understand why a book written with so much ability, understanding, and skill, is yet not successful. Now one of the first things one has to remember in trying to persuade people to alter their opinions, is that the people concerned are not themselves anxious to change, because they have not realised the need for a change. Therefore one must never forget the importance of being interesting. To have a good meal, one must have not only good materials, but the materials must also be well-cooked. Then again, one has to remember that one is attacking certain existing prejudices, and to overcome those prejudices an indirect attack is often more effective than a direct attack. It is therefore a good rule to start an idea, but to leave those whom one is trying to persuade to supply the answer. The great virtue of Pandit Jaharlal Nehru's *Autobiography* is that he does this most effectively. An Englishman reading it realises how natural and almost inevitable has been the Pandit's progress from Harrow to his present position, and how natural and right is Indian nationalism, and how certain aspects of the present government might possibly be altered with advantage. Reading his *Autobiography* therefore gives the reader the feeling that, had he been in the Pandit's situation he would have behaved in the same manner. Once that has been achieved, once one side has seen the reasonableness of the contentions of the other side, then mutual understanding and sympathy may well be brought about. It is just at these points the book is weakest. Its lengthy quotations, though interesting to an Indian, or to an Englishman sympathetic with Indian aspirations, will make it dull and monotonous to an Englishman who is not interested or who suffers from what might be termed Mayoistic ideas about India. Secondly it convicts, instead of persuading, and the prisoner in the dock can hardly be expected to admire the skill of the prosecuting counsel! The book is very fairly written, but as has been said before, it is doubtful if it will influence those for whom it is written.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

BHAGAVAD-GITA, abridged and explained, setting forth the Hindu creed, discipline and ideals: *By C. Rajgopalachari. Published by Hindustan Times Ltd., Delhi, for the Federation of International Fellowships, Madras. 1935. Price Six Annas. Pp. 116 and 6.*

This brochure forms one of a series of Study Books which the Federation of International Fellowships has been issuing for the use of students. The Federation hopes that this series "will help and enable readers to understand the common elements in all religions . . . as well as to understand their points of difference in order that young men and women following different faiths may come together in an atmosphere of fuller understanding to the end that each may enrich and be enriched by the experiences of others and thus be enabled more earnestly to seek for the Truth".

The object is certainly praiseworthy and deserves every encouragement; and, we believe, that the present publication will go a long way in fulfilling the Federation's ideal. Mr. Rajgopalachari's exposition is free from sectarianism, and he has chosen his passages well in order to emphasize the universal aspects of the teachings of the Gita. His translation is free from ambiguities and his style is such as would appeal to every man who is fond of clear and direct thinking.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

CHEAP AND HEALTHY HOMES FOR THE MIDDLE CLASSES OF INDIA: *By R. S. Deshpande, B.E., A.M.I.E.(Ind.) published by the author himself, Kopargaon, Dist., Ahmednagar. Pp. 350.*

The author lays down in this Book some practical hints for the construction of cheap and sanitary buildings. In first part of the book he deals with the economy of construction and in the last part with the domestic sanitation. To attain cheapness, he advocates (*a*) elimination of transport by use of local materials, (*b*) employment of local labour as far as practicable and (*c*) use of cheap materials; here he sounds a note of warning which rightly does, against indiscriminate use of cheap materials, which are not always economical in the long run. To attain domestic sanitation he innunciates six fundamental principles, as laid down below:—

(1) That all refuse and waste matter must be removed as rapidly as possible, (2) that no part of the house should be damp, (3) that the house should be so constructed as to prevent accumulation of dirt, (4) that adequate means for ventilation should be provided, (5) that every part of the house should be fully lighted, and (6) that the house should be supplied with copious supply of pure water.

In dealing with sanitation the author has in view the peculiar social customs and religious prejudices of the Indians. The book under review will be a great help not only to the middle class house-holders but to the students of junior engineering and sanitary classes as well.

ANANGA MOHAN SAHA

GITA-RAHASYA OR THE HINDU PHILOSOPHY OF KARMAYOGA, VOL. II: *By the late Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, translated into English by Mr. Bhalchandra Sitaram Sukthankar, M.A., LL.B., Solicitor,*

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High Court, Bombay. Published by Mr. R. B. Tilak, Poona City.

As in the first Volume, the translation of the original Sanskrit verses into English by the learned translator is excellent, accurate and scientific and conveys in elegant English the spirit of the Gita. The rendering is reliable and reflects the meaning of the original with remarkable accuracy. The learned translator has done a great service by bringing before the English-knowing public the great work of a master mind.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

GERMAN

DIE FORSTBENUTZUNG (*Forest Utilisation*) *(Thirteenth Edition in German language) A Text Book and Hand Book written by Dr. Karl Gayer (Late Geheimer-Rat and extra-ordinary professor in the University of Munich, Germany.). Rewritten by Dr. Ludwig Fabricius (Extra-ordinary professor of Munich, Germany.). With 448 illustrations and two colour plates; 748 pages size 8vo. Price 34 Marks. (The price of the book has been reduced by 25% for sale in countries other than Germany.) Publishers: Paul Parey, Berlin SW. 11, Hedemann Strasse, 28/29 (Germany).*

Karl Gayer's book on Forest Utilisation, which appeard for the first time in 1863, has attempted from the very beginning to picture the utilisation of 'Forest Produce' in the most comprehensive sense of that expression in a scientific manner. 'Wood' being the most important forest produce, has been described with all exceptional qualities as raw material. The requirements of the wood cutter and his working implements have first been indicated after which are detailed the methods of felling and the conversion of the felled wood for use. Then follow its utilisation into half finished and finished products in numerous work shops, factories and saw mills, in cellulose, paper and artificial silk manufacture, in wood gas and wood sugar plants etc.

The presentation of the contents has been attempted on rigidly scientific lines, but this does not denote that the book contains a useless complication of foreign expressions which only the specialist can understand, but merely indicates that the work is compiled according to a well laid out plain, with simplicity of style and lucidity of construction. It handles on a very broad basis the complete utilisation and the highest form of improvement of the raw material 'Wood', as well as the 'Minor Forest Products' and points out their many sided significance in the political economy of a nation. The book can therefore educate not only the academically trained forester, but also the student, the forest owner of all grades and every one who deals in wood and its commercial products.

This work deals with all questions of utilisation of every kind of forest produce in an exemplarily exhaustive manner, and is practically without a rival in the branch of knowledge with which it deals. It is therefore indispensible to every forestman and wood industrialist. It comes from the pen of one of the greatest authorities in the field of scientific and professional forestry alive today, and has lived and grown with human knowledge for over three quarters of a century to appear now in its thirteenth edition, which is by itself a sufficient proof of its outstanding merit.

K. KRISHNASWAMY

HINDI

CONGRESS KA ITIHAS: *Edited by Sj. Haribhau Upadhyaya. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Delhi. Second edition. Pp. 647. Price Rs. 2/8/-.*

It is the Hindi translation of Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramaiya's *History of the Congress*, published on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of the Congress. The Congress is the most important political institution of the country and the public was sorely in need of an authoritative history of its activities extending to half a century. Dr. Pattabhi has tried to provide this needful book for which he deserves our thanks. But it seems that the book was written in haste and facts and figures were not properly verified. Consequently a number of mistakes have crept in. I shall here point out only a few of them. On page 114 (Hindi ed., & page 212 English ed.) it is stated that Mrs. Besant first started her Daily the *New India*, and that it was after some months that she brought out her Weekly, the *Commonweal*, but actually she started the *Commonweal* in January 1914 and brought out the *New India* in July 1914. On page 213 of the English edition (page 114 of Hindi ed.) it is mentioned that the A. I. C. C. met at Calcutta in Oct. 1916 but it actually met on Nov. 17 & 18, 1916. The decisions arrived at this meeting are also wrongly stated. Similarly the reasons given for the difference between the Nationalists and the Moderates (English, ed. page 204, Hindi ed., page 109) are misleading. It suggests that the dispute was over the creed of the Congress, while the fact is that both Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant as well as their adherents had expressly accepted Art. I. of the Congress creed as their own creed. There are many other similar inaccuracies. These mistakes may seem trivial but they are regretable in the authorised history of the Congress, and should be removed.

So far as the Hindi version is concerned it is written in good and easy style. Mr. Upadhyaya has affected many improvements from the first edition, for which he deserves congratulations.

B. M. VARMA

URDU

AFSANA-NIGARI: *By Saiyad Waqar Ali, M.A., Published by Saraswati Publishing House, Allahabad, Cloth-bound. Pp. 186. Price Rs. 1/8/-.*

HAMARE AFSANE: *Author and Publishers same as above. Pp. 174. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 1/8/-.*

These two sister volumes deal with short stories. The growth of popularity of short stories is one of the most striking features of modern literature of the world. Along with the growth of this popularity there has developed a special art and technique of short story-writing. In "Afsana-Nigari" the author has dealt with the technical side of short-story-writing. In a clear and lucid manner he analyses and discusses the different elements and factors which go to make a really good short story. Perhaps it is the first book of its kind in Urdu and may prove helpful to budding story-tellers.

"Hamare Afsane" is a complimentary volume to "Afsana-Nigari". In the first half of this volume the author gives an analytical survey of different aspects of short-stories as found in modern Urdu stories and in the second half he discusses the merits and peculiarities of individual story-writers of Urdu. The two books together give a fair idea of short stories and their position in contemporary Urdu literature.

B. M. VARMA

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MARATHI

SAMGITA SAMPADIKA: *By K. G. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B. With a Foreword by A. V. Khasnis, B.A., LL.B., Judge, Jath State. Printed at the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, thick card bound. Pp. 100. Price 10 annas.*

We have here the first attempt of a poet to produce a social drama, based upon the *motif* of a married couple being separted from each other on account of the spite and self-interest of a villain and becoming again reunited through the efforts of a mutual friend, who is a literary genius, the courage and spirit of independence shown by the wife in boldly undertaking the responsible duties of an Editor and some other circumstances, involving humorous episodes of a minor type. There are some obvious marks of imperfect characterisation: *e.g.*, it appears to us inconsistent that Suresh, who as a noble friend, is mainly responsible for rescuing the whole situation in the end, should have been at the same time shown as a light-hearted cavalier, falling in love at first sight with Dr. Ratnaprabha, even while he is engaged in making unbecoming advances to the heroine of the play. Besides, when Dr. Ratnaprabha is introduced to us as the widow of a sportsman, who had won the world championship in an aeroplane race round the world, most of us would be unwilling to swallow the tale.

The language is brisk enough for the purpose of dialogues but betrays the qualities of a poet rather than those of a dramatist, especially in the songs, which are scattered throughout the play after the fashion of modern Marathi playwrights, and not always discretely.

The author has succeeded pretty well in concluding the plot by developing the actions of the several characters into a final logical result, although he has found it somewhat difficult to maintain an even pace of development in all directions. The accidental meetings on the scene of suicide upon the railway line appear, therefore, too abrupt and forced.

On the whole, however, the author has shown enough skill to deserve not only the recognition shown for his work by the Ruler of Jath through the award of a prize, but also sincere encouragement at the hands of the Marathi-speaking public in the new direction he has given to his literary efforts.

V. V. GOKHALE

TELUGU

AROGYA SASTRAMU: *By Dr. Gullapalli Narayana Murti, L.M.S. Published by Andhra Patrika Press, Madras. Pages 403. Price Rs. 2.*

After the cessation of Vijnyana Chandrika Mandali publications, books on technical and scientific subjects are few and far between in Telugu language. Dr. Narayanamurti has removed a long felt want in writing this excellent treatise on Public Health and Sanitation. The Andhra University has rightly recognized the worth of the book.

The book begins with a treatment of dietics—the contents of food materials are exhaustively dealt. Drainage, removal of rubbish and dead bodies, maternity and child welfare, construction of healthy houses, prevention of food adulteration, epidemics and their causes, village sanitation and vital statistics are some of the subjects that have received special attention and treatment in this volume. A glossary of Telugu words with their English synonyms is appended to the book.

The author has dealt with the subject in an elegant and easy style. The book contains many appropriate diagrams and the printing and get up are very good.

The book is a *vade mecum* for village panchayats. It gives all the information required for the betterment of village sanitation. Starting of village panchayats is a growing movement in Andhra Desa and this publication is opportune and highly helpful to the movement.

B. G. REDDI

GUJARATI

JYOTISANGH—1934-35—KAYA NOUDH. *Printed at the Praja Bandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad.*

It is the record of work done by a band of selfless women in Ahmedabad, towards the social uplift of their sisters, who, owing to poverty, illiteracy, want of means and opportunities, are unable either to support themselves, or their families. They are taught arts, crafts, household work and when they have progressed sufficiently well, are paid for their labour. It is a very useful institution.

SANDESH DIRECTORY: *Edited by Manjulal Sakarlal Desai, B.A. Published by Nandlal Chunilal Bodivala. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pages 391, 660. Price Rs. 5 (1935).*

This is the first composite "Directory" of its kind, covering both Gujarat and Kathiawad. The Editor and publisher are at great pains to set out the difficulties that lay in their path, but they have for a pioneer work, successfully overcome them, and produced a book, which is sure to prove useful not only as a trade Directory but as an accurate piece of short history of the cities and towns mentioned therein. We will not expatiate on its merits at length but simply state that it deserves encouragement at the hands of all inerestee in trade and business.

PALATATAN TEJ: *By Indulal Gandhi. Published by the Urmi Granthmala, Denso Hall, Karachi. Thick card board. Pages 162. Price annas 8 (1935).*

"Changing Lights" consists of five one-act plays, showing differing phases of the life of Hindu Society, ranging from old world ideas to modern thoughts. They lend themselves to pleasant reading.

SANJIVAN: *By Sanatan Janmas Nankar Buch. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pages 81. Price annas ten (1935).*

In this drama the writer is labouring to show that though Kach had learnt from his Guru the Sanjibani Vidya, he did not know what Sanjivan in real wordly life meant. In the last dialogue between him and Devayani, she teaches him its real beauty. It is the best part of the book.

K. M. J.

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THE DEMAND FOR COLONIES

By HIRENDRA NATH MUKERJEE, M.A., B.LITT. (Oxon.) Barrister-at-Law

An ominous indication that an imperialist war is in the air, is furnished by the fact that since the autumn of 1935 there have been persistent talks about a partial redistribution of colonial possessions. There are people, even, paradoxically, in our own country, who are blind, consciously or unconsciously, to the real implications of imperialism, who divide rival imperialist powers into the "haves" and "have-nots", and who offer the latter their sympathy and support. Proposals are being put forward for an "equitable redistribution" of colonies, of mandates and of supplies of raw materials. The claims, arrogantly adumbrated, of Hitler and Mussolini and General Araki, are backed by the gentler voices of "progressive" ecclesiastics like the Archbishop of York and of Christian pacifists like Mr. Lansbury. Germany, Italy and Japan, the leading "have-nots," freely express their "need" for expansion and their determination, at any cost, to achieve it. So Germany openly and feverishly piles up armaments, Italy despoils Abyssinia while the Powers look on, and Japan relentlessly pursues her war offensive in the Far East, and their tanks and bombing planes and bellicose speeches produce in so many Christian and pacifist breasts the passion for "justice"! Mr. Lansbury and official Labour spokesmen today call for a world conference to discuss redistribution of raw materials and for the placing of colonies under an international mandate; the left wing Labour leader, Sir Stafford Cripps, calls for "the pooling of Colonial resources"—all because they want "justice" and "equity" in international relations!

What, forsooth, is this "justice"? The answer is that it requires only the re-arranging of the booty of years, it wishes to minimise the scramble over the spoils. It implies that the peoples living in colonial territories are dumb cattle to be shepherded into whichever pounds their masters specify. It implies that the subjection of the colonial peoples to their imperialist exploiters is a natural dispensation of Providence and that the subject peoples are chattel slaves to be bandied about at their owners' will. What an amount of well-intentioned pacifist sympathy goes to the heavily armed imperialist powers, deprived so cruelly of their "fair" share of the spoils! The poor "have-not" Powers are smarting under an injury and must be placated; "native" populations, so conveniently "backward," need not, of course, be consulted. As an able publicist puts it, one is reminded of the child who, on being shown a picture of the "the Christians thrown to the Lions," was full of sympathy for "the lion who had not got a Christian."

It is, no doubt, a fact that the partitioning of much of the world's surface amongst the imperial states has resulted in an uneven distribution of power—a reflection of the law of the inequality of capitalist development. It is a fact that, roughly, there are some Powers who are "satisfied" and some who are not. But the theory of the "Haves" and "Have-nots" is dangerous and misleading; it raises illusions of a peaceful solution of imperialist antagonisms by some form of redistribution of colonies or internationalisation of access to raw materials, it serves as a plausible excuse for the murderous drive, so obvious in Fascist countries, to war and its sequel barbarism, it is based on the vicious assumption of the necessity and permanence of the subjection of the colonial peoples and finds the "injustice" and the cause of all mischief in the fact that some Powers do not possess a sufficiency of colonies and not in the colonial system itself.

II

The Surplus Population Problem

It is often argued that Germany, Japan and Italy need colonies in order to find room for their surplus populations. One finds it a trifle amusing that Fascists and militarists will in one speech deplore the falling birth rate and urge energetic measures for accelerating the growth of the population and will, in another, refer to the increase of population as the irrefutable argument for colonies as an outlet for the "peoples without space." The case for the acquisition of colonies on this ground is, any way, quite untenable. Most of the colonies, over which the contest is fiercest, are already thickly populated, or not suitable for settlement

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by the inhabitants of the colonising states. Japan has possessed Korea for forty years and the number of Japanese settlers there in all that time has been less than the annual increase of Japan's population. Whatever Japan does in regard to Manchuria in ten years' time, there would not, according to the noted economist Sir Arthur Salter, be as many Japanese in Manchuria as the increase of Japanese population every six months. The German colonies never had as many German settlers as there were Germans in Paris before the War (17,000). Italy, after forty years' colonization of Eritrea, has got today less than a hundred persons engaged there in agriculture, while whatever happens in Abyssinia, it could never accommodate more than a small proportion of Italy's surplus population. As Sir Arthur Salter said at the National Peace Council Conference on "Peace and the Colonial Problem."

> "If Italy planted settlers in Abyssinia as fast as she could for ten years, she would not have dealt with the increase in the population of Italy of two months. If you take central tropical Africa, all the Europeans in all the colonies established in the course of more than a quarter of a century, they do not amount to as much as the increase of the Italian population in a year."

Since 1880 Europe's population has increased by 173 millions, and the net emigration to territories controlled by Europe has only been about 500,000. Those who talk of the pressure of population as an excuse for an expansionist policy are blind, unwittingly perhaps, to its real character.

It is too often ignored in academic discussions that, except in relation to the social and economic condition in a given country, there can be no problem of a surplus population. Every country under capitalism has a surplus population; that is, more people than are properly fed, housed and given a chance of work and normal development. Britain, for all her "empire," has a surplus population of several millions, the unemployed and their dependants. Czarist Russia had a huge surplus population which would, in shoals, emigrate every year. But the Soviet Union has an annual increase in population of 3½ millions and yet confidently anticipate being able to provide for several hundred millions more, because of its socialist economic system. The Soviet Republic of the Ukraine, which is the present goal of the Nazi expansion eastwards, has a greater density of population than Germany itself. How the colonisation of the Ukraine will help to solve Germany's population problem is a mystery.

When the apologists of the "have-nots" base their claims on population figures, they make themselves absurd. If the drive to expansion was naturally and inevitably caused by "over-population" in the sense of extreme density of population to the arable area and primitive standard of living, then India, China and Java would lead the race. If all the present talk about the surplus population problem was really well informed and honest, one would not have noticed that the arguments, such as they are, are always used in favour of the Powers that can make their voices heard and threaten to change by main force the existing distribution of colonies, and never in favour of the small countries which are left to fend for themselves, though their lack of resources is very much more acute. It is so easy and plausible for Might to masquerade as Right, and that simple and "godly" men like Mr. Lansbury are taken in, is not much of a surprise.

III

The Problem of Raw Materials

The theory of colonial policy which is most widely held today is that colonies are necessary for the supply of raw materials. In a speech on March 22, 1936, Mussolini declared:

> "Italy will not resign herself to the abused commonplace that she is poor in raw materials";

And Goebbels said on January 17, 1936:

> "We are a poor nation. We have no colonies, no raw materials. But we must tell the other nations that the time will come when we must demand our colonies back. It is dangerous for the world not to concede such demands, because some day the bomb will explode."

The Royal Institute of International Affairs has recently issued a brochure on "Raw Materials and Colonies." The figures therein show that the United States of America is pre-eminent in the production of raw materials, and the British Empire—Great Britain, the Colonies, the Dominions and India being taken as a unit, though the Dominions are, of course, self-governing—comes next. The Soviet Union takes the third place and is followed by France and the Netherlands with their colonial empires. Germany, Japan and Italy are not big producers of raw materials, along, of course, with score of other states that cannot afford to create a furore in the international stage. Germany is the world's chief producer of potash, but otherwise she counts for little as a producer of raw materials.

From the figures, however, it appears that the "basic materials"—coal, iron, cotton, oil

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and copper—are produced very largely in sovereign states and an interchange of colonies, in the unlikely event of agreement among the possessing powers, will not be of much help. That the British Empire is practically "self-sufficient" is chiefly due to the production in the Dominions and in India, and the renunciation of India and the Dominions by British imperialism is not conceivable. Rubber is the only really important raw material which is virtually a colonial monopoly, British Malay, the Netherlands, East Indies and Ceylon accounting for 96 per cent of the world's production. Another colonial quasi-monopoly is tin, 57 per cent of world's produce coming from British Malay and the Netherlands East Indies. The Soviet Union is the leading producer of flax, hemp, timber, manganese, magnesite and chrome ore, and is second as a producer of petroleum. Canada has the virtual monopoly of the world's nickel; China leads in the production of soya beans, a position probably usurped by Japan since the emergence of Manchukuo; Chile is the chief producer of copper; South Africa provides half the world's gold; Australia leads in wool and is second in lead; India has the monopoly of jute; Spain is first in mercury and olive oil; Mexico leads in silver and has large resources of lead and petroleum; the United States of America leads in ever so many items. It appears, thus, that very much of the production of raw materials is in independent states or in countries like India which imperialist Britain will certainly never agree to give away to any other Power. Besides, the clamour of the expansionists points usually towards Africa, while rubber and tin, the two most important raw materials produced very largely in the colonies, are not available anywhere in Africa. The only other "basic material" produced in considerable amounts in the colonies is copper, Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo accounting for 21 per cent of the world's produce. The Mandated territories which figure so largely in discussions on colonial readjustment are by no means very rich in resources, except for a few cases like the potash deposits in Palestine, and have but little significance in the world supply of raw materials.

It is ridiculous, therefore, for the Nazis to claim as they do that

> "It is largely due to the loss of her colonies that Germany is so adversely affected by her present position in respect of foreign exchange and raw materials."

It is impossible to see how the return of the colonies to Germany will materially contribute towards the restoration of her economic prosperity. This will be clear when we look into the pre-war trade figures of Germany, which show that in 1911, according to the *Economist*, the imports of raw materials (excluding food-stuffs) into Germany from her colonies was of the value of £2.1 millions, while her total imports of raw materials (excluding food-stuffs) amounted to £270 millions. In 1913 sisal hemp was the only commodity imported into Germany from her colonies! What, then, is the earthly good of making such a noise about the necessity, shown here to be unfounded, of returning the colonies to Germany to help her solve the problem of raw materials? Neither Germany nor Japan nor Italy can or will be satisfied with a few straggling colonies which a conference of the Powers—so dear to the hearts of liberal enthusiasts for "justice" to the "have-nots"—may offer them. All the present talk about the return of the colonies is the rumbling before the storm; diplomatic discussions are the prolegomena to imperialist war.

IV

Prestige and Power

There are many who realise that the economic arguments for colonial redistribution are completely fallacious, but are persuaded that there are "psychological" arguments of great importance. To ignore them is, in the simile of the *Manchester Guardian*, "to adopt the attitude of those who refuse to believe a neurasthenic suffers because he has no bodily complaints." The official organ of the British Labour Party, the *Daily Herald* tells us that the colonial problem is primarily one "of prestige, of status."

Surely, psychological factors are of great account and must not be ignored. But why is it that just Germany and Italy and Japan are confronting the world with their arguments for a re-mapping of the world? Why are not the small states (who lack, more than Germany does, the primary commodities) leading the movement for revision of treaties and territorial arrangements, instead of being, as they are at present, the most faithful upholders of collective security and the sanctity of treaties in the capitalist world? Why is it that the expansionist Powers are only the aggressive Fascist states which feel strong enough to demand and fancy their chances of securing a place in the sun? Certainly not simply because of their economic difficulties which, it is clear, would not be solved at all by any amount of re-mapping

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of the globe. Their attitude is due to the fact that their ruling classes feel they have power—strategic, economic and military. Prestige, they know, is a function of power, and their policies are fashioned accordingly.

The leaders of finance-capital are concerned very much more about solid, tangible gains than about "psychological" satisfactions, and there is no doubt about the solid advantage of a colonial empire. If a comparison is made between British and American exports in 1930 (the figures are in the *Economist*, 25th November, 1933), it appears that British exports predominated in India, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Egypt, Malay, Nigeria and the three Scandinavian countries, while American exports predominated in France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Spain, China, Japan, Brazil, Chile, Argentina and the Soviet Union. British priority had been ousted in every leading country of the world, except the Empire countries and Denmark, Norway and Sweden which are closely linked to Britain. A further fact emerges that British predominance remained strongest and American exports could not reach 20 per cent of the British, in four countries only: India, Egypt, Nigeria, Malay, representing the colonial system proper. That the dominance of the sovereign power in the colonies does not depend solely on tariffs and preference is clear from Leonard Barnes' brochure on "The Future of Colonies." It is very interesting to study some of his tables which refer to colonies still largely governed by the "Open Door" principle:

NIGERIA 1933

	Imports from per cent	Exports to per cent
United Kingdom ..	.. 67	37
Germany ..	.. 8	16
Italy ..	.. .3	4

BELGIAN CONGO 1932

	Imports from per cent	Exports to per cent
Belgium	.. 46	76
United Kingdom ..	.. 11	.09
Germany ..	.. 7	1.6
Italy ..	.. .8	.1

FRENCH WEST AFRICA 1930

	Imports from per cent
France	.. 47.3
United Kingdom ..	.. 15.8
Germany ..	.. 7.6

Barnes concludes from his survey:

"Effective equality is evidently not established by mere absence of tariff discrimination. The fact is, of course, that the scales are loaded in favour of the suzerain both in colonies and mandated territories, even when the 'Open Door' principle is in operation."

The solution of the colonial problem offered by the British Labour Party—"equality of opportunity to all nations in the undeveloped regions of the earth"—will be thus of little effect. Sovereignty alone, whether masked as mandate or not, is the decisive factor for securing economic advantages in a colony.

The colonial system in the age of imperialism is a complex of many factors, the colonies serving as a market for the export of goods and of capital, a source of raw materials and a source of super-profits realised through the exploitation of colonial labour, and being kept together by the armed domination of the imperial power. A whole host of regulations goad the colonial peoples to labour, on starvation wages, for the foreign master; evictions, hut taxes, poll taxes, etc. are samples of the method of domination. When, therefore, Sir Samuel Hoare explains, on behalf of British imperialism, that raw materials are sold without discrimination to all who can pay the price or when Sir Arthur Salter points out that every customer has to pay the same price, the "have-not" Powers are convinced of nothing but the hypocrisy of the apologists of imperialism. Raw materials can be bought at the price offered by the monopolist power, not at the price paid to the colonial producers, the workers of "backward" countries. When the International Rubber Regulation Committee fixes its prices, due regard is paid to the dominant British-Dutch interests.

The fight among rival imperialist powers can only be a fight for *domination* and for *monopoly*. So British imperialism sent its agents to the four corners of the globe, prospecting for oil, that it may flout the oil monopoly of America. So Britain partitioned the Turkish empire in the hunt for oil, created the new state of Iraq, lorded it over Persia and incited civil war in Mexico, to establish its rival oil monopoly. Similar was the British attempt to be independent of the American monopoly of raw cotton—organising the Empire Cotton Association since 1902, and developing with huge subsidies and vast construction works like the Assonan Dam and the Sind Barrage, the growth of cotton in the Sudan, in India, in Kenya, in Uganda, in Iraq. Similar was the reply of American imperialism to the virtual British monopoly of rubber, when millions were spent by the U. S. A. to develop the growth of rubber in the South American states

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it controls. In such conditions as these, assurances about equality of opportunity will not help. Monopoly has to be backed up by colonial or semi-colonial forms of imperialist control. As the "have-not" Powers lack that control, they are not satisfied with statements about the "Open Door" and "no discrimination" in regard to prices.

V

The Only Solution: Freedom of Colonial Peoples

There is no doubt about the predominance of the "satisfied" imperialist powers; but while to the peoples of the colonial countries it is a cruel process, to the rising imperialist rivals of those powers—the "have-nots" of today—this is an unpleasant situation which they want to change. But the remedies so often suggested to placate the latter—conferences, "pooling of colonial resources" etc.—are worse than useless. When even the suggestion that the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations should have the right to send observers to see the mandated areas on its behalf is stoutly resisted by the Mandatory Powers, it is easy to realise what the reactions of the "Haves" would be to proposals for any genuine sharing of the colonial spoils. In minor cases, especially where a smaller colonial Power is concerned, proposals "for bartering the colonial peoples in the cattle-market of the Great Powers" are not impossible. Before the war of 1914 Britain had attempted to buy off the German Challenge with a magnanimous offer of the African Colonies of Portugal, which is to all intents and purposes its vassal. A similar attempt was made in 1925 to pacify Italy with the cession of Jubaland. The Portuguese colonies may figure in a similar dirty deal in the near future; it is significant that Mr. Lloyd George in a recent speech, severely castigated by the Swiss newspaper *The Neue Zuericher Zeitung*, referred to the "unfairness" of little countries like Portugal and Holland having colonies while Germany had none. But any concessions that may conceivably be offered to the "have-nots" must inevitably be minute in proportion to the main spoils; conflict may be postponed for a while —Hitler, significantly, offers a twenty-five years' truce in return for colonial concessions —but the challenging Powers will only have their appetites whetted; no solution of the fundamental antagonisms will be the result.

The only attitude towards the question of the colonies that is consistent with a real fight for peace is that of support for the movement for national independence of the colonial peoples and for the struggle to overthrow and not to perpetuate in another cloak, all imperialist domination. That way alone lies the hope of the world. When the colonial peoples are roused and shake off the yoke of imperialism, the fight for peace will have been won. Till then, rival imperialist powers will be measuring their strength and preparing for ever renewed conflicts, as imperialist hunger is never appeased. Dr. G. P. Gooch said in a recent lecture at London that "after the conquest of the Sudan in 1898 and of the Boer Republic in 1902 we said, and meant, that we were satiated, in the sense that we had everything we wanted in the world." But in the decade before 1914, British imperialism was busy scheming to permeate Persia and the Middle East, conducting military operations in Somaliland and Tibet, pressing on with the infamous task of despoiling China, preparing ever so astutely for the war against German imperialism—a war managed so well that two million square miles of territory were added to the empire at the end of it. Insatiability is, indeed, the badge of imperialism.

We in India can never feel any sympathy for the demand for colonial readjustments. Schemes which treat colonial peoples like ourselves as chattel slaves to be transferred at will from one owner to another, we will not touch with a pair of tongs. It is not for us to show sympathy to the "have-not" Powers, whose interests and demands, as much as those of the "haves," are an insult to our humanity. But we ought to oppose the demand for colonies not only on this ground, which is important enough, but also because it offers no solution of imperialist conflicts, which will cease only when the super-profits of imperialism are taken away by the victory of the freedom movement among colonial peoples.

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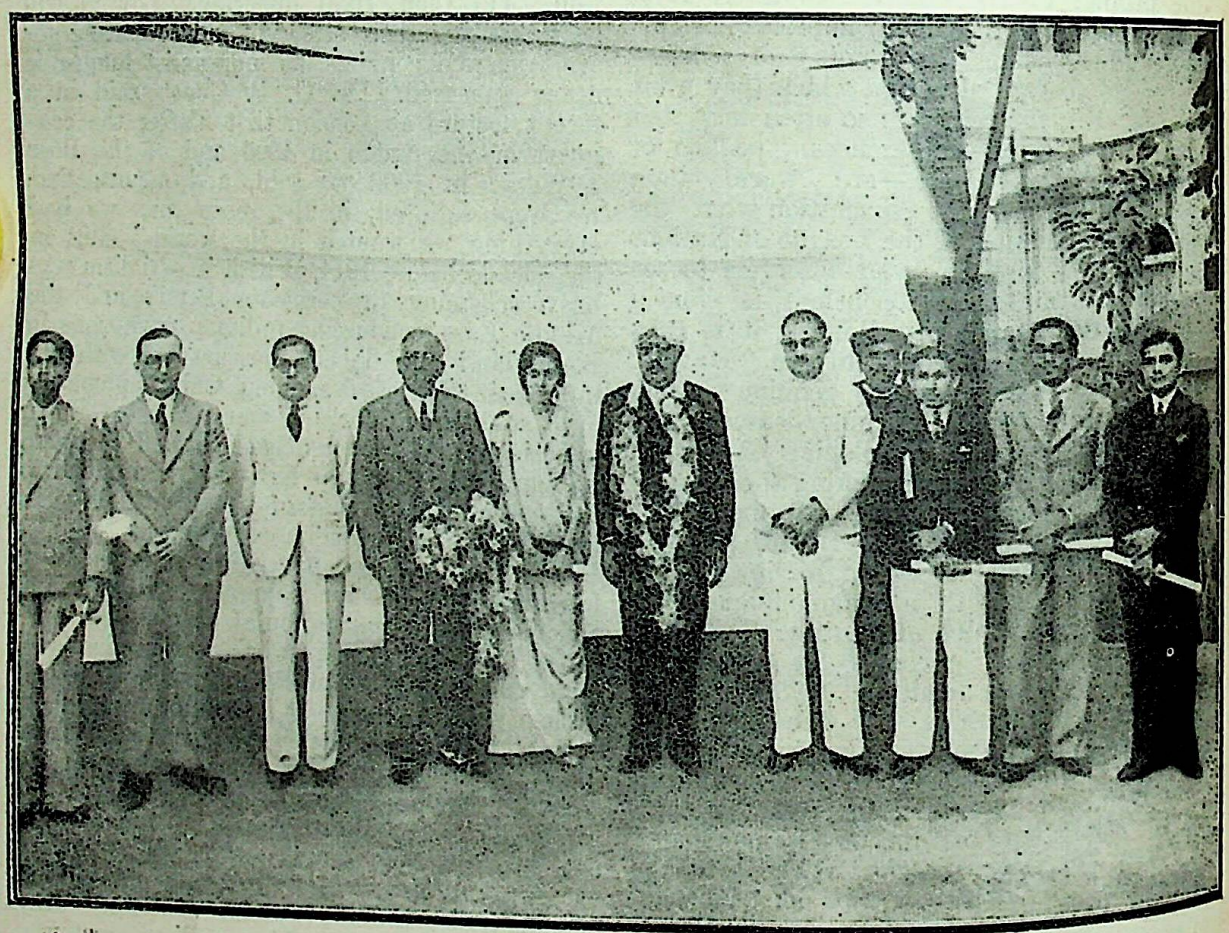
DENTISTRY IN INDIA

By R. MAGANLAL

India does not offer the necessary facilities to our young men for a thorough and scientific training in Dental Surgery and they have to go abroad and qualify themselves for the profession at considerable inconvenience and great expense. Besides, foreign qualifications, however efficient, except those obtained in Britain, are put at a discount in our country, as the diplomas and degrees other than those obtained in Britain are not recognised by the State in India and do not offer a career to most of our young men who go in for them.

Dental science forms a very important part of general medical science and cannot be neglected without considerable jeopardisation of public health. Research has proved that almost 50% of our bodily ills can be traced to dental infection. In India, the percentage may be much higher. Pyorrhoea, dental sepsis and caries are general complaints and lead to grave results. Our cities afford certain facilities for their treatment, but only to those who are favourites of fortune. Villages suffer a deal, because even these facilities, costly as they are, are denied to them.



Diploma Granting And Prize Distribution Function

The mouth, it is said by an eminent medical authority, ought to be considered as the gateway to health. It is not many years ago that the importance of dental health was discovered and yet science has so much enriched itself by

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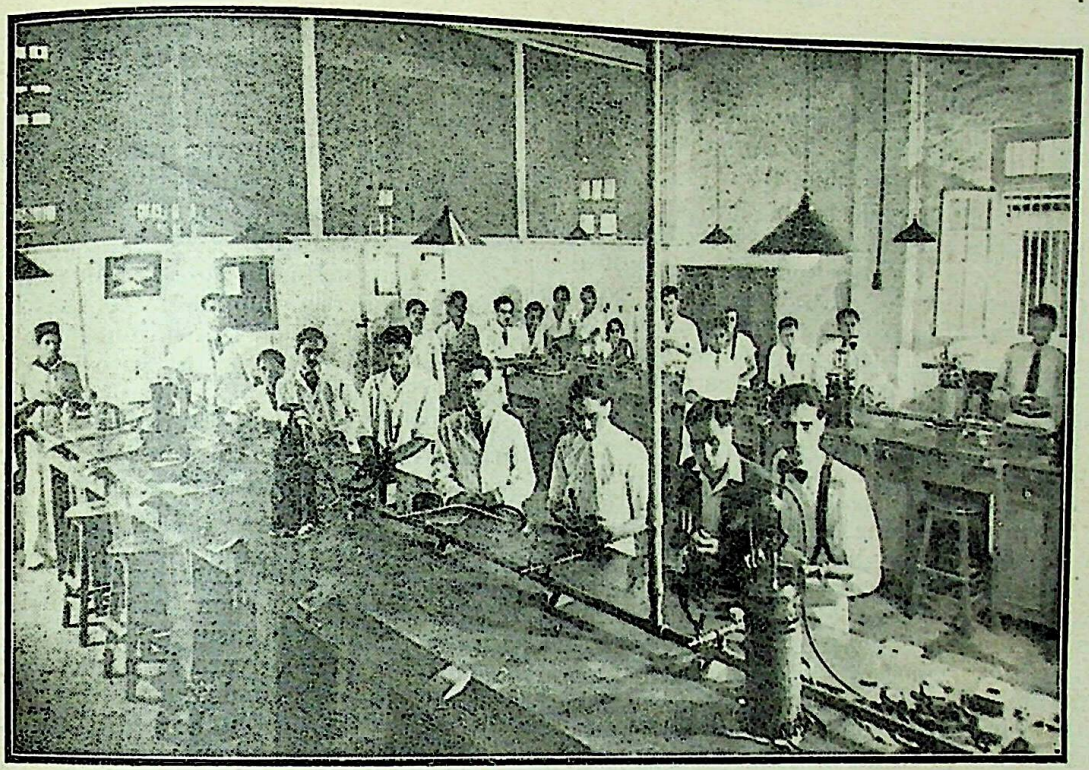

Prosthetic Laboratory

researches that the human race may become stronger because of them and the attention they direct to the importance of a healthy mouth. The mouth is the physical as well as the metaphorical gateway to health ; it is the gateway to the vital organs of one's body and, like the portals of a castle in days of old, should be closely guarded.

The teeth, standing within the entrance, are the guardians, and must prepare anything which is to go beyond. They are very busy, and their work makes many demands upon them, so that unless they are well treated, they will suffer severely. If they suffer, they will do their work very ineffectually, and will themselves become a source of danger to the territory they guard.

The gateway to health must be a portal beautiful in appearance and well suited to its purpose. Cleanliness is an absolute essential in dental soundness.

Neglect of care and regular cleaning of the teeth brings decay and the consequent ineffectual work on their part reacts on the stomach. Lack of well digested food weakens the body, which can then offer only a poor resistance to illness.

It has been estimated by medical authorities that poison from the teeth causes much more harm to the general health than even that great evil alcohol. Only one per cent of the human race are confirmed drunkards, whereas eighty per cent neglect their dental health. It has also been found that decayed teeth are the underlying causes of many serious diseases, such as heart trouble, rheumatism, appendicitis and ulcerated stomach.

Unhealthy food devoid of sufficient quantity of calcium and phosphorus is also responsible for the decay of teeth. Plenty of green vegetables, fresh food and cereals are a general remedy. These tone up the body's powers of resistance. But the bread problem in India is in itself a big problem and should not be made an excuse for our negligence of our dental health.

Many people are today engaged in the wild rush to acquire riches. The business man is keen to improve his turnover, the man on the land his stock and crop, to ensure a more remunerative market ; but a large bank account is not the greatest of riches, nor can happiness be measured in terms of hard cash. Many a financial magnate, in the declining years of his life, has been robbed of comfort and contentment, not by thieves who break in and steal, but by the great master and disciplinarian, Nature, who demands retribution of those who, in the rush of business and pleasure, have failed to worship regularly at the shrine of Hygiene. How many such, in the agony of pain, would willingly

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exchange their riches for health, their bank account for physical fitness? The greatest of riches is health, it cannot be bought, but must be preserved. And in the preservation of health, teeth play an important part.

It is not the aim of this article to treat of the technics of Dental Science in detail, nor is it possible for a lay man to do full justice to it if he so meant to do. Accepting, if we do, the importance of dental health in relation to general health, we must admit that we have done very little by way of providing means and remedies for preservation of this vital organ, as compared to what we have done for other organs of the body. In cities, we find dental surgeons qualified and trained in foreign countries who, because of their foreign training, are not within easy reach of the poor and in villages we live on the mercy of quacks who are a menace to public health and instead of relieving the patient of ailment, help in relieving him of life and a considerable amount of hard earned money. I know of a recent case wherein bad extraction of tooth by an untrained dentist brought about ostemyalitis which necessitated the removal of his lower jaw and he lives today and lives a maimed man, after a series of operations and the cost of a few thousands. The dental profession in other countries has reached a high status and enjoys protection from the State. In India we have no such registration Act and the State provides neither protection nor any facility for training young men as dental surgeons. Where the quacks and foreign mechanics assume the roll of dental surgeons here, and treat the public without any scientific knowledge, what safety of public health could be expected?

Inspite of a number of colleges and universities, we have few full-fledged dental clinics attached to them. The recently started Nair Hospital Dental College of Bombay is an attempt in this direction and provides a long-felt want. There are only a very few other Dental Colleges of this kind in this vast land to impart scientific training in this vital subject, and I may add that all these institutions are privately managed without any Government recognition. In Lahore a College has been started by the Punjab Government last year but the curriculum is not adequate for a thorough training. The Government of Bombay intended to start a Dental College in Bombay and a heavy expenditure was contemplated, but somehow the scheme did not mature.

The problem of Dental Registration confronts us vitally. There is no civilized country in the world which has no legislation on its statute book to control the dental profession and education. Apart from advanced western countries like England, France, Germany, U. S. A. and others, even comparatively backward countries like Turkey, Syria, Egypt, British Straits Settlements, Ceylon and others also possess such controlling legislation and their Governments maintain public clinics and colleges, China and Persia, supposed to be backward countries, have such legislation. The Government is not here being urged to do something involving a revolution and the expenditure of a vast sum of money, but all that is being asked of it is to take measures to protect the health of the people it governs, and to pass an Act which shall restrict the practice of such an important profession to those who know enough about it to be able to render safe and valuable service to the people. The Government of India should not consider that the licensing of plumbers, electricians and motor drivers is a more important matter than the compulsory registration of those who deal directly with the health of the public.

One of the most important features in connection with this matter is the health of the children, the boys and girls of today, who are to be the men and women of tomorrow. If their health is disregarded in the early stages, they may be handicapped through life and will not develop into the sturdy race which every country desires. Our Government no doubt is spending some money, not sufficiently though, on general education. But will not the value of it all be greatly discounted if the health of the children is undermined and many of them become a burden on the State and the tax-payer? In other words, is it not somewhat of a shortsighted policy to establish schools for the education of the young in order to fit them for the vocations in life which they intend to follow and that they may be better able to compete in the race for a livelihood, if, on the other hand, their constitutions are allowed to become so weakened as to be, eventually, a serious handicap to their advancement in life? In other countries both the State and the Municipalities have large clinics to look after the dental health of the children.

Viewing from this point, we feel that by organising the Nair Dental College, its organisers have fulfilled a vital and long felt need of the country and through its medium, they hope to train an adequate number of qualified dentists, who would go specially in the villages, which are the real heart of the country, with a message of hope and relief to their vast population.

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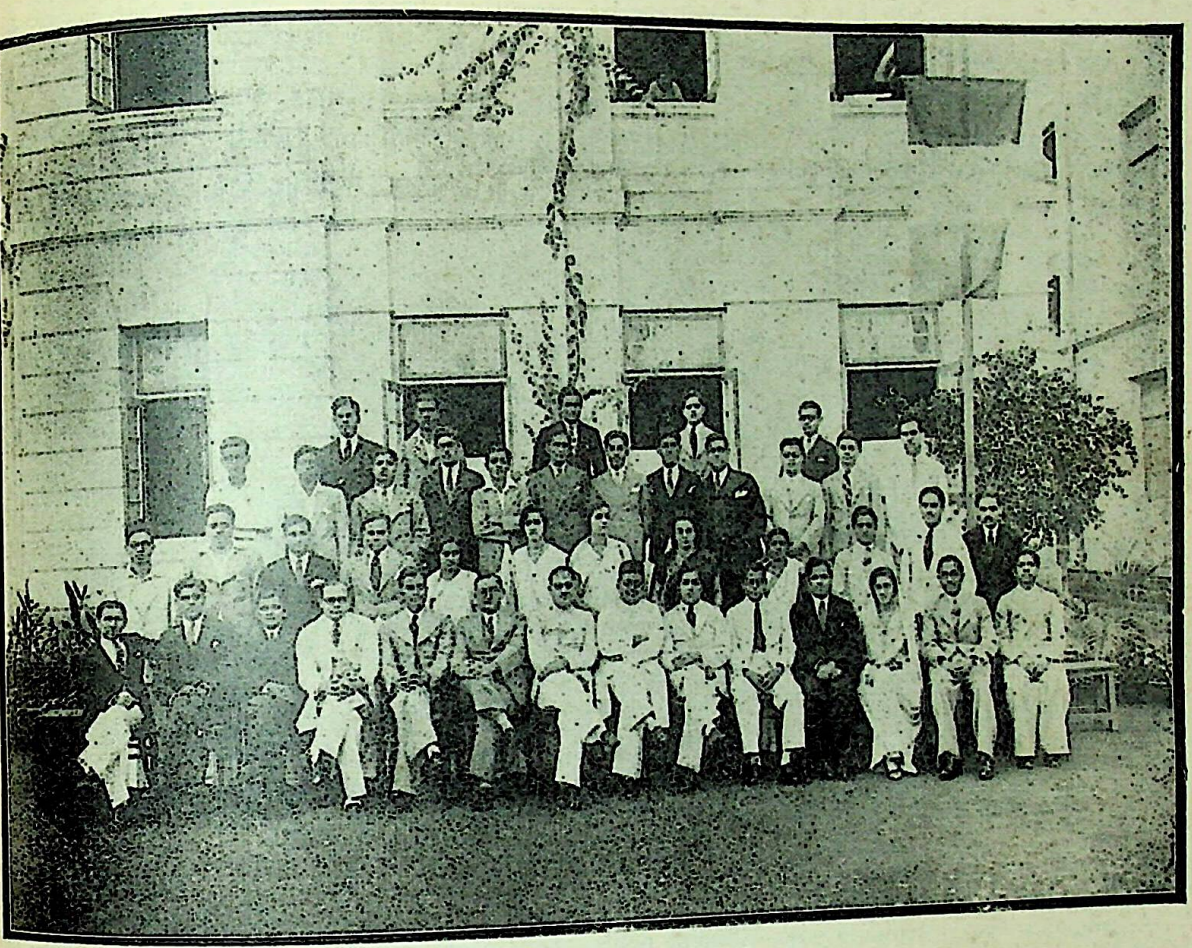

Staff and Students, 1935-35

The time was ripe for someone to provide a National Health Service to preach the message of preventive dentistry in the land, and it has been made possible to have a public Dental Clinic in Bombay working against odds, due to the efforts of the late Dr. A. L. Nair, who conceived the idea of starting a Dental Department in the Nair Charitable Hospital in the year 1926. There was only one dental chair. But this modest beginning has assumed the shape of a fully equipped dental college since the year 1934. The honour of conceiving the idea goes to its Dean, Dr. V. M. Desai, D.D.S., who had his training in one of the biggest American Universities for a period of over six years and could claim practical experience at one of the biggest dental clinics like the Rochester. Today the total number of chairs is twenty-six. The College today has a big staff of qualified surgeons and has a separate general Anesthesia and Oral Surgery Department with nine chairs and a well equipped laboratory added at a huge cost, attached to it. Theirs is, one can say without the least fear of contradiction, the largest and most up-to-date dental clinic in the country. It affords relief approximately to seven thousand patients per year and renders valuable service to the suffering public

This College does not desire to be confined to the academic activities only but it has also the ambition to serve the public by organising a public dental health service and expand its sphere of work. Under the new scheme it contemplates organising a propaganda to afford dental treatment and preliminary dental education to school children, publishing illustrated literature in Indian languages and charts in preventive dentistry, holding classes, lectures and organising exhibitions. The curriculum is ambitious and spreads over four years. The ever increasing knowledge of the relations of the mouth and teeth to bodily health, and the importance of dental and oral disorders in their individual and public health relations have made it imperatively necessary for the dental practitioner today who hopes to efficiently

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meet the public demand for the skilful service to be thoroughly grounded in the fundamental medical sciences, such as Anatomy, Physiology, Physicological Chemistry, Bacteriology and Pathology in both their general and special relations. The restorative and art procedures of dentistry, unless based upon a thorough training in these fundamental sciences, are without a solid foundation and their practice otherwise becomes purely empirical. This is all included in the curriculum of the College.

But their disabilities are equally great in view of the apathy of the Government. The graduates of this College, fully qualified and thoroughly trained as they will be, would not be admitted to Universities in England. The University of Bombay would not recognise their diplomas, though it has failed to furnish the Presidency with any other provisions for this important branch of training. Of course, some of the American Universities have agreed to accept students of this college for higher studies but American qualifications have no recognition in this country, and there is an eternal fight between the D.D.S.'s and L.D.S.'s. It is therefore necessary that with its ambitious programme and a determination to go ahead, this institution, having taken a definite lead in dental education in the country, must receive all encouragement from the Government, and the Bombay University must see its way to offer its affiliation and recognition to this private enterprise and thus help in the fulfilment of a laudable object—preservation and care of public health. The organisers of the College deserve congratulations on their successful efforts to supply the need of the Presidency in particular and the country in general, and let us hope their efforts will be crowned with success.

ANANDA ASHRAMA AT DACCA

By GIRISH CHANDRA NAG

Fortunately for our country, we hear of Ashramas in various places with different noble and humanitarian objects. In a corner of the city of Dacca, a similar institution was started on the 20th February, 1931, under the designation of *Ananda Ashrama*. It was founded under the inspiration and guidance of Srimat Swami Paramananda Maharaj—the famous worker of the Sree Ramkrishna Order in America. His disciple and whilom colleague, Sister Charushila Devi, who styles herself as its Secretary, is the life and soul of this institution. She was a teacher of the local Eden High School for girls for about 19 years and then travelled abroad to America and placed her services at the disposal of the Swami Paramananda in the Ananda Ashrama of California and later in the home for Vedantic Studies at Boston under the Ramkrishna Order. She remained in that foreign land of progress for over three years and associated herself with activities directed towards the uplifting of womanhood in general. With the noble inspiration of service this selfless lady received there, she returned to her own country and devoted her life to the cause of educating her sisters. With this end in view she started the Ashrama and took entire charge of the same from its very inception, with very slender financial help from outside, but abundant hopes, admirable capacity for work and sincere desire for service. She studied for some time the question of the requirements and needs of the modern girls and women of Bengal and realised once for all that education of a particular type was the essential thing needed for the general uplift and progress of our womenfolk. The primary object of the Ashrama was, therefore, to impart such education in such circumstances and environments as would make its inmates self-reliant, self-supporting, respected and useful members of society. The programme set forth and eventually settled upon and taken in hand was to consist of education of a general character, both theoretical and practical, literary and vocational. To carry out the scheme, the founders took long lease of a beautiful garden-house in Gandaria, which is a respectable quarter of this city, amidst surroundings quite suitable and free from any objectionable feature. There is a tolerably big brickbuilt structure to accommodate the office, the school classes, the industrial departments and small manufactories, show rooms, etc. Adjoining the same, in front

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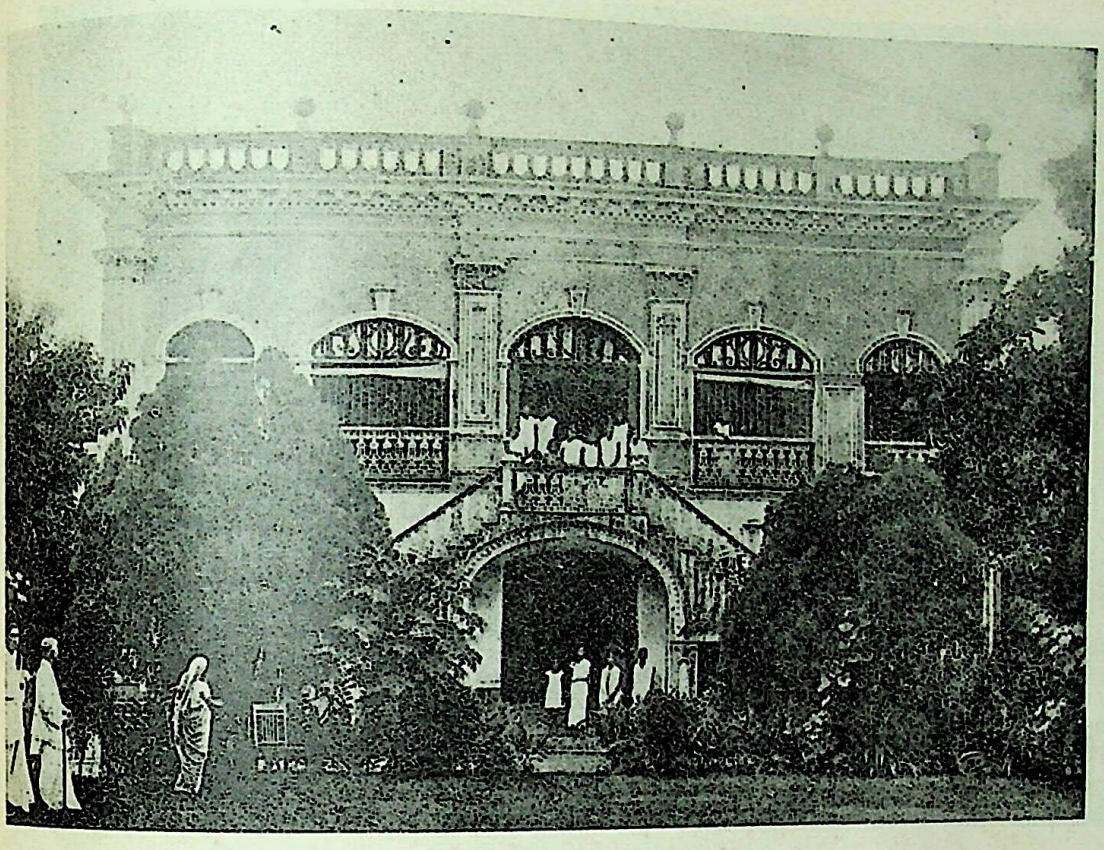

The Ananda Ashrama—Dacca

of it, there is a beautiful garden with green open spaces interspersed with flower-beds and fruit trees. Additional structures have been put up and a separate house in the same compound taken in lease to meet other requirements and provide for a hostel. The entire premises, though in a limited area and hardly sufficient for their present purposes, convey to the eye a pleasant and picturesque view.

So far as the educational work of the Ashrama is concerned, there are mainly two departments :

(1) The intellectual and physical, moral and spiritual education of the inmates and day scholars who attend from outside. A regular school, named Ananda Vidyapith, teaching up to the Matriculation standard, is maintained for this purpose.

(2) Industrial and vocational education for training the inmates and pupils in various crafts and home and cottage industries. Small workshops and manufactories with proper instructing staff are maintained for that purpose.

Intellectual Training

Originally the authorities of the institution had the idea of imparting to the inmates some sort of a general education and paying more attention to industrial development. In order to save time and money, a six years' course for Matriculation was introduced. But their experience soon disclosed the fact that the girls did not want mere industrial training, nor were they satisfied with general intellectual education simply for the sake of knowledge, but that they as well as their parents or other guardians set a higher value on the hall-mark of the University. In these circumstances, the authorities have since decided to bring the general educational branch of their institution, *i.e.*, the school itself, under the control of the Dacca Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, to impart such education as is allowed by the curriculum of the Board.

The school is under the management of a strong Committee consisting of twelve members including the Head Master and another representative of the teaching staff. The staff, at the present moment, consists of eight qualified teachers on the literary side and ten on the industrial side.

The results obtained so far of a school yet unaffiliated, are quite fair enough and indicate a good quality of teaching. The system of instruction—both literary and vocational—imparted at this institution enlisted the

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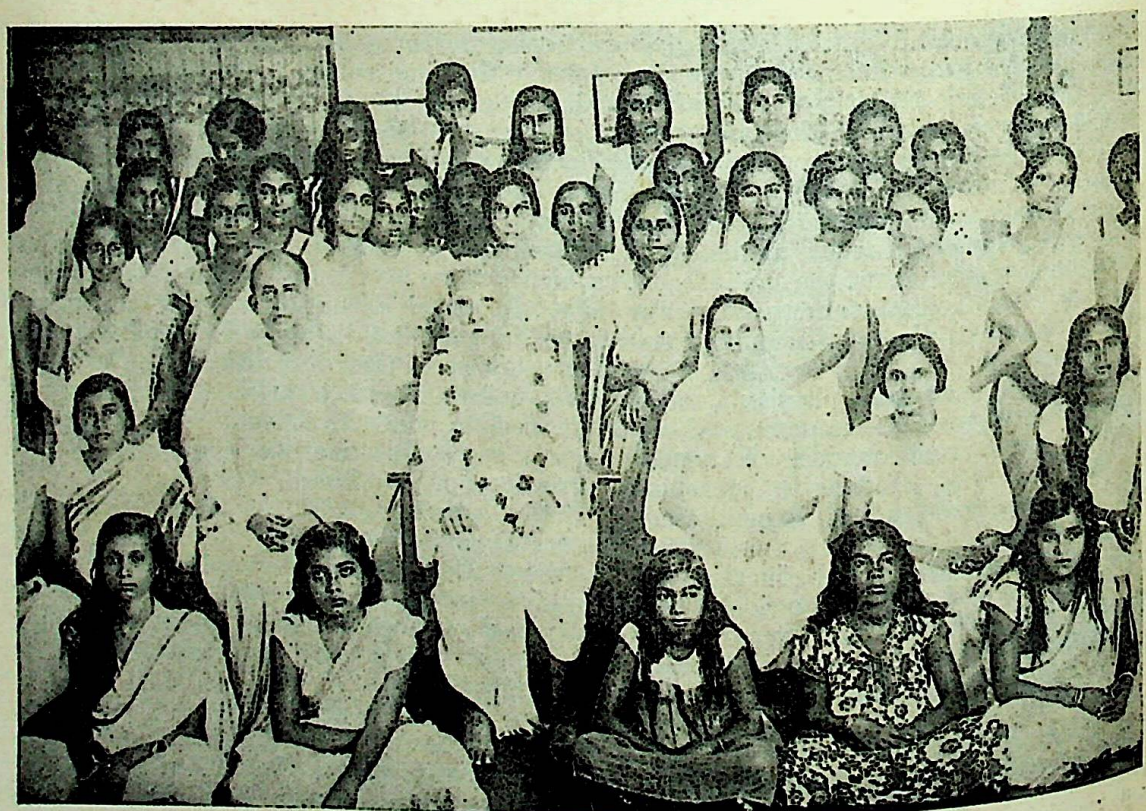
The Workers of the Ananda Ashrama



Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee with the inmates and the staff

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sympathy, and evoked the interest of many distinguished citizens of Dacca, some of whom are cheerfully serving on the Committee of management.

Industrial Training

The school imparts industrial and vocational training in the following arts and crafts :

(*i*) Weaving cotton, jute, wool and silk fabrics,
(*ii*) Carpet making and *durri* making,
(*iii*) Tailoring,
(*iv*) Dyeing and printing,
(*v*) Knitting and embroidery,
(*vi*) Cane and wicker work,
(*vii*) Preparation of condiments,
(*viii*) Fine arts, such as music (vocal and instrumental), drawing and painting.

Small factories or workshops fitted with necessary apparatus and appliances have been constructed where pupils are trained practically and made to manufacture the goods after preliminary training. Various products of all the departments referred to above—the handicrafts of the girl students—have been exhibited from time to time in some exhibitions and elicited the admiration of the public and were rewarded with medals and certificates.

There is a hostel attached to the school where the girls live exactly as in their own homes under the motherly care and benign treatment of Sister Charushila Devi, who spares no pains in looking after their physical comforts and moral needs. Here they live as affectionate members of one family without distinction of caste and creed and are taught to follow the principles of 'plain living and high thinking' practically doing every household duty and taking part in cooking by turns. The resident pupils here are so trained as to make them ideal housewives in their future career.

Out of the resident pupils numbering about fifty, twenty are kept free of all charges.

Formation of character of the inmates is one of the principal objects aimed at by the authorities. Proper arrangements have been made to ensure discipline and good conduct both within and outside the school compound. Lady teachers of the school freely mix with the students and thus exert a healthy and beneficent influence over their daily movements, habits and conduct.

Much attention is paid to the physical culture of the girls. Suitable and healthy outdoor sports and games are played every evening in the open ground of the garden. They are now being trained in Bratachari activities as well.

I should now like to mention some special features of the institution which have made it a beautiful home for our girls to live in and receive an education that will make them independent and useful members of society.

In the first place, it is a residential institution with all healthy and home comforts available. But students from outside also are received as day-scholars. It may be incidentally mentioned here that separate coaching classes are held for those resident girls of the industrial department who want to devote more time to industry than to literary education.

In view of the economic distress prevailing in the country, the rates of school and boarding fees have been so fixed as to enable the comparatively poorer class of people to avail themselves of the benefit of this new venture.

In order to create a homelike atmosphere by helping the formation of simple habits and plain living in a poor country like ours, the authorities of the institution have dispensed with the usual articles of school furniture and introduced in their stead jute *asanas* (mats woven by the students themselves) to squat upon with low desks before them while attending to their studies. This practice has the additional advantage that the seats and desks may easily be removed when open air classes are held (as they are often held in the spacious compound when the weather is fair).

No kind of luxury is indulged in. In the dormitories of the hostel, light bedding is spread generally on the floor. Cleanliness, simplicity in the mode of life, regulated and simple diet and regular physical labour, contribute to the formation of a self-reliant character and a healthy body.

A serene religious and moral atmosphere prevails throughout the Ashrama. Religious instruction is imparted on a non-sectarian basis. Essentials of religion of a universal character are taught free from any communal and sectarian bias. Hymns are sung both at dawn and sunset by the resident pupils and extracts from recognized books on spiritual and moral culture are read out to them for about half an hour in the morning. The school opens with a prayer like this :

'May He protect us from all evils.
May both the teacher and the taught
enjoy together the blessings of the Lord.
May, whatever we study, be well studied
and strengthening to us.

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May we never hate each other.
Om, peace, peace, peace.'

It closes with another prayer like this :

'O Light of the Universe,
From unreal to the real lead us,
From darkness to light lead us,
From death to immortality lead us.'

That this Ashrama is turning out a very useful and highly valuable work for the progress and uplift of our womanhood has been testified to by a host of visitors, official and unofficial, of very high position in society.

The Ashrama was recently visited, for the second time, by Srijut Ramananda Chatterjee during his visit to Dacca. He took a lively interest in minutely observing the workings of the institution on three consecutive days, *viz.*, 4th to 6th August last. His presence there created a very pleasant and serene atmosphere in the Ashrama and brought sincere joy and encouragement to the inmates and the staff who thronged round him with feelings of love and esteem and prevailed on him to sit for a group photograph. I doubt not that he was immensely pleased with all that he saw. He must have also felt that its financial resources were hardly sufficient to carry out all the noble objects aimed at by the authorities.

An extensive plot of land with a spacious and decent house of its own is the *immediate need* of this extremely useful institution.

MUST WE PROPAGANDIZE ?

By Sir. NIHAL SINGH

I

Curiously as officials in Britain and other countries have been descending from their pedestals and engaging, through wireless and otherwise, in propaganda, our people have given up such publicity as they engaged in abroad. This has happened through force of circumstance rather than through volition.

The instrument through which much of this work was done in Britain was forged at a time when our national consciousness was still in a nascent stage. Known as the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, it functioned thousands of miles away from any Indian centre and at least during the latter period of its existence, without adequate Indian oversight or control.

This state of affairs militated against the rapidly growing nationalist sense—hurt national pride. It militated, too, against our national interests.

Englishmen believe in the man who pays the piper calling the tune. They could not think highly of a people who do otherwise.

What greater proof of our incapacity could we furnish to foreigners than to hire others to carry on our agitation for self-rule?

II

This is not the place to deal with the efforts to mend this state of affairs. They proved far from successful and finally the Congress decided to withdraw from that activity.

Could the Congress have done otherwise in the circumstances in which it was placed? It could and should have—at least in my opinion.

Many years have, in any case, elapsed since then. During those years our opponents have maligned us to their hearts' content. The Indian case has been allowed largely to go by default.

It does not seem wise to let that process drag on. Opinion in our country is, I am happy to note, veering in that direction.

There is a revival of interest in propaganda abroad and this revival should be welcomed. It shows that there is an awakening among the more intelligent of our people. They are beginning to realize that our character is being systematically misrepresented in Britain and other countries—that efforts are being made to prejudice our cause in the eyes of our sympathisers. It also indicates that the necessity to counter these mischievous attempts is being felt.

This consciousness is to be commended. It betokens a new surge of life in us. The vitality that has, for some time, been manifesting itself will not sit quietly under villification. If it cannot stop the abuse of us, it will not permit the Indian case to go by default.

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Considered either from the point of view of our national interest, certainly of our national dignity, the Indian cause has, in my humble opinion, been permitted to remain unrepresented, at least adequately and without lapses, far too long.

III

UNFORTUNATELY there is more talk than action about propaganda abroad. More unfortunately still, there is lack of precise knowledge of the actual conditions in which action has to be taken. There is scarcely any organized thinking about countering attacks.

Our people are hardly to be blamed for any deficiency of knowledge of foreign propaganda conditions. They have not had the opportunity necessary for the purpose. The percentage of Indians who have crossed the "black water," as compared with those who have stayed at home, is small. If those belonging to the labouring classes who journey to other lands (almost cent per cent of them unlettered or barely literate) be excluded, the percentage becomes negligible. And that in the latter half of the fourth decade of the twentieth century!

Here, too, no blame attaches particularly to any one. Travel abroad requires means and we are a notoriously poor nation. Where means exist, the incentive to travel is often lacking. There is no perception of the broadening effect of sojourning even for a short time, among other peoples, watching them at work and at play—studying the methods that have led to their success and the characteristics that contribute to that success—studying, also, their failures and failings. That portion of the mind in which this impulse could have existed has been atrophied by superstition that passes for religion.

Of the few of our country-people who have had a glimpse of the lands across the seas, a goodly percentage go there merely to behold sights that are coloured and gay rather than to make any systematic study of institutions. The percentage of foreign-travelled Indians who have taken the trouble to inform themselves in respect of propaganda is so small that a microscope would be necessary to find them among the mass of the population.

IV

THE springs from which gush the poisoned stream of anti-Indian propaganda are often hidden. Only an Indian who has managed, by fortuitous circumstance or ingenuity, to work his way into the secret recesses can really tell how waters that might be life-giving are being rendered life-destroying.

The dearth of men with the requisite knowledge is not the whole difficulty, however. There is another—perhaps, in some ways, even more serious one—the difficulty of placing propaganda in foreign countries—placing it in a way that would be at least as effective as that which it is meant to counter.

Let me cite a concrete instance:

An Indian whose name is known from Cape Comorin to Peshewar and from Puri to Dwarka, and who is noted for his moderate views and cautious utterances, happened to be in London some years ago. One morning, while reading a newspaper, he chanced upon a series of statements that, in his estimation, were grossly and maliciously unjust to our people. Even he, with his sober judgment, was upset. His blood, usually cool, boiled: for he was—and is—a great patriot and has, for forty years and more, been serving the country according to his lights.

He sat down at the desk in the luxuriously furnished room in one of the best known hotels in London, where he lodged, and wrote a letter setting out the other—the true—side of the case. As was to be expected from a man of his temperament, age, ability and experience, it was a closely reasoned document, couched in terms that could be used by a responsible minister in the best conducted parliament in the world.

To strengthen his hand, he showed the draft to several Indians then in Britain who were only a little less prominent than he was himself. No less patriotic and no less wroth at the injustice of the anti-Indian propaganda to which that reply was made, they readily consented to sign the finished typescript.

This communication was sent to an organ of British opinion known both for its influence and high traditions. It was *not* printed. The editor returned it with a noncommittal letter of refusal.

V

ONE day when Lokamaniya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was in London, he told me of an exceedingly unpleasant experience, he had recently had. A statement calculated to injure the Indian cause appeared in one of the leading dailies of London. He sent out a rejoinder. It was returned with a printed slip.

It occurred to him to get the better of the editor by having the matter printed as an

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advertisement to be paid for at the regular rates. Or perhaps the suggestion was made by some one else. I forget, for the moment, which.

This expedient was tried. But it did not succeed.

Tilak was angry. So was I. His statement, in all fairness, should have been printed, I felt—in fairness to him and in fairness to our people in general.

As I look back over the intervening years I see another side to the question. The manager of the paper chose to lose money rather than print something that, in his opinion, ran counter to British interests.

VI

Complicated are the forces that impel Europeans—and even some Americans—to belittle Indian ability, to traduce Indian character, to run down Indian culture and to deny India not only a bright future but also a glorious past. They are born of racial arrogance and credal consciousness and vitiated by self-interest.

This prejudice arises, ultimately, through the "superiority complex," from which even our own Aryan progenitors must have suffered. It sometimes finds rude and even vulgar expression. A highly educated Indian may be kept out of a boarding house or residential hotel, on the grounds that he is a "black man."

More often, however, it finds a subtler and, therefore, more hurtful expression. Creeping into speech and writing, sometimes only in the form of innuendo, it strikes at an Indian's pride—at his individual and national pride—and tries to prolong if not to perpetuate the state of subordination in which he is held.

Even the stay-at-home Indians know something of the crude type of anti-Indian propaganda that is being carried on abroad. Katherine Mayo's books and articles are outstanding examples.

The potentiality for harm of the subtler type of anti-Indian propaganda is, however, far greater than that of the cruder type. It seeps into the very structure of the mind and is transmitted from generation to generation.

Of this particular type of propaganda, little is, I fear, known to stay-at-home Indians. Let me, therefore, set down a single instance :

VII

There used to be a Scottish writer whose work was much in vogue in Fleet Street when I first went there. He aspired to be more than a mere journalist—was, in fact, a litterateur, though I should not put him in the highest category. Drama interested him especially. He had, years and years earlier, become impressed with the genius of Henrik Ibsen and had introduced that Norwegian dramatist to Britons. For the service he thereby rendered to his people, he was esteemed. Regarded as something of an authority on drama, he used to contribute an article a week to one of the most important papers in London and that article was eagerly awaited by his admirers.

The first mail one forenoon brought me a review copy of a book bearing his name. To my surprise, it dealt with India. The surprise turned to rage as I read it. It was obviously written to prove that the golden age we talked of so fondly never existed outside our imagination; that we had never evolved what Europeans call civilization, but that we had, at best, developed only a "splendid barbarism."

VIII

Some time later I went to see a play written by the same man that was being produced at one of London's most select theatres. I went there purely out of curiosity. He had confessed, in one of his weekly articles, that though his concern had been with drama, practically all his life, when he set out to construct a play the characters of his creation proved to be mere wooden figures—they refused to move. I, therefore, was desirous of seeing how he had got over that difficulty and had managed to construct a drama that was being played to packed houses.

Hardly had the play opened when I realized why it was such a success. As scene succeeded scene, the playwright's meaning became clear. He was showing that even an Indian who was placed by the Fates high above his fellows and who was reputed to have absorbed the culture of the West, was a savage at heart and had no sense of honour, especially where women were concerned.

The play was no more than a melodrama, only a shade above a farce. It was nevertheless, ingeniously constructed. With dramatic force it drove into the mind the suggestion that the best among Indians were semi-savages.

Few persons left the theatre who did not carry, in his or her heart, a feeling of hatred for and fear of all Indians—a feeling that would last as long as life was left in the body. That mischievous intention was carried out with diabolical cleverness and made money for the playwright, the producer and the players.

One day the wife of a British politician then connected with India was having a meal at our

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house. She was a lady of great refinement, force of character and a Liberal, not only by Party affiliation, but also at heart. Little of what was going on behind the scenes was hidden from her. So I asked her point-blank why this writer had taken to maligning Indians.

"Did you not know," she asked me, "that his brother is a '*burra sahib*' out in India and that not so very long ago he went out there and spent a whole year gathering grist for his literary mill?"

So that was it.

IX

Sometimes when a person carrying on anti-Indian propaganda can be caught unawares, his motive appears in all its ugly nakedness. Here is an instance in point:

Some years ago, when Edwin Samuel Montagu, then the Secretary of State for India, was trying to put through the British Parliament legislation that he and men of like view believed would transfer some governmental power from the British to the Indian hand, there was intense agitation against the move. Among his bitterest and most inveterate opponents was a British engineer who had been the Governor of Bombay—Sir George Clarke, later the Baron Sydenham of Combe.

For carrying on the propaganda to deny that Indians possessed any genius to manage their own affairs and to prevent any effective control from ever passing into their hands, he and his allies needed money. They knew that "the City" or "the City of London" was the nerve-centre of British finance and industry. They therefore, designed a circular calculated to impel these high financiers to loosen their purse-strings.

A copy of this circular fell into my hands and I was amazed at its contents. His Lordship reminded the Secretaries of the Chambers of Commerce that the results of political agitation in India had "been manifested from time to time in the Boycott and Swadeshi movement," and that if Indian Home Rulers were "permitted to obtain control of the fiscal policy of India . . . their first act would be heavily to penalise the cotton trade of the north of England and Scotland . ." He asked them to give his committee suggestions whereby the (Indo-British) Association could bring home to all who were "interested in the British cotton industry—and particularly to the working classes dependent thereon—that in coquetting with 'Home Rule for India' they" were "not only playing with political fire, but" were "helping to bring about fiscal measures which" would "endanger their livelihood and at the same time press hardly upon large working classes in India."

X

I was told at the time that one firm in the City gave Rs. 15,000 in a lump sum to help to carry on this propaganda. Accompanying it was a letter which was used by the Indo-British Committee—composed largely of ex-officials and men largely interested in Indian shipping, banking, trade and commerce—to induce others to be equally generous in helping the cause. It declared that "contributions to the Indo-British Association should be regarded (by merchants and traders engaged in Indian trade) as an *insurance premium** for business interests in India," and sounded the warning that

> ". . . the time has come when the merchants and traders of India will have to take a more active part in Indian politics than has been wise or expedient for them to do in the past, if the great industrial fabric created within the Empire by British enterprise is to be efficiently maintained."

Whether the motive is masked or is flaunted with brutal callousness, makes little difference. It is there—it is always there. Otherwise there would be no anti-Indian propaganda.

Persons who engage in this sort of activity have almost unlimited scope. Nearly every platform and practically every publication is open to them. The general sentiment is with them, moreover, and support is assured them in advance.

How different, however, is the case when an Indian tries to counter such mischief! He finds few platforms and fewer papers and periodicals open to him. But if he is so constructed that difficulties serve to bring out the best in him and if he possesses the requisite resourcefulness and a dogged disposition, much can be done to vindicate India's honour—to defend Indian interests. It certainly is not compatible with our national dignity to leave the field wholly to our traducers.

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* The italics are mine.—St. N. S.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

"Along Time's Chariot-Path"

The following is the text of the translation by Rabindranath Tagore of his unpublished Bengali poem: it is taken from *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

Since the first day-break of human age misted with myths
they walk wonder-eyed on strange shores, the seekers,
and the fighters march at the drum-beats of storm gods
towards an ever-distant time,
along an endless stretch of battlefields.
The earth trembles at the ceaseless treads of deadly pursuits,
the midnight sleep is troubled,
the easeful life is embittered
and death is made precious.
Those who rushed out at the urge of the road
ever move on beyond the boundaries of death,
and those who clung to their homes
are doomed to lie encased in the shell
of a rigid life
in a soulless world.
Who is there who must be lured by an insipid peace,
by a stagnant stinking security,
and dully choose to build his shelter in a realm of ghosts?

In the beginning man found himself
at the cross-road of existence.
The provision of his journey was given him in his blood,
in his dream, in his path itself.
When he sat down to fix his plan and raised his tower
high among clouds
its base crumbled away;
he built his dyke only to let it be swept away by floods.
Time and again he fell asleep in his hall of tired carousal
in the gasping light of smoke-bedimmed lamps
till a sudden assault of a nightmare choked him,
rattled his ribs together
and he woke up in a groaning agony of death.
A sudden awakening has often startled him forth
from the ring-fence of decrepit centuries
towards undefined horizons,
and an impulse forced him away from the fetter of his
swollen success
reminding him that pillars of triumph across
Time's chariot-path
bury the builder himself under their nameless ruin.
He hastens to join the army of the wreckers of patterns
coming from all ages,
crossing hills,
breaking stone walls,
bursting iron gates
while the sky throbs with the drum-beats of
Eternity.

—

Ananda Mohun Bose

The *Sadhana* gives a short sketch of the life and career of Ananda Mohun Bose, political leader, social reformer and religious worker, whose services to his country during the latter part of the nineteenth century and achievements in various directions were not only great but varied and unique:

20th August, which is a land-mark in the religious history of India, as the day on which Raja Rammohun Roy had started the first house of prayer in Calcutta for the unsectarian spiritual worship of the One True God by persons of all denominations, irrespective of caste, community, race or nation, has become doubly sacred to us as the day of remembrance of the memorable life and work of Ananda Mohun Bose, who may be said to have most closely approximated to the ideal of the harmonious development of all the powers in man—set up by that great Prophet of Modern India.

Ananda Mohun Bose was born on 23rd September 1847 at Jaysiddhi, in the Mymensingh District, of East Bengal, in a well-to-do, respectable family, as the second of the three sons of Padmalochan Bose, an official of the Mymensingh District Court, and Umakishori Devi, a woman of deep piety and rare business capacity. He lost his father while yet a boy of 15, in 1862. Ananda Mohun's educational career was one of extraordinary brilliance. He won scholarships all along the line, from the middle vernacular standard and stood first in his F.A., B.A. and M.A. examinations, taking up Mathematics for the last of them, in which he was particularly strong, ultimately winning the blue-ribbon of the Calcutta University—the Premchand Roychand scholarship—which enabled him to go to England and gain distinction as the First Indian Wrangler, though he came out ninth in the list, in the Mathematical Tripos Examination of the Cambridge University. While at Cambridge, he kept his terms for Law and was called to the Bar on 30th April 1874. His acquaintance with Prof. Henry Fawcett —the member for India—at Cambridge grew into close friendship and mutual regard. Referring to Mr. Bose, he said that "if his lot had only been cast in that country (England), he might one day have become its Prime Minister."

Returning to Calcutta towards the end of 1874, he enrolled himself as an advocate of the Calcutta High Court and settled down to the practice of his profession, winning encomiums from the Judiciary for his superior abilities. Love of the Motherland and service to her "was the secret and key to the public life" of Ananda Mohun Bose and this service expressed itself in varied channels of beneficent activity.

In 1875 Mr. Bose founded a Students Association for the uplift of the young men of Calcutta and gained much influence among the student population, not only by his brilliant educational career but by his earnestness

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and powerful eloquence. He associated that great political publicist Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in the work of the Students Association, the Indian Association of Calcutta and the City School which were later established through his labours.

In the educational field, he found a useful collegue in Mr. Umesh Chandra Dutta and for education among women he had two earnest liberal collegues in Messrs. Durga Mohun Das and Dwarakanath Ganguli to help him. The City school started with Mr. Bose's funds gradually developed into one of the largest and most influential of institutions in Calcutta, under the name of the City College, which was finally made over to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj with properties worth over a lakh of rupees and the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya, the first institution in India for the higher education of women, became later on merged into the Bethune College. In the religious field he had as his fellow-worker no less a man than Pandit Sivanath Sastri. There was no useful undertaking in Calcutta during his life-time with which Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose did not warmly associate himself or in which he did not heartily co-operate. He was nominated by the Lieutenant Governor to a seat on the Bengal Council. He was an ardent worker in the cause of Temperance and Social Purity.

He came very early under the influence of the Brahmo Samaj. On the occasion of the opening of the new mandir of the Brahmo Samaj of India (22nd August 1869) Mr. Bose, along with his wife, was initiated into Brahmoism by Keshub Chunder Sen, together with twenty others, including Pandit Sivanath Sastri. When the establishment of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj had become inevitable, Mr. Bose, though only 31 years of age then, became the leader of the new Samaj and its first President, an office which he held for 13 years in all. In view of his eminent services to the motherland, he became practically marked out for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress held in 1898 in Madras. His last public appearance was on 16th October 1905, the day on which the partition of Bengal was to take effect, when he was carried in a chair from his sick-bed to lay the foundation-stone of the Federation Hall and his speech on that occasion, which was read by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, was described as a "memorable swan-song" into which he 'poured out his soul.' After that, the remaining few months of his life glided away in the bosom of his family till he had quietly passed away on 20th August 1906.

Every form of activity, in which he employed himself was a part of his religion. He was much greater than all his works put together. He saw everything in God and God in every thing and his whole life was rooted in religion.

—

Travelogue of a Social Reformer in the Nineties

From the lecture notes and diary leaves dated, Gaya, January 9, 1893, of Dayaram Gidumal, published in the September issue of *The Young Builder,* we get a glimpse of Calcutta agitating over the question of sea-voyage in the closing decade of the last century :

Of late there has been considerable agitation at Calcutta in favour of sea-voyages. It is fortunate that the movement is led by a gentleman of great influence among the orthodox, I mean, Maharaja Kumar Binoy Kissen of Sobha Bazar. Dr. Gurudas Bannerji advanced an unanswerable argument when during the course of conversation with Pandit Shashodhar Tarkachudamony, he said that the ancestors of the Hindus could never have intended to confine them to a tenth part of the globe, and proscribe their visiting the remaining nine-tenths. The Pandit, however, has refused to join the movement. Babu Chandra Nath Bose also keeps aloof, as he thinks the question should not be approached from the standpoint of individual hardship but should be decided after weighing fully and fairly whether the Hindu nation as a whole, is likely to be benefitted spiritually by the relaxation of the existing rule.

I paid a visit to Pandit Moheshchandra Nyayaratna, Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, as he was said to be a very learned man. The Pandit quoted a saying of Madhavacharya, to the effect that only those Shastric ordinances should be followed in the *Kaliyuga* which were suited to that age. He said there was no harm in so modifying the ancient *Brahmacharya* rules as to bring them into harmony with our existing surroundings. He deplored the ignorance of the Pandit class, and considered them in their present state a source of mischief. Women according to him, were the stronghold of popular Hinduism, and he was of opinion that the introduction of many evil customs opposed to the Shastras was due partly to their ignorance and partly to the ignorance of the Pandits.

Our Pandit has allowed his name to be cited as a supporter of the sea-voyage movement and he told me that he was writing a book on the subject.

—

Divorce in India

Lady Kailash Srivastava, a strenuous worker in the cause of Indian womanhood and a member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces, voices in an article in *The Twentieth Century,* the demand of the new generation for social adjustment, in the course of which she says :

The relation of the sexes is the pivot on which the social fabric revolves and on its proper adjustment depends social progress and the maintenance of culture of a race or country. Marriage is the demand of the society to regulate sex relations in a way that the culture of the race may not be destroyed and its heritage sunk in oblivion.

Female education, the gradual association of women in progressions and in political and social works, the Great War and the Women's Movements in Turkey, Egypt and China have marked a new epoch in the modern woman's outlook on life and love. For now she has come to believe that she can stand upon her own feet economically, that she is independent, that she is a free personality and no longer at the command of others.

In India marriage has to be endured even when love has long since been superseded by hatred. The new ideology is that love is an end in itself and not a way of serving the husband. Love is becoming an element in the personal pursuit of happiness because it is necessary to the joys of life. Love, formerly considered only as a means to an end, is now the goddess clad in girdle of happiness who leads humanity on its way to the highest personal fulfilment.

In India the problem of divorce is a complex one and will require careful consideration before a law is made. And I should again emphasise that the property

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rights of women should be conceded before it can be effective in restoring social peace and individual happiness.

Perhaps the greatest single cause of conjugal unhappiness in India is due to the practice of marrying a girl to a man whom she has not the least opportunity to study at close quarters and evaluate for herself his qualities as her mate. Naturally there is the possibility of the union being incompatible with the result that the life of the woman is apt to be miserable. The man has one hundred and one different ways to occupy his time but to the woman the home is her workshop, club and all, Snatched away from her familiar family she is put in a place where customs, habits and ideals differ and there is some ground for fearing the breakdown if the two joined by law are not joined in heart. Courtship is stigmatised and divorce is unknown. What, therefore, is the way for the woman to get out of an unhappy union? Perhaps death is the only release from the bondage!

In the second place, there exists a deep intellectual chasm between the man and the woman in India. The late beginning of girls' education and the way in which it was handled have created a peculiar phenomenon in this country. A highly educated man may be wedded to a half-educated, half mature child of fourteen. The man is a highly accomplished person and his wife an old-type of housewife who delights in her children and ornaments. The man today does not find pleasure in a simple housewife but seeks an intellectually equal comrade with whom he may live on a footing of understanding. He seeks not merely a "glorified cook and a headservant" but a companion of his leisure.

The tradition of marrying girls within a certain group or sub-caste presents another difficulty in finding good matches for girls. The girl, howsoever intellectual and intelligent, has to be married within a certain circle whether her husband is a fool or a knave.

A question is therefore asked when everything and everybody is making progress why women's path be blocked by time-worn custom and traditions. Justice and laws of life demand readjustment if we want to build up a happy and virile India. There is no moral law to bind a woman to a man if he is incapable of helping the woman to realise her personality. The woman has an individuality and a soul which she must expand. She must conform to the laws of social dynamics and achieve her destiny. She must seek her ideal and be happy.

—

A Deal in Souls

The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon, published by the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. of India, comments editorially on Dr. Ambedkar's proposal to the effect that the Depressed Classes should give up, along with himself, Hinduism and adopt any other religion, no matter what that may be, for the sake of advantages:

The memorandum in which Dr. Ambedkar, speaking on behalf of the Depressed Classes, weights up the relative advantages offered by Hinduism, Sikhism, Islam and Christianity, seems to betray a tragic spiritual blindness. If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch. The *Indian Social Reformer* describes the proposal, with its cool calculation of chances, as a document to which no parallel can be found in the social or political annals of any country. It is "a deal in souls."

The Russian Gogol, in one of his novels, tells of an enterprising merchant, in the days of serfdom, who did a brisk trade in "Dead Souls," by selling off deceased serfs whose names still figured in the rent rolls. But living souls are the precious freight which Dr. Ambedkar offers to the highest bidder, and the deal is rightly resented by another leader of the Depressed Classes, Rao Bahadur N. C. Raja. "We do not wish to be pawns," he says, "in the game of communal conflicts and competitions." This view is endorsed by Mr. Gandhi, but he sounds a deeper note: "For me the removal of untouchability is a deeply religious question. The very existence of our religion depends upon its voluntary removal by Savarana Hindus in the spirit of repentance. It can never be a question of barter for me."

—

Rudyard Kipling

C. L. R. Sastri speaks of Rudyard Kipling in the *Triveni*:

Rudyard Kipling is dead. What thought does that awaken in one? I can, of course, speak only for myself.

This is the place for me to confess that I came to Kipling's work late—very late—in my reading. I had heard of him, of course, long before I was intimate with his books. But, then, as an Indian, I had imbibed a deep-rooted prejudice against him for his imperialism,—an imperialism that was, if I may say so, naked and unashamed,—for his equally enthusiastic glorifying of the god of battles, for his drum-and-trumpet history (as someone has called it), for his superior attitude towards those whom he has, in his own characteristic fashion, described as 'the lesser breeds without the law,' for his, in short, incessant celebration of the white man and what is supposed to be his burden. Naturally, I avoided him as long as possible.

I started with prejudice, more intimate acquaintance dispelled it, and after finishing *Kim* I read everyone of his prose-works and some of his poems. His fame would be secure even if he wrote nothing but *Kim* and *The Plain Tales From the Hills* and *Soldiers Three* and *The Jungle Books* and some of the volumes of his poems like *Departmental Ditties* and *Barrack-Room Ballads.*

It was his habit to begin every story or every chapter of a novel with a poem or a series of poems of his own: thus reminding us of Scott, though in the case of the older writer the poem, usually, was not his own but a quotation from an earlier poet.

A whole book may be compiled of these exercises only, and I think has been. I do not say that they are the quintessence of poetry. But, for that matter, no poem of Kipling's belongs to that category. Kipling was not a poet 'to the manner born.' He was a versifier, rather—though of the first order. It has been remarked of Pope that you may put him down either as the last of the first-rate poets, or as the first of the second-rate. On the same principle, one may classify Kipling as the best of the modern versifiers.

I fear that he did not understand himself properly when he wrote the stuff by which he is usually known. Perhaps he attempted to be the 'smart man,' that he came to loathe later on: for a man may be 'smart' in matters other than monetary. A man, for instance, may be 'smart' in the matter of race superiority, of physical power, of brow-beating the other fellow. Kipling, undoubtedly, went through a period when he sowed his wild oats of this description. But the point to be noted is that, like other wild oats-sowers, he became sober afterwards; he even, in his heart of hearts, repined for that early boisterousness, for that early boorishness. Let us

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not forget that he was born and bred in India. Well, we that live in India know how it affects an Englishman.

As to whether Kipling was among the very first class of English writers, whether of verse or of prose, it is futile to assert that he was. But, then, criticism does not end here. As the late C. E. Montague observed, a range of mountains may not be the Alps, and yet have a career. Second-class writers, like Kipling, have also their special niche in the temple of fame. Let us give them our meed of praise, and pass on.

Female Attendance at Polls

In introducing his article on female attendance at polls in *The Mysore Economic Journal* dealing with figures available from records of polling in various countries, Jatindra Mohan Datta says with special reference to Bengal and other provinces of India :

In 1926, when the females were for the first time enfranchised in Bengal, the percentage of the female voters who voted in the Council elections was the highest in non-Muhammadan urban constituencies, *viz.*, 23.1, as against 48.3 for males; and lowest in Muhammadan rural, *viz.*, 7.7, against 37.02 per cent for males. In the Anglo-Indian constituency, it was 22.05 as against 35.8 for males. This is very significant—for the Anglo-Indian women are neither illiterate nor do they observe *purdah*.

The lesser female attendance at polls is not confined to Bengal. We give below the attendance of female voters and of the general electorate in the several provinces in 1929 as percentages of those who attended polls to the total electorate of the several classes. It will be seen that in every province, wherever the statistics are available, the female attendance is less both for the Council and the Assembly elections. It will also be noticed that even in those provinces where there is no *purdah*, the female attendance is considerably less than that of men.

Percentage of those who Voted

Province	Council		Assembly	
	Women voters	all voters	Women voters	all voters
Madras	18.1	43.1	11.5	31.0
Bombay	6.5	16.5	3.2	7.4
Bengal	(13.6) *	26.1	—	1.9
U. P.	3.9	24.6	3.3	14.2
Punjab	5.6	38.5	7.5	55.4
B. & O.	5.4	33.2	3.0	21.5
C. P.	8.8	33.3	—	40.9
Assam	6.5	28.3	—	—
Burma	14.0	18.0	—	17.6

* The figures are for 1926.

Emperor Asoka as a Social Worker

Asoka was as pre-eminent in the field of social service as in that of State administration. Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, Professor of Social Economy at the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work in Bombay, points out in an article in *The Aryan Path*, the spiritual basis of the social service rendered by that great emperor of India of the pre-Christian era :

History bears out the statement that in the annals of kingship there is scarcely any record comparable with that of Asoka.

In the course of his moral propaganda, it occurred to him that he should so publish his instructions and messages as to make them permanently available to his subjects. (R. E. V and VI.) Thus it came to pass that Edicts were inscribed on rock and pillar.

He devised, for instance, his "pious tours," a method of establishing personal contacts with his subjects. Asoka observed that they were given to much travelling in the interest of business as well as for the purpose of visiting the sacred places of pilgrimage. He planted mango groves and banyan trees along the roads to give shade, and built rest houses for shelter; dug wells and erected watering places here and there for the comfort of both man and beast. (P. E. VIII.)

Asoka abolished animal fights, drinking and gambling, in the festive gatherings, and instituted in their place instructive and inspiring shows.

Emperor Asoka, really loved his subjects as his own children and considered no measure too severe to eradicate evil practices, both religious and social, in order to promote their welfare and happiness. Besides, by devoting his undivided attention to the welfare of all communities and sects, and honouring them all alike, Asoka inspired others to accept the value of his precepts. (R. E. VI.)

Since the diverse peoples committed to his care, were on different levels of cultural development, Asoka took pains to devise a system of social morals—wide in its scope and catholic in its outlook—which might be imposed upon all his subjects, irrespective of their personal faith and belief. (P. E. II; R. E. XII and XIII.) It is this system he speaks of as *Dharma*. Apart from being practical, Asoka's Dharma contained many sound doctrines and philosophical ideas.

To enforce his social legislation, or regulation by Dharma, he ordered his ministers and city magistrates to undertake, like himself, "pious tours." He required them to go in turn every five years, not only to attend to their own official business but also to inculcate Dharma. (R. E. III.) By virtue of their vested authority, they were free to enforce law to prevent anti-social conduct, and build socially desirable attitudes in his subjects. They were also free to bestow favours on adult dependents and others in need of help. Further, they were instructed to acquaint themselves with the causes of happiness and misery, and to admonish those who followed immoral ways to satisfy their sensual appetites. (P. E. IV.) Later this scheme was further expanded and systematized, and made into a separate department of Government Service known as the Department of Public and Social Welfare. It was placed under the management of a body of officers, named *Dharma-Mahamatras*, whose special duty and responsibility it was to prevent social disorganization by checking, as far as possible, anti-social forces and practices. Their function was also to put through various measures of public utility, such as building hospitals, supplying medical men and medicines, providing drinking water, building rest houses for travellers, caring for the destitute and the aged, mitigating the rigours of justice and so forth. The activities of this department extended over a wide field, even beyond the confines of Asoka's direct jurisdiction. (R. E. V.)

The business of attending to women and their welfare was entrusted to another body of officials called the *Stri-adhyaks-Mahamatras* as stated in Rock Edict XII. These men were specially chosen for their unimpeachable

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character. Their duty was to teach purity and restraint in sex life to women, and to uphold chastity and fidelity as the primary virtues; they had also to supervise the places of amusement, patronized and frequented by women, in cities and towns.

His social welfare mission spread rapidly not only in his dominions but also in the foreign countries beyond the boundaries of his own empire. (R. E. XIII.) It is worth noting, by the way, that the expenses of Asoka's social welfare work in foreign parts were borne by his own people.

Saint Raidasa

Ram Chandra Tandan, a Hindi scholar and translator of Mira Bai's songs, gives, in *The Vedanta Kesari*, a sketch of the life and teachings of Raidasa or Ravidasa, a well-known saint of North India.

It will doubtless be of interest at the present moment to recall the name of one, who, having sprung from the lower grades of society, rose to occupy a spiritual eminence therein, and had preached four centuries back in no uncertain words, the equality of men before God. This was Saint Raidasa.

It would be reasonable to fix the dates of Raidasa between 1430 at one and 1530 at the other end. These dates would account for Raidasa's discipleship under Ramananda, his being a junior contemporary of Kabir, and also his acceptance of Mirabai as a disciple of his own. Mirabai's widowhood occurred, according to Pandit Gaurishanker Hirachand Ojha sometime between 1518 and 1523. She probably met Raidasa in the course of her pilgrimage and at a time when the latter had already become very old. Raidasa thus flourished during the last three quarters of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

We have definite statements in some of his songs preserved in the *Adi Grantha* of the Sikhs, compiled about the end of the sixteenth century, that the ancestors of Raidasa lived and plied their low trade in and round about Benares. He seems to have travelled much, and to have visited not only Maharashtra and Rajputana but also Gujerat, where he created for himself a very large following. Even to this day the sect of Ravidasis to which he gave his name, persists in Gujarat.

There is little doubt that Raidasa was a *chamar* or tanner by caste. The fact of his humble origin has been frequently and almost painfully reiterated in his songs.

It is not known whether Raidasa himself transcribed his songs or made any collection of them. The Nagari Pracharini Sabha, reporting on the search for manuscripts, notices three different collections in the first volume of its Report. Mr. Kshitimohan Sen of Shantiniketan, whose knowledge of the literature concerning our saints is vast, has recently brought out an edition of Dadu's poems. He mentions two voluminous collections of poems of Hindi saints, one in the possession of Shri Chandrika Prasad Tripathi of Ajmer, and the other in that of Shri Shankar Das of Jaipur, both containing poems of Raidasa. Rai Bahadur Pandit Tara Datt Gairola of Garhwal mentioned to me several years back, of a similar collection which was in his possession.

Raidasa was a pilgrim of the *Bhakti-marga* or the path of devotion. To him this world is full of sorrow and suffering. He believes in the cycle of births and rebirths, and craves for release from it. Such an end can only be achieved through the mercy of God, He says:

> *This sea of Existence is an endless torture,*
> *O Govinda! One can see no end therein.*
> *Far, far is my home, and difficult to reach:*
> *speaking wilt Thou not give me assurance?*

He calls upon all and sundry to join with him in repeating the Name of the Lord.

> *Repeat, ye people, the Name of Mukunda, of*
> *Mukunda. Without Mukunda the body*
> *wearieth.*

The formal offerings to the Deity are of little worth, unless the mind be bent in devotion.

> *What shall I offer Thee for worship, O Rama?*
> *Fruits and flowers rare, I find not.*
> *In the mind is the worship: in the mind, the*
> *incense: in the mind I attend on Thy natural*
> *Form.*

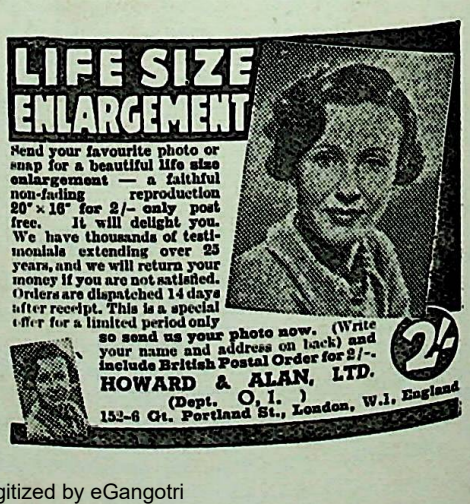
And such was Raidasa, who spent his life in earnest devotion to his Lord, and may be said to have died in the faith embodied in the wellknown lines:

> *Who cares, what one's caste or calling may be?*
> *He who prays unto Hari, is by Hari claimed as*
> *His own.*

Rabindranath's Message to the Peace Congress

The following is Rabindranath's message, as published in the *Visva-Bharati News*, to the World Peace Congress at Brussels:

If peace is to be anything more than the mere absence of war, it must be founded on the strength of the just and not on the weariness of the weak. The groan of peace in Abyssinia is no less ghastly than the howl of war in Spain. If then we are to strive for that true peace, in which the satisfaction of one people is not built on the frustration of another, then the average peace-loving citizen of the successful nations of today must extricate himself from the obvious anomaly of wishing for peace whilst sharing in the spoils of war,—which exposes his wish to the charge of mere pretence. He must not let himself be bribed on the promise of prosperity and honour and call it patriotism. We cannot have peace until we deserve it by paying its full price—which is, that the strong must cease to be greedy and the weak must learn to be bold.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

This Gas-protection Programme

In our September issue, we published an account of the poison gases used in modern warfare and of anti-gas measures now being adopted in different parts of Europe (*The Last War and the Next War*: p 331). Writing in *The New Republic*, Frank C. Hanighen insists that this gas-protection programme is impracticable in present economic circumstances and of little use if considered from the point of view of efficacy :

The best filter mask sells for $12.50. (There are some French masks that are priced from $7 to $10, but they are not regarded as strictly up-to-date). The cost of the new mask for Britain's population has not been announced, but it is interesting that it was once estimated that simply to supply masks to the unemployed and workers who could not afford them would cost the British government at least £40,000,000.

In the last war, the writer points out, masks did not prove too much of a success; they were hated and found uncomfortable by the soldiers who were sometimes ready to incur infection than keep them on. And then there were those surprise attacks, and casualties caused by "pockets" of gas which lingered after the attack had subsided. Then there is the following fact to be considered :

Since the War, according to some reports, chemists have invented a whole new series of gases that can easily penetrate the old type of masks. Hence for every new gas, a new kind of filter must be fabricated to resist it. A sinister race is going on between producers of masks and the chemists who invent new gases—the latter, of course, several laps ahead. The chemists can always keep the lead, because they cannot give away precious war secrets. To sell masks on the open market—or to equip civilians with them—would be to reveal these secrets.

So far as to the ordinary type of filter masks. There is, however, one gas mask which protects a person against all gases.

In general it is known as the "closed circuit respiratory." The wearer encloses his head and shoulders in a sort of bell, which is furnished with a diaphragm of caustic potassium to absorb the carbonic gas exhaled and with a cartridge of peroxide of sodium to furnish fresh oxygen. The chemical system must be changed frequently, replacing the potassium and the cartridge.

There are, however, many objections to this mask. It is heavy and uncomfortable, and it can be used, without changing the chemical contents, for about four hours only, and an all-night attack is expected to last much longer. And the price ($40) is such that only the well-to-do classes can afford it.

Governments have laid down elaborate instructions as to the conduct of an individual during a gas attack :

When certain gases are used, the individual should immerse himself in a full bathtub. The circulars do not suggest how, with one tub on the average to a house, all the occupants of a lodging house can protect themselves. Nor how they can distinguish between gases, for to meet the onslaught of another gas the individual should be "desert dry." Also it is specified that one room should be set aside in each apartment for gas protection. Since, in most industrial cities, a large proportion of families live in one room, the advice is of limited application.

Prospects of protection from poison gas attacks, according to this writer, seem to be meagre, and the gas-protection propaganda, it is argued, is 'but part of the general increase of armaments,' a 'game of the jingoes and armament manufacturers.'

—

Modern Japanese Literature

The recent Indian tour of Yone Noguchi, the Japanese poet, awakened in India an interest in Japan's art and literature as was never witnessed before. Kan Kikuchi writes in the *Bungei Shunju*, Tokio, in part :

The literary field of modern Japan is a crucible, receiving all literatures of the world and creating out of that chaos a new literature of its own. Tolstoy, Dostojewsky, Turgeniev and Tschekhov, as the chief representatives of the Russian literature, have caught the imagination of our reading public. The literature of the northern Europe is known to us through Ibsen, Strindberg and Bjornson. I doubt if any work of Strindberg has yet remained untranslated. We are thoroughly conversant with the literature of Germany and Austria from classical authors like Goethe to modern writers like Hauptmann, Schnitzler, Hofmannsthal and Thomas Mann. The name of Maupassant is as familiar to us as that of Tolstoy. Every young student knows Flaubert's "Madame Bovary" and Romain Rolland's "Jean Christophe," while Andre Gide has been probably the most popular in recent times. Bernard Shaw is being read since twenty years and Oscar Wilde, George Meredith, John Galsworthy have enjoyed great popularity. James Joyce has now come into vogue. Of the American writers Edgar Allan Poe and in recent times Theodore Dreiser and Upton Sinclair are much more than mere

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names to us. The crucible has thus been devouring this foreign mixture greedily, and yet it was not previously empty, as it had already been seething and overflowing with the old native ingredients, nor were its previous contents in themselves free from admixture. The Japanese literary tradition had already undergone a transformation on account of the influences exercised upon it by India through Buddhism and by China. We therefore believe, that our contemporary literature is essentially of a more universal type and more colorful than the literature of any other people. And yet, with all that, the product of this crucible cannot be said to be merely a mixture, because it also represents to a large extent the characteristic spirit of Japanese creation.

The European literature, says the author, has given Japan firstly, Realizm and Naturalizm, secondly, the ideal of human brotherhood and thirdly, the technique of the art of narration, especially, the short story. But there also exists today a typically Japanese form of novel-writing, called the *Shinkyo-Shosetsu* or the novel of self-introspection. The world reflected in the Shinkyo-Shosetsu is the microscopic world in man.

As a contrast to the social novel, this form of a novel represents the personal life of the author, his manifold moods and ethical views. The narrated event may be of the commonest type, yet the feelings expressed through it may be very deep. The hero is the author himself incognito. There is no positive theme, no intricacy, nothing new or romantic; simple everyday occurrences. The depth lies only in the life and thought of the hero *i.e.*, the writer in the midst of almost silly circumstances.

It often happens that important new books, appearing in French, English or German are first translated into Japanese. No other people is so mad after foreign literature as the Japanese. And yet so little of the literary creations of Japan is known abroad.

The chief difficulty evidently lies in the language itself (writes Kan Kikuchi). We have nearly 20 to 30 words for the first person singular, each of which implies a special grade of significance, attached to the rank or class or personality of the speaker. The word *Harusame* is translated as 'vernal rain', but to us the Japanese word is in itself an expression of art and embraces an infinite wealth of poetic vision. Such obstacles are indeed as portentious as perhaps the Great Chinese Wall. No wonder that Bernard Shaw, when he visited this land a few years ago, confessed that he had succeeded in learning only two words of Japanese: 'Jen' and 'Samurai'.

If a literary Olympia could be realized without having to overcome these linguistic obstacles, suggests the author, Japan would doubtless give a hard fight to the competitors of the Nobel Prize.

Parable from an Indian Forest

Reginald A. Reynolds writes in the *Unity*:

When I was in the North Kheri jungle, where the United Provinces border upon Nepal, I discovered some curious facts about the protection of forests in British India.

It seems that for something like fifty years the British authorities most energetically protected these forests from fire. At the time of my visit the I. F. S. had just begun to discover that they were killing the forests with too much of this "protection."

Unlike resinous forests, which require careful protection from fire, the Sal forests of the Gangetic Plain apparently require an occasional fire to stimulate their growth. The fire destroys the undergrowth, the ash from which forms an alkaline mould, and this mould makes good soil for the young saplings.

Indian Forestry experts explained to me that careful protection from forest fires over a long period had produced a thick undergrowth, damp and heavy, which kept the light from the young shoots and covered them with a poisonous acid mould. Also (they told me) deer were protected by forestry laws while the tigers were being slowly exterminated by white sahibs on *safari*. So the deer multiplied and ate whatever shoots survived the acid mould and the undergrowth.

All this my I. F. S. friends told me and demonstrated it in the Sal forests. We drove along the border, between the U. P. and Nepal and saw the marked contrast between the forests lands on either side. On our left (where the forest fires of Nepal had swept right up to the very edge of the broad clearing that marked the frontier) there was little undergrowth and one could see for 200 yards between the trees. But on our right, where the "protected" forests lay, one could see for barely twenty yards owing to the thick scrub. And the trees were almost all of the same size. "Very few of them under forty years of age," my companions commented, comparing them with the varied sizes beyond the Nepal border.

A few years before—and even today among ignorant people—the protection of India's forests was one of the "arguments" for the "success" of British Rule. Today we can realize that it is just another example of misplaced efficiency—the alien "protection" that destroys everything it touches.

Art of Painting in India

In the course of a paper contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Bhawanrao Pandit Pratinidhi, Raja of Aundh, makes some interesting observations on Indian painting in general and Ajantha paintings in particular:

Just before I came to Europe I saw the Queens' tombs at Luxor. They date, as you know, from about 1500 B.C., and I think that the art of Egypt is much more crude and has less expression than the art of Ajantha. In Egypt there is no expression on the faces of either the people or their gods. I noticed particularly the hand of a queen where the thumb had been painted on the wrong side. The artist was therefore sometimes wrong in Egyptian paintings, which means that his art was much more crude than what we have in Ajantha. In Ajantha the anatomy is perfect, and the artists have drawn men and women and animals very well. It is only in the Rajput school afterwards that the painters began to draw very short persons and animals. The Mogal school vary their women and men.

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At the same time I must draw your attention to the fact that the colours used at Ajantha are the same as those used by the artists of Egypt. The Indian artists employed only the following colours: yellow ochre, red earth, *terre verte*, lapis lazuli blue and lamp black. I do not know what the Egyptians used for white, but in India they used Shirgola stone, which, when baked, turns out a beautiful white. The white at Ajantha is as white after 2,000 years as if it had been painted yesterday, and the same thing is found in Egypt. The Egyptian caves were shut up for centuries, and have only lately been excavated and their paintings brought to light, but the Ajantha caves were open for centuries because the monks lived and prayed there, and many visitors must have visited them. The colours, however, have not faded, not only in the dark caves but on the verandahs, some of which face the south, and as you know we have rain coming from the south. The paintings on the verandahs, therefore, receive the force of the rain, wind and sun for at least three months out of the year, and still the colours are as bright as colours can be.

There are several tests to apply to a painting to see whether that painting is good or otherwise. The first test is outline. The outline in all Indian paintings, and Egyptian paintings, is marvellous, extremely fine and exquisite. Its sweeping outline is really the beauty of an Indian painting. I have known in my father's court an old artist drawing an elephant about six feet high. He would hold his brush, dip it in black colour, begin from the top and immediately come down and finish at the end of the trunk of the elephant without taking his brush off. Those outlines with a firm hand only Indian painters know how to make.

The brush work, too, of the Ajantha paintings, and of Indian paintings in general, is very soft. You cannot see the lines made by the brushes. Then the colours. I have seen many galleries during the last four months throughout the whole of Europe. Some of the colours of the paintings are faded, particularly the green and red, and some of them are darkened. The colours of Ajantha are earth and mineral colours, and not vegetable colours, and their brilliance is still preserved.

Good composition, or grouping of persons, animals and other objects in a picture in the proper places, is also necessary for a good picture. The composition at Ajantha and generally in all the schools derived from Ajantha is very good. The king on horseback watching a lady, the dying princess, and the conversation between a Nag king and the Druid king, are some of the best examples of very good composition.

"The Nazis are Kind to Women"

The German Nazis have always boasted that under their philosophy women hold an important place in their proper sphere. *The New Republic* publishes in part a revealing document, prepared by a German woman who was a political prisoner herself and vouched for by the International Relief Association sponsored by Albert Einstein, John Dewey and others. This account, from which brief extracts only can be made here, throws a lurid light on the condition of women in German concentration camps:

There is a woman's concentration camp in Hohenstein, Saxony, where, toward the end of 1935, there were forty-four prisoners, of whom thirty-three were held as hostages for wanted men. One woman was the mother of three little children from two to six years old. She was flung into the camp when her husband, a functionary in the Social Democratic Party, managed to escape just before the Gestapo was to have seized him. And her children? The last news she had of them, when she was brought to the camp, was that they were going to be brought up in a Nazi children's camp.

Another prisoner, whose husband was being hunted by the secret police, was brought in. For a week she was questioned and cross-examined by the commandant, but she refused to give any information. For this she was beaten into unconsciousness and the prison doctor later found that she had concussion of the brain. The oldest prisoners in the camp are two women who are over seventy. The charge against them is that they are members of a religious organization—the Society of Serious Bible Students.

Many of these women have been under "protective" arrest for more than three years, states the report, although there are no charges against them.

Centa Baimler and her sister Maria Bengler have been held since 1935 as hostages for Deputy Baimler, who escaped from the Dachau concentration camp. For two years and nine months they lived in the women's prison at Stadelheim, from which they were taken to the Mohringen Concentration Camp. Their state of health is alarming.

The Nazis introduced a system of tortures observes the account, that rivals those of the Middle Ages.

How skilfully they utilize it was shown at the Wuppertal trial. The women defendants, forty of them, were just as badly treated as the men. A favorite method was to beat them in the presence of their husbands or other members of their families in an effort to make them break down and give further information. At the trial they showed physical evidence of their treatment. Their suffering was increased because they were not told what had become of their children. A textile worker, Ida Ahrweiler, mother of seven children, was subjected to such tortures that she lost her mind. She had to be taken to an insane asylum, but that did not prevent the judges from condemning her to a severe hard-labor sentence.

The worst conditions imaginable exist in the women's concentration camp at Fuhlsbuettel, near Hamburg. While being "questioned," a nineteen-year-old girl was kicked in the stomach by the nailed boot of an S.A. man. She lost consciousness and was dragged into her cell, where she was left. The attendants had special orders not to pay any attention to her. When she later told the doctor what had happened, he reported the case to the camp director, whereupon the girl was again cross-examined and mistreated. "If you should tell anything when you get out of here, we will take it out on your parents," was the threat she received along with the most indecent insults.

This document is followed by a list, prepared by the International Relief Association itself, of women killed by the Nazis during the years 1933-35.

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The Lenin Legend

The following is reproduced from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*:

Throughout Russia, Lenin is celebrated in song and story. Scores of racial minority groups in the vast hinterland have constructed a body of legends revolving about his personality.

Most of them have originated on the hot, dusty plateau of Middle Asia. Here a simpler and more primitive people than lives on the Moscow steppe, has, with all the wealth and power of Oriental imagination, transformed the human revolutionary leader into a Titan.

Wandering minstrels, reinterpreting the events of the last twenty years in terms more familiar to their audiences than Marxian principles, have spread the legends far and wide among slant-eyed Uxbeks, Turkmenians Tadjiks, and Kirghiz. Lenin is pictured sometimes as a giant and sometimes as a sage, sent by Allah to save his oppressed people.

Today, so goes a story, Lenin lies alive on the banks of the Moscow River under the Kremlin Wall, and when something goes wrong anywhere in field or workshop, Lenin gets up, comes to the spot, and gives the right advice. But Lenin cannot be seen because a cloak of invisibility conceals him from his people.

Legends of Lenin's immortality are not uncommon among the peasantry. His name is often interwoven into the fabric of the old fairy tales of the "cap of darkness," the "seven league boots," and other supernatural powers.

Laws of the Future World

Georges Duhamel observes in his own journal, the *Mercure de France*:

The most mysterious and curious thing about the development of life is the laws of magnitude and limitation which govern it. A living cell is the result of a division of the mother-cell. It begins its own life, feeds, changes and assimilates itself, acquires its peculiar qualities, and grows bigger. And then comes a moment, when it ceases to grow. It would appear as if it has come across some invisible obstacle. As a matter of fact the hindrance is not from outside but from within: the cell has reached its own limits, it cannot transgress them. If conditions are favourable, it divides itself further into two small cells and the play begins anew. When after several such repetitions there are enough of these divisions, when the cells have built up the mass, which they were intended to build up—an organ or a living being—, their multiplication is stopped.

It is no use seeking refuge under teleological consideration for explaining this process. The fact is evident: that life is governed by laws, which are not made by man and are not always understood by him. If he is not able to comprehend and formulate them, he could at least feel them and respect them in his own heart. This, however, does not seem to be the way, man has chosen today. Although the work of man consists partly of lifeless material, still, as the work of a living being, it does belong to life. Today however, most of man's creations appear to be a bold challenge to these laws, which, though vague today, will be taught to school-children at some future date in their first grades.

I have been reproached, on the one hand, for having set myself against justified competition and large magnitudes. On the other hand, people have assured me that it is not necessary to apply any other principles to such structures as lie outside our own organism, than those underlying Architecture and Arrangement. I am much concerned with the first of these objections; because although I am susceptible to the influences of magnitude, I do not go to seek it in matters non-essential. The greatness of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony is bound to be experienced, even if a handful of musicians play it. If we can collect one hundred musicians to play it, we shall certainly be creating circumstances that would highly favour the greatness of that composition. But if we bring together five or six hundred musicians for such a purpose, there is, I believe, every chance of our spoiling the whole harmony and putting in hazard the comprehension of the work on the part of the audience. We must recognise and respect the limits. We must seek for the laws.

Out of our love for the gigantic, we should not obstinately seek to win victories that would lead us away from a deep and truly fruitful understanding of the world. We must not always hanker after larger proportions. We must try to make things better and for this purpose discover laws and wisely observe them.

RAJARAM, THE ADOPTED SON OF RAMMOHUN ROY

THE memory of Rajaram is shrouded in mystery. One welcomes therefore every bit of news that illuminates a dark corner of his life. Mrs. Anna Letitia Le Breton, the grand-niece of Mrs. Barbauld and grand-daughter of Dr. Aikin, well-known literary figures of the early Nineteenth century, has preserved an interesting, though meagre, reminiscence of the young boy in her *Memories of Seventy Years* (London and Edinburgh, 1883). Speaking of Rammohun Roy's death and how it was universally lamented, she says,

"He left his adopted son, a boy about twelve years old, to be educated in England, under the care of the Rev. Samuel Wood. We saw a good deal of this boy, who was glad to come to our cheerful house, as Mr. Wood lived alone with him in lodgings, and was a cold stiff man, very unfit for the charge of a wild impulsive creature, quite unlike anything English. He wore his native dress, in which he looked very handsome and striking. I made a drawing of him, which was engraved. One day, being allowed to walk alone in a low part of the town, his valuable Indian shawl was plucked from his shoulders, and was never recovered. He was a clever, interesting boy, and we were all very fond of him. A party of our young friends once got up part of Othello, in which he acted the principal part with great effect, dress and complexion requiring no alteration. He returned to India when his education was finished, and I believe obtained a civil appointment."

S. N. RAY

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EXTRACTS FROM DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND'S LETTERS TO RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

[It will be noticed that there are no extracts from any letter of any year earlier than 1929. The fact is, in that year I was prosecuted in connection with the publication of Dr. Sunderland's "India in Bondage," and when my house was searched by the police previous to my arrest, all his letters were taken away. They were of no use to the prosecution, as they contained nothing incriminating. For, to quote from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Lahore Congress Presidential Address, "We have now an Open Conspiracy to free this country;" and so no secret plots could be unearthed from our correspondence as none existed.—Ramananda Chatterjee.]

Conviction for Publishing "India in Bondage"

* * * *

The papers here are taking notice of your case. I inclose a clipping from the *New York World* of yesterday, one of our largest and most influential dailies.

You will be glad to know that I have at last found an American publisher for my book—and I think a good one—one who is really in sympathy with India's struggle for freedom. . . . . .

May God comfort and strengthen you, my dear brother. . . . . .

I also inclose a clipping from *The Christian Register*, and one from a Poughkeepsie paper, *The Star*.

—(From letter, dated August 16, 1929.)

"Welfare"

Tell your son that I miss his vigorous and excellent *Welfare*. I hope he will see his way clear to give it a second birth.—(April 10, 1930.)

Favourable Reviews of His Book

I get many excellent press notices and reviews of "India in Bondage." I have several fine reviews from Germany. Today a thoroughly favourable one comes from China. —(April 10, 1930.)

"The Amrita Bazar Patrika"

I have just received the copy of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which you kindly sent. It seems excellent. I am subscribing for it.—(June 17, 1930.)

Sympathy for India

I need not tell you that I have great sympathy for suffering, confused, divided India—united only in two things—a common agony, and a growing common consciousness that your great historic nation *must have freedom or perish*.

Well, I thank God for . . . . I believe no man in India has done more or is doing more than. . . to *bring the better day, which, as God lives, must come. So work on, pray on, trust God and the right.*—(June 17, 1930.)

Some of My Articles

I have read your fine article in *The Modern Review* for September, defending "India in Bondage" against Mr. Thompson's attack, and am very grateful to you. Your article in the *New Republic* of August 20, I had not seen until today. Today I have read it. It is most admirable. Your article in the August *Asia* I have not yet seen, but I have now sent for it. I am sure you cannot possibly do more effective work for India than you are doing in these articles which you are sending to American periodicals.—(October 11, 1930.)

"The Truth About India"

I have just issued an extended new pamphlet (64 pages, Mr. Copeland publisher) entitled, "The Truth about India," consisting mainly of selections from my book, and am sending it to 7,000 of the most prominent men in America, England and other countries. I am having a copy mailed to you, though I fear it will not reach you.—(October 11, 1930.)

Gandhi's Birthday

We celebrated Gandhi's Birthday by a dinner at the New York Town Hall Club, 300 present, speeches by prominent men. John Haynes Holmes presiding.—(October 11, 1930.)

Dr. Will Durant's "The Case for India"

Dr. Will Durant (famous for his "Story of Philosophy," which has had a phenomenal sale) has just returned from a visit to India. He is red hot in his support of the Nationalist

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Cause. He will have a book out ("The Case for India."*) He gave a powerful lecture a week ago to a great audience in the Community Church. He is going on to the public lecture platform for India, and will get a wide hearing. —(October 11, 1930.)

My Articles in American Journals

I have just read your two fine articles in the August *Asia* and in the *New Republic* of August 20, 1930. You cannot possibly do more helpful work for India's cause than by furnishing such articles for American periodicals.

Did I thank you for your strong article in *The Modern Review* of September defending my book against Thompson's criticisms in the London *Times*? It is particularly valuable because from *your* pen. I am deeply grateful. —(October 19, 1930.)

Tagore's Appreciation

Tagore has just arrived. He writes me how glad he is to see this article from you. —(October 19, 1930.)

Congratulations on his 90th Birthday

Thank you for your very kind and brotherly letter of congratulation and regard in connection with my 90th birthday. I am finding my advancing years very happy ones. Such friends as you contribute much to make them so.—(April 22, 1932.)

"The Golden Book of Tagore"

I have received the Tagore Golden Book. I feel like saying as the Queen of Sheba is reported to have said to King Soloman, when she saw his magnificence: "The half had not been told me." It is certainly a remarkable and a precious book, in many ways. I am showing it to many friends who greatly admire it. Not only the Poet but all the rest of us are under deep and lasting obligation to you for your splendid *dream*, your splendid *vision*, in thinking of and planning such a book, and then for your wisdom, judgment, and very, very great labor in gathering the surprisingly rich material from all over the world, and finally, patiently, carefully, laboriously with infinite skill and good taste, building it all into the structure of the impressive, attractive, dignified and beautiful volume. Please accept my congratulations on your great achievement, and my sincere thanks to yourself, Professor Nag and your other efficient helpers.—(April 18, 1932.)

My Proposed Visit to America, which Did Not Come Off

[In 1933 I was invited to attend the World's Faiths Congress in America as a Delegate. But I could not go.—R. C.]

All Indians here would be delighted to see you, if you came. All friends of India would be. I need not say that I would be in the highest degree delighted. The American League for India's Freedom, of New York, of which Rev. John Haynes Holmes is President, would do all in its power to give you hearings in New York and elsewhere. The American Unitarian Association in Boston would do the same. I am sorry to say that I personally would not be able to do much for you, on account of my age, lameness and distance from New York. But of course I would gladly do all that I could.—(April 30, 1933.)

Women's Education

I sympathize with your desire to write up in India the subject of Education for girls and women including co-education. You say you do not have the information you desire regarding such education in the West—particularly in America. On receiving your letter I went at once to the chief librarian of Vassar College with whom I am acquainted (Miss Fanny Borden) and laid your case before her. She was much interested and took up the matter with the President of the College. They agree that the very best treatment of women's education in America is a large two volume work which covers the ground completely and is in every way reliable. This we are sending to you. You will get it a few days later than this letter. When the books arrive please acknowledge their receipt to her. . . . They are a joint present from her and myself.—(August 14, 1933.)

Mr. K. Natarajan in America

You will be interested to know that I have just had a visit from Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of *The Indian Social Reformer*, (and his daughter). They came up from New York yesterday and spent the day with me. It was a most happy occasion to me. He has been giving the Haskell lectures, as you know, in Chicago, at the Chicago University. He has also been speaking at the Fellowship of Faiths in connection with the Great Fair. He returns to India almost immediately. I am sorry he

* Rabindranath Tagore reviewed this book in *The Modern Review* after its publication.

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cannot stay longer and speak in many parts of the country. He regrets, as I do, that you cannot come to the Fellowship of Faiths and the Fair.—(August 14, 1933.)

Humorous Estimate of His Own Articles

[In one of my letters I had casually told him that I had thought that he must have contributed 100 articles to *The Modern Review* but found that they numbered 78. Thereupon he replied :]

I am surprised that so many as 78 articles from my pen have appeared in your Review. Shall I say—How wonderful it is that the Review has survived!!—(June 13, 1934.)

Professor Wadia

Professor Wadia is here spending three or four days, and giving two lectures on "The Present Outlook in India." He dares to speak out plainly. He has been given two or three public receptions. I have had two long and very interesting visits with him. He goes from here to a number of universities to lecture in their summer schools.—(July 5, 1934.)

American Publishers Afraid of Britain
How American Edition of His Book was Published

[I had asked him whether some American publishing firm could publish certain Indian historical works. They were not books banned by Government here; but Britishers did not like them. Dr. Sunderland's reply is printed below. R. C.]

You write concerning a publisher for the—books in England or America or both countries. . . . . I wish such a publisher could be found. But I regret to say, I see little hope; certainly little hope in America and not much in England. My publisher, Mr. Copeland, has gone out of business. I tried fourteen publishers, before I found one that would touch my book, with one exception : the Putnams would issue it and handle it for 6,000 dollars, but would guarantee nothing and would not advertise it. All were afraid of Britain. Copeland was sympathetic with India, but I had to pay him 2,000 dollars down and 1,000 dollars more later on, for advertising. In all, my book cost me over 4,000 dollars, and but for what you sent me from India as royalty my total expense would have been over 5,000 dollars. I sent copies of the new revised edition (American) to 450 of the leading libraries of all the countries of the world, at my own expense. So it is pretty well distributed and pretty easily obtainable in all lands.

I think I wrote you that X got Y in London to promise to publish it there in a somewhat abridged edition. I prepared the abridgement. Y accepted it, marked the manuscript all through for his printers and advertised that it would be issued soon. Then some influence (of course the Z) stopped it; and without a word of explanation the manuscript was returned to me.

I do not think it possible that you can get an American publisher. And I am sorry to say, I cannot help you; because I am known as the author of "India in Bondage," a book banned by Great Britain in India.—(July 30, 1934.)

[In the above extract, X is a well known Englishman and Y, a reputed British publishing firm. I have omitted their names, as well as that of the party whose influence stopped the publication of the book. R. C.]

His Labour of Love

[Dr. Sunderland never asked for or accepted any fee or honorarium for his articles. For the first edition of his "India in Bondage" I sent him some money as royalty. I was prosecuted after a few hundred copies of the second edition had been sold. After my conviction, I wanted to send him the royalty on these copies—the unsold ones, about 500, being seized by the police. But he insisted on my not sending him a cent. Not only that : he would not accept any royalty on his other books published or to be published by me. All because I had been prosecuted and fined heavily for publishing one of his books—though it was all in the day's work. R. C.]

I want to say that you are not to pay me any royalty on either of those books [*Evolution and Religion* and *Eminent Americans Whom India Should Know*] nor on "The Origin and Character of the Bible" when you publish that. I realize the heavy burden you have to carry, in publishing your Review. But you are rendering an enormous service to India, and to the world.—(August 29, 1934.)

On What British Authors and Others He Wanted to Write

The others will probably be King Alfred the Great, Shakespere, Milton, Carlyle, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, Tyndall (the scientist), Browning, Cardinal Newman and Kipling. Let me know if these will be too many.—(July 27, 1935.)

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Are you thinking of publishing the English articles in a book, as you did American articles? If you *are*, I shall want to send you four or five more—on Shakespere, Milton, Cromwell, etc. But if you are *not*, I think I may send you only one more.—(February 29, 1936.)

I am sending you herewith an article on Robert Browning.

I wonder if these articles on Englishmen are proving really of interest to your readers. If not, probably we had better make this the last. If, however, Indian readers do really care for them—care for them sufficiently to justify their being issued as a book, I could send you two or three more—say on Milton, John Bright, Kipling, Florence Nightingale, Mary Carpenter—on all or a part of these.—(July 9, 1936.)

PROJECTED BOOK ON INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

I am thinking of preparing and publishing a small book to be entitled "The New Constitution for India: Does it Mean Freedom, or Stronger Chains?"—(September 28, 1935.)

[He indicated the kind of materials he wanted, including Indian leaders' opinions, etc. I sent him as much material as I could get together. But he did not live to finish and publish the book. R. C.]

THE LAST ILLNESS AND PASSING OF Dr. J. T. SUNDERLAND

[Mrs. Gertrude Sunderland Safford, daughter of the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland, has written the following letter to the Editor of *The Modern Review*:]

MY DEAR MR. CHATTERJEE,

As you will see from the newspaper clipping I enclose, my dear father passed out of this world last Thursday. He fell a month ago on the lower steps of a flight of stairs in his home here, during that very hot weather we had, and unfortunately he broke six ribs. No serious complications resulted directly from this but the shock and the pain doubtless further weakened his strength which was already depleted by the hot weather, so that an attack of heart weakness came on which proved the beginning of the end.

Your thoughtful inquiry about his health came during his illness and I read it to him. He appreciated it very much. He knew he was in his last illness and he specially requested that after he died you should be notified. Also **he dictated these words: "As my last message to India I send my love."**

These last words of his, also, you will be glad to know. He said: "I die in the beautiful Unitarian Faith. I believe the essential teachings of Jesus. **The universal brotherhood of man is the highest religion of the world and will be forever.**" Out of this fundamental religion of his grew ardent zeal in trying to help India I believe.

Very sincerely yours,
Gertrude Sunderland Safford.

The following obituary notice appeared on August 14, 1936, in the *Ann Arbor Daily News*, a newspaper of the town where the Reverend Dr. J. T. Sunderland lived:

Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland, Noted Pastor, Dies At 94

Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland, noted Unitarian minister, writer and lecturer, who held pastorates in this country, Canada and England, died yesterday afternoon at the home of his son, Prof. Edson T. Sunderland at 1510, Cambridge Road. He was 94 years old.

Six weeks ago, he received several broken ribs in a fall and the illness which followed resulted in his death.

Dr. Sunderland was internationally known as a religious leader and as a fearless supporter of India in its struggle for independence. He made two extended visits to India, sent there on special commissions by associations in England and America and to investigate religious and social conditions and to deliver lectures in the chief Indian cities.

He became well acquainted with Gandhi, Tagore, Lajpat Rai, the eminent author, former president of the Indian National Congress, and with other leaders in India. He was greatly admired for his work in India and leaders there declared his views to be "absolutely impartial and progressive and free from bias." Indian leaders coming to this country made it a point to visit Dr. Sunderland.

Two public receptions and banquets were given in New York City in recognition of his service to India. In April, 1926, the editorial staffs of three magazines gave a public reception and banquet in his honor and the other was tendered in May, 1928, by the India Society of America. Gandhi, Tagore, Rai, and several past presidents of the Indian National Congress sent letters.

Dr. Sunderland was born in Yorkshire, England, Feb. 11, 1842, coming to this country with his parents at an early age. He was educated at the University of Chicago from which he received a A.B. degree in 1867, and master's degree in 1869, and at the Baptist Union Theological seminary in Chicago from which he received his B.D. degree in 1870. Tufts University in Massachusetts conferred a D.D. degree upon him in 1914.

PASTOR HERE 20 YEARS

He was pastor of the Unitarian church here for 20 years from 1878 to 1898, and was minister here during the

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time the present church was erected. His other Unitarian pastorates were as follows: Northfield, Mass. 1872-1876, Chicago, 1876-1878; Oakland, Calif., 1898-1899; London, England, 1900-1901; Toronto, Ont., 1901-1907; Hartford, Conn., 1907-1911; Ottawa, Canada, 1912-1913; and Poughkeepsie N. Y., 1911-1927.

Dr. Sunderland held many important positions in the Unitarian denomination, among others, those of director of the American Unitarian association, president of the Michigan conference; secretary of the western conference; and superintendent of Unitarian church extension work in the west; and non-resident lecturer in the theological schools at Meadville, Pa., and Canton, N. Y.

He was the author of more than 20 books, some of which have been translated into every foreign language. Early in his ministry he established and for 10 years edited *The Unitarian*, a monthly magazine, which obtained a large circulation in this country and England.

Activities Constant

Dr. Sunderland's literary activities have been constant. For a time he was state examiner of colleges in Michigan. In Toronto, he was president of the second largest Browning Society in America. During all his ministry, he had been active in education, in temperance work, in work for peace, in woman's suffrage and in movements to improve the conditions of labor.

He wrote many pamphlets and tracts in addition to his books, and he was engaged in writing new volumes this summer. He visited Palestine and wrote three Sunday school manuals, two published in this country and one in England.

Dr. Sunderland first went to India in 1895 on a special religious mission for the Unitarians of England. He lectured and preached extensively. In 1913-1914, he was sent by the American Unitarian association as its "Billings lecturer" to India, China, Japan and the Philippines.

Along with this tour in the Orient, he represented "The International (American and European) Council of Religious Liberals," and as their agent organized and made full plans for seven international liberal religious Congresses, which were abadoned because of the war.

Well Known In India

While in India, he attended and spoke at two annual sessions of the All-India National Congress, and in 1913, served as president of the All-India Theistic Conference. He was one of the two or three Americans most widely known in India.

In Ann Arbor during his years as minister of the Unitarian church, he preached to the largest congregations of University students ever gathered in a Unitarian church in any University city. In Toronto, his Sunday night audiences were such as to give him the unique experience of being visited by the chief of police of the city and informed that, unless measures were taken to prevent the overcrowding of his church evenings, of which so many complaints had been made, the law would be enforced upon him and his congregation.

He is survived by his son, Prof. Sunderland of the University law school faculty; a daughter, Mrs. Gertrude Safford of Detroit; a sister, Mrs. Mary Moore of Denver, now 98 years old; seven grandchildren; four great-grandchildren and many nephews and nieces. A daughter, Florence, died a number of years ago, and his wife died in 1910 in Hartford.

THE SITUATION IN PALESTINE AND INDIAN OPINION

By NIHAR RANJAN RAY,

President for 1936-37, Federation of Indian Students Abroad

Almost simultaneous with the announcement of the offer of mediation on the part of Nouri Pasha Said, Foreign Minister of Iraq, to the Arab Higher Committee, in their dispute with the Government of Palestine and the Jews, the British papers announce the news of sending out a large contingent of British troops, the first instalment of still larger contingents that are to follow, to Palestine to restore 'peace and order' in the country. These contingents are intended to re-inforce the already existing military garrison which now numbers 15,000 British troops; Special Emergency Regulations providing for summary trials of offenders in connection with the disturbances are also in force, while some military advisers of the Government are openly favouring proclamation of Martial Law which, however, has not yet been adopted.

The decision to negotiate has not been received with much enthusiasm, neither in Great Britain, nor in America, owing to the possibility of a stoppage of Jewish immigration in Palestine which is one of the principal Arab demands drawn up at a general Palestinian Arab Congress in April last. The British papers, even those belonging to the left, are crying for a stronger Government whose first task should be to restore complete order. "To yield now to continued violence would jeopardise the whole future of the country," writes a Labour paper. From the United States, the American Christian Conference on Palestine has cabled a long memorandum to Mr. Baldwin asking the Parliament not to yield to the Arab demands. "It is our conviction," so runs the memorandum, "that a suspension of immigration or any lessening of the terms of the (Palestine) Mandate must lead to a lessening of British prestige in America and would regrettably encourage other elements in this country already unfriendly to Great Britain . . . *Christian*

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honour demands that the pledge of Britain to the Jew and the nations be kept." So now the whole question turns on Christian honour as well! It has thus already become evident, and British opinion makes no secret about it, that the prospects of an early settlement of the dispute are remote. Nor does it seem that the Government in Palestine which only follows the dictates of the British Cabinet would go by the decisions of the mediation offered by Nouri Pasha. As usual with their traditional colonial policy, the Government's attitude in the dispute was that it would not be deterred by acts of terror and violence which they would put down with all the force they can command, and have decided to appoint a Royal Commission to go fully into the grievances, as the phrase goes, of both Jews and Arabs. So soon as the general strike has been put down, that Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Peel, would go out to Palestine to make its investigation on the spot. Till then, British troops must be brought out-from home to put down the 'violence' of the Arab 'mobs.' The Arabs on their part hardly believe that anything to satisfy their demands would come out of the decisions of the Royal Commission. The lessons of history they seem to have learnt better than we have done. In the meanwhile the struggle continues, with its daily toll of life, including defenceless women and children.

As happens everywhere in such a struggle, the Arabs themselves have suffered most in life and property up to now. According to the latest official figures of the Government, the casualities were: From April 19, when the revolt broke out to August, 15, Killed: 205 of whom more than half, 125, were Arabs, 5 Christians, 58 Jews, 6 Arab police, 9 members of the British forces, and 2 British police. Amongst those wounded also, Arabs form the majority. The strike, one of whose leaders is Ragheb Bey Nash Ashabi, late Mayor of Jerusalem, has been more or less general through out the Arab community and mainly the urban population.

The three principal Arab demands formulated at the beginning of the strike at a general Palestinian Arab Congress convened at Jerusalem are:

1. The stoppage of Jewish immigration;
2. The prohibition of all sales of land to the Jews and
3. The constitution of a National Representative Government.

The first two demands would show at once that amongst the Arabs there is a fear of gradual submersion by the immigrant Jewish population. This fear is genuine, and will be appreciated when it is remembered that every year there is a continuous influx of Jewish population in the mandated area, and backed by the financial resources of the Jewish population of the entire world the Jews there are bidding fair to be the more dominating factor in political and economic life. The Arab fear, besides being economic to a certain extent, is therefore in the main political which has been accentuated by the recent Jewish outcry against the Arab majority of only one over Jews and Christians in the Palestine Parliament.

With the Arabs the struggle is one of political and economic existence; while with the Jews it is prompted by their hunger for land, a new element in Jewish psychology, originating in the aftermath of last Jew drive in Germany and the rising wave of anti-Semitism in most countries of Europe for years past.

* * * *

It is pertinent to ask ourselves how the Indian mind reacts against the situation in Palestine.

In July last a representative of a string of influential Jewish papers came to interview me in Prague where we had been holding the sixth convention of our Federation of Indian Students Abroad; in Budapest too we were approached by more than one Jew publicist and asked to give our opinion about the situation. Recently in Hague (Holland) and Brussels, I was asked by two groups of Jewish students to tell them how the situation is viewed by the youths of India. In Paris and Brussels, and also in London I had occasion to discuss the situation with young Arab students who seemed to have studied the situation with care and attention and to hold definite views about their own problems. I was thus given an opportunity to know both sides of the story, and those from young minds who hardly take any active part in the struggle. I need not conceal that I was a bit surprised to find that there was a genuine desire from both parties to know how young India thinks and feels about the life-and-death-struggle that they are waging in Palestine.

At the very outset it should be made clear that we in India have not caught the germs of the anti-Semitic epidemic that is sweeping Europe, and we young Indians are fundamentally in disagreement with the race-superiority theory. Nor do I believe, and my belief is

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based on impressions gathered from Arab youths, that the Arab feeling against the Jews has anything to do with this anti-Semitic frenzy which has pointedly been referred to in recent debates by British Ministers. One feels that here is the germ of mischief being sown in attributing to the Arabs a feeling that does not in reality exist.

Any student of current events knows that the reason, as I said, is mainly political. But when one goes deeper into the question, he finds that it is psychological, and the political demands are nothing but practical expressions of the psychological unrest. This requires a word of explanation. From the very outset the Mandate arrangement has been distasteful to the Arabs who, by their continued occupation of the country for well-nigh two thousands of years are the real inhabitants of Palestine to whose soil they are bound by material and spiritual ties; but, as happens with diplomatic treaties. and arrangements, the considerations of the people who were most affected by them were hardly ever taken into accounts. What started with distastefulness from the Arab point of view deepened into distrust when the Arabs learnt that Palestine was chosen to be made the National Home for the Jews in accordance with the Balfour declaration. The declaration was hailed with acclamation all over the European and American world, especially by the Jews themselves. But nobody paused to consider how it reacted on the minds of the Arabs themselves who scented in it a diplomatic game in which the Jews played a willing pawn to strengthen British control on the Mediterranean; for, the Jews themselves had everything to gain in such a game. They responded quickly and Jews from all over Eastern Europe, Russia and Poland flocked to Palestine where they have now a swarming and flourishing population threatening to submerge the sons of the soil, the Islamic Arabs, themselves. Here then is the political, and necessarily the economic, crux of the problem which is further complicated by the political and administrative disabilities the Arabs suffer under the mandated arrangements initiated by British authorities.

The other aspect of the problem lies deeper, but none the less important and significant. Rightly or wrongly, the Arabs feel that the Jews are threatening to destroy their own national life and culture which is essentially Oriental in outlook and temperament. The Jews themselves have long ceased to be orientals; hundreds of years of life in the various countries of the west have helped to change completely their outlook on life and society, politics and government, in fact on every aspect of human existence. They consider themselves as westerners, and in all matters of life they look to their brethren in the West, in Europe and America, for guidance and inspiration. Their faces are turned westwards to their kith and kin who are scattered all over the western world, and to other Christian peoples of the West, and this is but natural.

But it is equally natural that the Arabs who happen to have been living in Palestine for centuries would look upon this attitude of a new element thrust upon them against their will, with distrust and suspicion. They really feel that the Jews are a disruptive element in their national life; the growing national consciousness among the Arabs has realized that this disruptive and incongruous element is a positive hindrance to their national solidarity. They view with apprehension that the entire western world is backing up an element, so anti-national from their point of view, with all its political influence and financial resources. Not only do they not want to be politically and economically submerged by this new element, but they want also to build up their own national life, and before the structure is even strong on its foundations, a permanent wedge, they feel, has been driven into it. The national ideas and ideals of the Jews have very little in common with those of the Arabs, and it is therefore difficult for the nationally-conscious Arabs to fuse the two extremes into one homogeneous national life. Here then is the psycholigical factor of the problem.

If the problem has two facets, its remedy also naturally lies in two directions. If the Jews really want to make Palestine their National Home, in the truest sense of the term, they must cease to turn their face to their hitherto kins in western countries, and accept the Arabs, their neighbours, as their nearest friends and relatives with whom their material and spiritual welfare are intimately bound. They have to change their age-old national ideas and ideals and find out a common platform with the people amongst whom they have chosen to live. If they have turned to their National Home after one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six years, the Arabs have in the meanwhile made it their own home, they have lived and died here for centuries, and it is *their* home as well. Their national ideals must be respected and

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adhered to, and even accepted by those who have now come to share the home with them. The first solution therefore lies in a complete change of attitude on the part of the Jews.

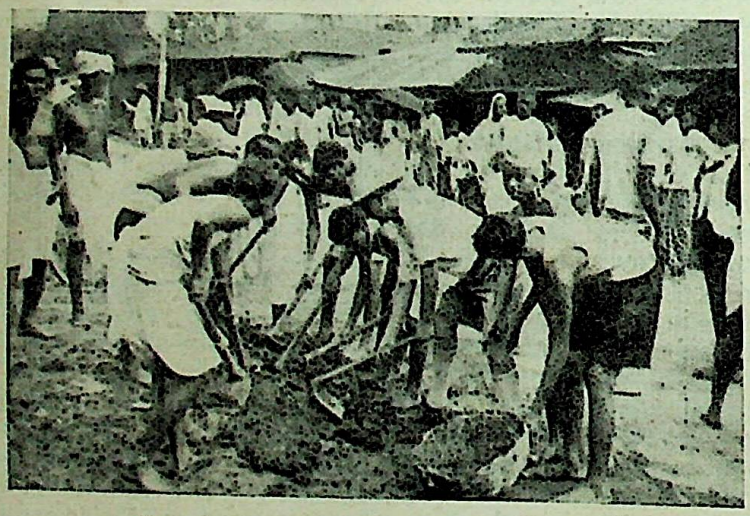
Politically, if any solution of the present struggle is really intended by those in authority, it must be sought for in the direction of satisfying at least the first two demands of the Arabs, namely, stoppage of Jewish immigration, and prohibition of further sales of land to Jews.

It has been suggested to divide the country into Jewish and Arab Cantons, more or less along Swiss lines, which will make it possible for Jewish settlement to continue in certain areas while purely Arab districts will remain closed to Jewish penetration. But this will, we think, only be avoiding the main issue of the struggle; such a course may help to bring the present conflict to an end, but only to be renewed with more bitter animosity after a few years or decades.

Leiden, 11th Sept., 1936.

THE BRATACHARI MOVEMENT IN INDIA

THE Bratachari movement originated in the soil of Bengal, but it has already spread outside this province. The Maharaja of Baroda is attempting to introduce it in his State, the Director of Education, Jodhpur, in Jodhpur State and the new Education Fellowship of Lahore, in the Punjab. At a recent Y.W.C.A. Conference held at Ootacamund teachers from all over India received initiation into the methods of the movement.



Bratacharis at Scavanging Work at Howrah. Mr. G. S. Dutt is seen here

Bratachari is by many people erroneously regarded as merely a movement for the practice of certain dances. Others regard it equally erroneously as merely a physical education movement. Bratachari is all-inclusive and all-integrating. It is a simultaneously physical, moral and spiritual discipline—a simultaneous enlivement and purification of the body, mind and spirit. It seeks to remove the unhealthy and unreal division of life in the modern world into compartments and fragments and the present divorce between religion, science, daily life, work and joy.

Dance is merely the outer body of Bratachari. It is its Bratas and Vows which constitute its inner soul. Bratachari dance is not a thing of display or amusement. It is a discipline for harmonizing body, mind and spirit, for generating joy and purposefulness in the individual, for welding a multitude of individuals into a living integrated unity and energising and enthusing them into the performance of individual and social duty and social service.

Although an Indian movement, it has already found distinguished adherents and admirers in Europe. Under the sponsorship of Sir Francis Younghusband, a Bratachari Society has been formed among English people in London. Bratachari was included as a subject for discussion in the World Congress of Faiths in London and in the World Congress for Leisure Time and Recreation at Hamburg. Bratachari dance was sought to be given an honoured place in the World Conference on New Education recently held at Cheltenham in England. The World Association for Adult Education in London has been

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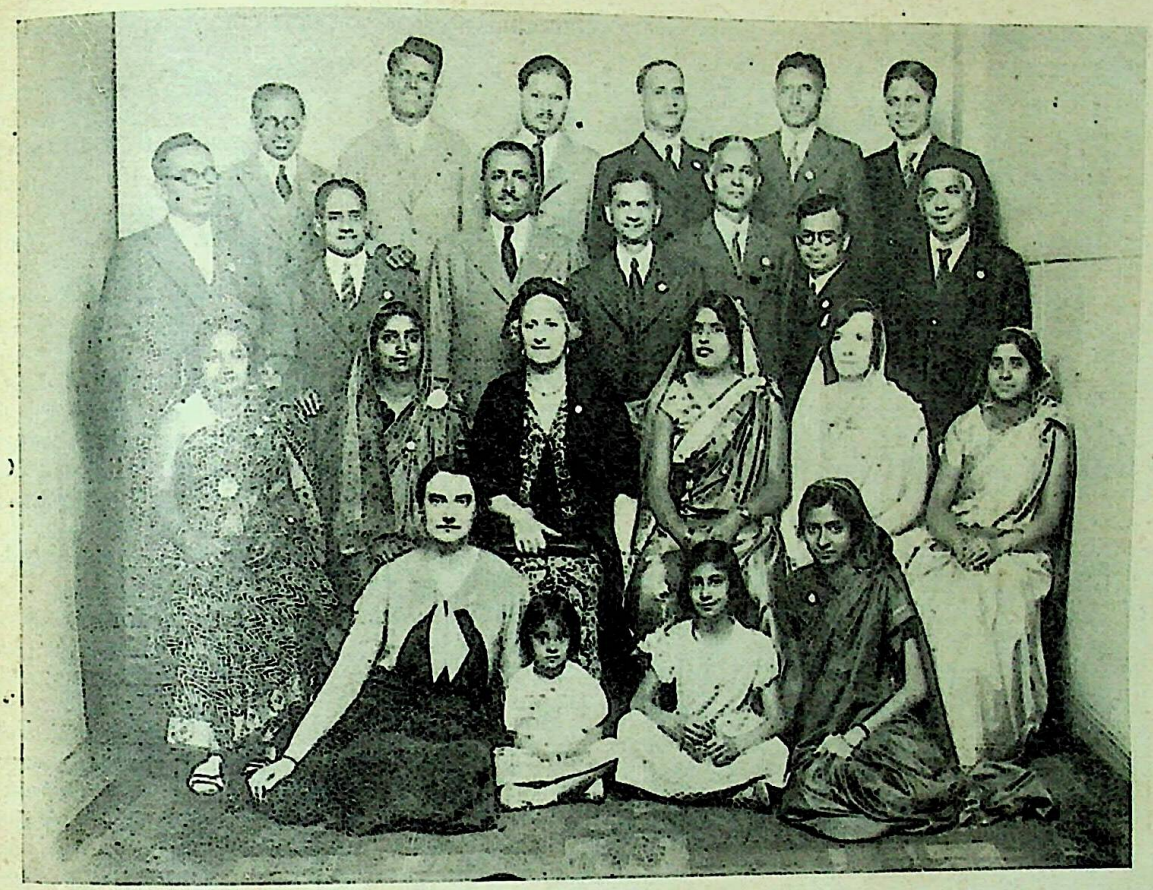

LONDON INDIAN BRATACHARI SOCIETY

Front Row—Miss Mary Churchill, Misses Bhattacharya, Miss Ayesha Roy.
Second Row.—Mrs. S. Bhattacharya, Mrs. N. Roy, Miss W. Wrench, Mrs. N. Lahiri, Mrs. D. Dutt, Mrs. K. Bhattacharya.
Third Row.—Dr. D. Dutt, Dr. K. Sitaram, Mr. S. Bhattacharya, Mr. G. S. Dutt, Mr. N. K. Roy, Mr. M. Dutt, Mr. K. Das Gupta.
Fourth Row.—Dr. K. C. Bhattacharya, Mr. A. Sinha, Mr. T. Roy, Mr. N. Lahiri, Mr. M. K. Sen, Mr. B. K. Bose.

advocating the introduction of the movement into several other countries.

The movement is unique in being simultaneously spiritual and practical in its aims and methods. Its roots spring from factors which are applicable to every age, clime, race and nationality, although in each country it has to be expressed in the language and in terms of the culture of that region. It makes an equal appeal to a child and to an octogenarian; to a Hindu, a Moslem and a Christian; to an Indian and a European. It furnishes every one with a complete philosophy of life and code of conduct and a simple, joyous and effective means of mutual integration and integration with the environment.

While standing for the furtherance of world fellowship, it aims at the preservation and promotion of the distinctive culture of each race and nation and for the building up of a national unity and integrity of each cultural area. It may therefore be described as a simple, practical and joyous system of personal Yoga, National Yoga and International Yoga.

It is a mistake to look upon Bratachari as a mere rival movement to Scouting or Guiding or as a concern merely of school boys and girls and unworthy of the serious consideration of grown-up, learned, worldlywise and important people of the modern scientific and industrial age.

Whatever may be your country, your sex, your race or religion,—whether you be a philosopher, statesman, soldier, civilian, freemason or Rotarian, you need Bratachari to make you whole and complete. It will, in the words of Rabindranath Tagore, generate in you joy of spirit, capacity for work, strength and vigour

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of character and personality and enthusiasm for social service. It will enable you to be an artist in the truest sense of the term and unfold to you the secret of the unity of life. It will reawaken the inner vitality of your life in every sphere—physical, mental and spiritual. It will make you sincere and unsophisticated.

The basic factors which give Bratachari its simultaneously personal, national and international character are its five Bratas of Knowledge, Labour, Truth, Unity and Joy, which furnish every one with an inclusive and integrated spiritual and practical ideal of the complete man in all spheres of life—physical, mental, moral and social, or in other words, the ideal of the complete citizen of the world.

Clearance of Water Hyacinth by Bratacharis of Biri Siri Mission House

It is at the same time an essential principle of the Bratachari creed that before one can be a complete citizen of the world, one must be a complete citizen of a particular regional unit. You cannot attain the complete ideal of the Cosmic Man or World Man unless you have achieved the ideal of a complete Regional Man. As the citizen of his or her particular regional or national unit, it is the Bratachari's duty to establish contact with and to seek self-expression primarily through its spiritual and cultural traditions and ideals. A Bratachari has, therefore, to take the two-fold vow to serve his or her particular regional or national unit as well as the world of humanity at large. He is taught to love and imbibe his own racial and national culture and at the same time to respect the culture of other races and nations.

The Movement seeks to create in *each* country a nation-wide discipline of common citizenship by developing a high standard of character and a special insistence on physical fitness, on the pursuit of constructive work by giving practical expression to the dignity of labour, and on the cultivation of a joyous community spirit through common participation in national dances and songs.

In Bengal the Movement, while preserving its ultimate aim of world fellowship and service, has primarily assumed the shape of a national movement for the development of an ideal and practice of the citizenship of Bengal and for integrating every Bengalee boy and girl, man and woman, with the culture of the land and with its traditions and its history, its indigenous dances and songs and its indigenous games. Although based primarily on the national culture of Bengal, from which it seeks its basic inspiration, it does not inculcate a narrow nationalism which can see no good in other people's culture. On the other hand, it is willing to assimilate all that is best in other people's culture.

It also offers a cordial welcome to people of other provinces and of other countries who are sojourning in Bengal, to join for the time being in this creed of service to this land and her people and thus become members of this regional fellowship of service and love.

The most distinguishing features of the movement are its transfusion of joy into every sphere of life and its insistence on rhythmic training. Even the vows are rhythmically recited. This is what gives its idealism an intensely practical form. The ideal of service fostered by the vows and songs finds a vigorous practical expression in organised social work, like clearance of jungles and of the water hyacinth pest, in village reconstruction work and in the giving aid to the sick and suffering.

The faculty of joyous rhythmic expression of the purpose and ideal of life is the birthright of man, which, more than anything else, distinguishes him from the lower animals. It is the sincere and rhythmic pursuit of a balanced ideal of life that alone can give him real joy, make him whole and integrate him inwardly with his own self and his fellows. This rhythmic faculty and this balanced ideal have been largely lost through the sophistications of modern life, with the result that the average modern man and woman are inwardly joyless, diseased and disintegrated. Their life has been divested of its inner harmony, unity and wholeness and divided into separate compartments in internal conflict with one another.

The wars and conflicts with which the world is being torn into fragments today is only the outer manifestation of a war within the heart and spirit of modern man, of a disintegration of the divine personality of man throughout the world.

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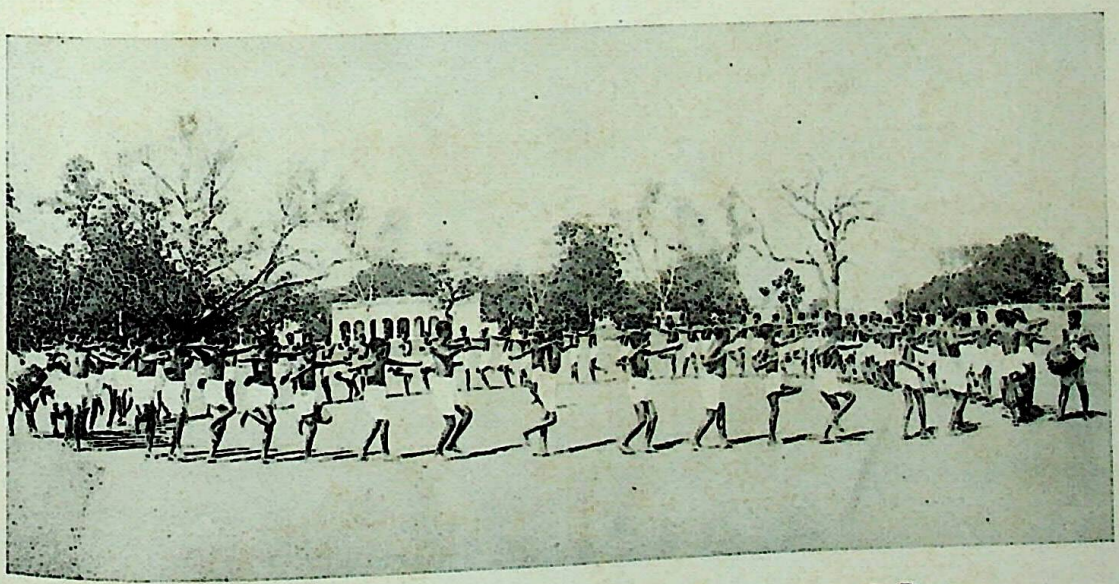

1. The *Kathi* (Stick) Dance 2. The *Baul* Dance 3. The *Raybenshe* Dance

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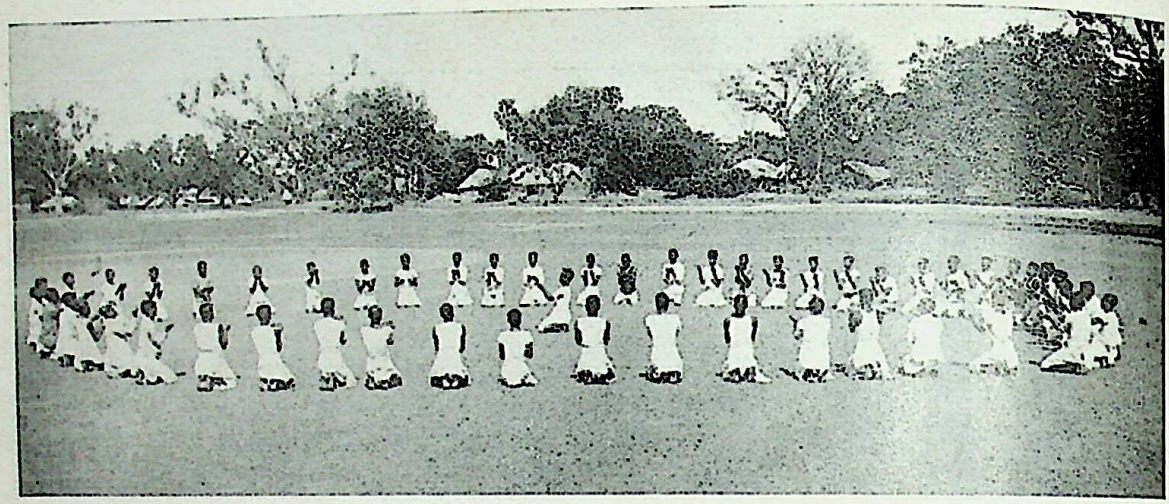

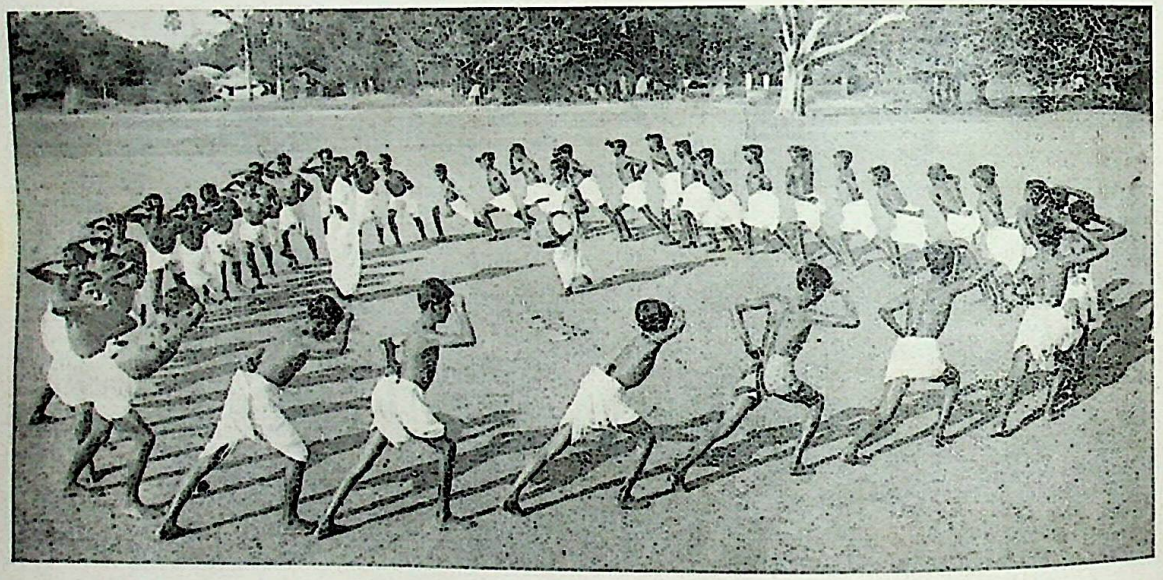

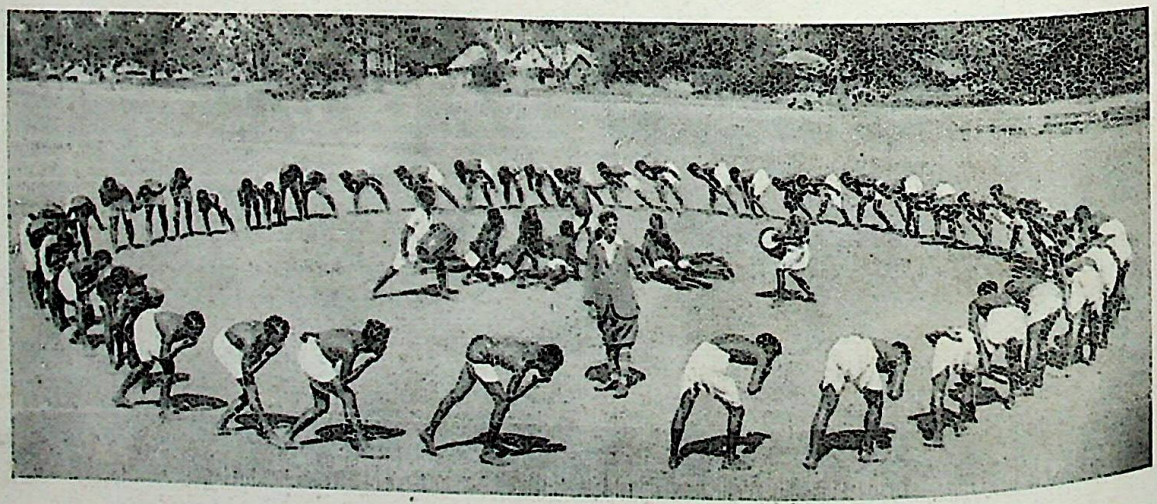

1. The Bratachari Prayer 2. The *Dhali* Dance 3. The *Raybenshe* Dance—Start

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It is the unifying discipline of joyous rhythmic training, with an inclusive spiritual and practical ideal consistent with the divinity of man, which is contained in the fivefold Bratachari Bratas, that can restore to man the integrity of his personality and free it from its internal war of which the wars in the outer world are a mere visible result and manifestation.

Cosmic man is a rhythmic being. We must restore to his life the wholeness of life's ideal and its rhythmic pursuit, individually and collectively. Otherwise mere Leagues, Pacts and Treaties will fail to remove his internal inhibition, disease and conflict and fail to integrate him and unify him with his fellows, either nationally or internationally.

Even Rotary with its admirable aims of world peace, fellowship and service will fail to do so, without the help of the rhythmic way of Bratachari; for the only real and lasting way to peace and fellowship is inner rhythmic accord. A mere cosmopolitan citizenship of the world and cosmopolitan ideals of world peace, fellowship and service are not enough. For the harmony of cosmic rhythm is impossible of realisation if you neglect the harmonious pursuit of regional rhythm, of the spiritual ideals of the region and of the rhythmic traditions of regional culture in the forms of regional art, language, literature, history, song and dance and of a regional citizenship adapted to the rhythm of regional life.

If, therefore, you would promote the cause of world fellowship and service, I would cordially invite all Rotarians, irrespective of your race, religion, nationality, while you are in the land of Bengal, not to despise her culture or be indifferent to it, but to become Bratacharis of Bengal and sincerely endeavour to integrate yourself to the people and to the culture of this land and we shall, in our turn, when we visit your lands, similarly enrol ourselves for the time being as Bratacharis of your respective lands and endeavour to integrate ourselves to your people and to your culture.

Bratachari will thus become the truly natural basis of that completely and harmoniously integrated Cultural League of Nations for which the world has been yearning and for which it cries aloud in its hour of sore need today.

Address delivered at the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on August 25, 1936 by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., Founder of the Bratachari movement.

INDIA AND PREPAREDNESS

In Sir Phillip Chetwode's discourse on the Defence of India, printed in the *Asiatic Review* of July last, we find the following statement:

"I have said nothing . . . . about coast defence, which is everyday becoming of more importance . . . The coast defence of India hardly exists. At the moment, *unless the British fleet would come to the assistance of India,* the coasts and ports and commerce of India, would be more or less at the mercy of raiders and mine laying submarines." (Italics ours).

As matters stand, its does not require any extraordinary knowledge of warfare, to gauge the possibility of the British fleet coming out to the Indian waters during the course of the next international strife. No nation is likely to venture in raiding Indian ports with *minelayers and submarines* unless there were sufficient trouble in Europe to keep the British fleet confined in its territorial waters, as during the last war. Even if it were not so preoccupied, the question of long distance communication via the Cape of Good Hope (the Suez Canal route will be very problematic) for supplies, reinforcement etc., will not be easy of solution. In any case the likelihood of the Sea-route to India being cut or rendered precarious by raiders is not very remote. In such an eventuality, the Defence of India will have to depend entirely on the resources available within the country.

Powerful independent countries, with great naval and military resources of their own, are preparing for the possibility of a blockade. So the problem of the Defence of India may be looked at from the same angle. It may be said with justification that it is no concern of ours, and that competent persons are in authority to provide for such exigencies.

It is true that we do not know anything of war. Such knowledge as we may have is derived from books and from newspaper accounts only—which at the best is very different from reality. Experience at first hand

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we have none, either with regard to armed forces or with armaments, nor is there any possibility of our having any in the near future—unless in the next war we are pitchforked willy-nilly into the maelstrom—excepting as passive onlookers.

It cannot be denied, however, by the most optimistic person that things are gradually shaping for another titanic struggle of nations and the course of events show that the track of the war-chariots may pass over India as much as over anywhere else. If that happens, it will be small consolation to us that we had no hand in the matter of defence, and therefore we consider that whether we are competent or not, it is incumbent on us to examine our position in case of war. The subject may not be "transferred" and "Indianization" may be a risky undertaking, but it cannot be denied that Indians have some interests to defend in India, although they may not be as vital as those that have been so elaborately "safeguarded" in the new Reforms.

After all, present-day warfare has a tendency to wipe out the demarcation lines between "Civil" and "Military." In a previous article we have shown how life and limb of the civilian is gradually getting within the zone of war-hazards. Then when we turn to the question of armaments, it is the civilian who has to provide, not only the "sinews of war," but almost all the materials that go towards the making of munitions. Industry, as organized during peace, forms the true index of the preparedness of a country during war. To judge this "preparedness" one has to consider the position of a country when it has become isolated from the rest of the world.

Let us then consider the position if the sea-route for the replenishment of war materials fail.

The present-day grading of the military strength of any nation is broadly based on their available resources of eight "great essentials," namely: Man-power, Factories, Coal, Iron-ore, Oil, Nitrates, Sulphur and Copper. Along with these a large supply of "strategic" raw materials, such as: Tin, Aluminium, Nickel, Chromium, Lead, Zinc, Tungsten Antimony, Manganese, Platinum, Mercury, Rubber, Cotton, Camphor, Cocoanut-shell, Silk, Hemp, Jute, Shellac, Sugar, Food-stuffs, Iodine, Quinine, Nux Vomica, Opium, Hides and Skins, Fats, etc., are also regarded as indispensible. All of these are required in various quantities to maintain the amenities of civilian life in peace time. But war upsets the balance and the relative importance of various materials changes so suddenly that unless the sources are amply under control and near-at-hand, crippling of military strength is a mere question of time, the resistance being measured by reserve stocks accumulated during peace time. It would be interesting to consider the position of India in this light, with due regard to sources of raw materials and the necessary equipment for the actual production of military supplies.

Man-power: For the purposes of this article, it may be taken as ample.

Factories: Sir Phillip Chetwode's article in the *Asiatic Review* tells us:

> "India now makes 90 per cent of the requirements of her armed forces, Guns, Shells, Machine guns, Rifles, Ammunition, Boots, Clothes, Saddlery, Harness, Vehicles and almost everything except Motor Cars and Planes, and these will come soon. Her Powder is made in the Nilgiris, Guns and Rifles in Cossipore, her S. A. A. in Poona, her Waggons in Jubbulpore, Saddlery and Blankets in Cawnpore."

It is very re-assuring to have such a statement from one so highly placed as an authority. Indeed one may be excused for dismissing this item in as brief a manner as the previous one. But is the position really so secure? So far as the factories for the manufacture of actual arms and ammunition are concerned, *we know nothing, are not supposed to know anything*, and as such have to accept anything told us with a good grace. Perhaps we may be excused if we feel an occasional twinge of doubt when we recollect the position of England in the first year of the great war, infinitely better equipped as pre-war England was, when compared with present-day India, as judged by industrial and factory equipment standards.

But leaving alone the State war-munitions factories, when we come to the question of factories that feed them, the industrial works that produce the ferrous and non-ferrous alloys, the chemical concerns that produce Glycerine, Toluene, Phenol, Aniline, Perchlorate, Oleum, Nitric Acid, Chlorine, Bromine and a whole host of complex organic and inorganic compounds, *without which the munitions factories would be brought to a standstill in no time*, where are they? The few chemical works that we do possess, are mere glorified dispensaries and perfumeries, dependant at every step on imported supplies. The great steel concern, that is the pride of civilian India of a certain class, is a very incomplete affair indeed, where war requirements of alloy steel are concerned, *judging by the Howrah Bridge contractor's replies*. Then again, where is the equipment for chemical warfare requirements, and for a hun-

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dred other specialized details of modern warfare? Is there a single adequate source of supply of non-ferrous metals and alloys in their myriad varieties? In short, the situation so far as factories are concerned may be summarized as "rudimentary," if not "primitive." The position as regards "strategic" materials is as follows:—

Coal: India has ample resources in this category, although due to lack of proper encouragement and aid from proper quarters, *coal* in India means crude fuel—not the fountain-head of organic chemistry.

Iron ore: Ample supplies exist in India, although most of it is economically unworkable due to the peculiar treatment of the transport question as practised in this country. Finance, Enterprise and Efficiency being incompatibles in India as yet, what sources of iron-ore are developed, cannot be said to be utilized to the fullest extent. One is afraid to mention the word "state-aid"—either as protection or as bounty—as it has not proved to be an unqualified blessing in majority of cases where it has been awarded.

Oil: Petroleum is available in large quantities in many places in India. But considering the quantities imported, and the outrageous prices charged—even allowing for the duty—the supply cannot be considered ample in any way.

Nitrates: The winning of Saltpetre from *Usar* and *Khari* earths is still practised in certain parts of India. Whether the supplies from those sources can be deemed sufficient by any stretch of imagination it is difficult to say. Of course, the greatest source of Nitrates—namely, the atmosphere—is present here, as anywhere else on the globe, but as yet this source has been well conserved in India.

Sulphur: This essential raw-material is totally imported. In most civilized countries sulphur recovery, in elementary or compound form has proved a very important source of supply, but we are as yet lagging very far behind.

Copper: Although there has been some copper mining activity of recent years, still all that can be said that under war conditions—where the economic question does not apply—this country may pull through, with the aid of the enormous reserves accumulated through ages, in the form of household requisites. Where non-ferrous alloys like phosphor bronze, gun metal, Admiralty brass, etc., are concerned, the question is rather more complicated. Smelting, rolling, annealing, etc., on a mass production scale require both equipment and skilled labour and administration, all requiring time and prolonged organisation to develop.

Aluminium: The position is peculiar. Bauxite, the basic mineral, is found in very large quantities, and the quality, though not superfine, is good enough to make metal winning a feasible proposition—at least Japanese research has solved a similar problem—provided the necessary conditions are provided. But the chances of such a venture are remote indeed, since India is the stamping ground for foreign monopoly concerns. So under the conditions under consideration, Aluminium supply will be one of the major problems.

Mica: There are sufficient supplies available.

Chrome ore: Large deposits in Mysore, Singhbhum and Baluchistan constitute our resources. But they are absolutely useless so far as the production of chromium is concerned, as there is no factory here which can produce it in any quantity when the emergency occurs. The same remarks apply to Manganese, Tin, and Tungsten, all three of which are available in ore form in fair quantity.

Nickel, Antimony, Platinum and Mercury: There are no known deposits of any consequence. Therefore these strategic materials present vulnerable points.

Lead and Zinc: There are ample deposits in Burma, but if the sea-route is cut those sources of supply would become very problematic indeed. Of course under extreme emergencies the air-route may help, as also may the primitive system of caravan transport. So far as communications are concerned, the separation of Burma presents no problems at all.

This completes the picture so far as the Mineral Kingdom is concerned. Coming to the vegetable section of the strategic materials, we find some scope for re-assurance. Food-stuffs, Cotton, Jute, Shellac, Sugar, Hemp are available in ample quantity and in the finished form. Even where the raw material for essential drugs, such as Quinine, Strychnine, Morphine, etc., are concerned, the position is not hopeless. Only camphor is not available, although it does happen to be an essential. Other essentials, such as Silk, Hides and Skins, Cocoanut-shells etc., need not cause any anxiety. But the position with regard to Rubber is doubtful again. Of raw materials there may not be plenty, but with stringent economy there may be a sufficiency, whereas of the finished products there

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does not seem to be much in evidence, if production inside India be considered.

To sum up, we find India singularly well-placed with regard to the supply of essential raw-materials. When we turn to the question of Key-Industries—equally essential, war or peace—we find an extraordinary state of unpreparedness. Perhaps the question of internal "safeguards" has over-shadowed that of external ones!

* * * *

Of course it may be said that the interruption of marine traffic between India and the West is a remote possibility, so very remote that it need not be seriously considered.

We frankly confess that we are not in a position to weigh that question on its proper merits. Nevertheless the money and energy spent on the development of the Singapore Base, as revealed in the British journals sometime back, must have had some such consideration behind it. Therefore we may be excused if we consider the position behind Singapore.

The rosy picture of an India that is now self-sufficient in the matter of armament and munitions supply, as painted by Sir Philip Chetwode, does not seem to be able to stand examination at close quarters. It is now agreed by experts of international standing that the finishing end of armament production, that is to say, the actual production of the munitions is the least important in any war of more than a very short duration. The most important is the primary aspect, that is, the supply of the basic materials used in making armaments. *And it is exactly here that the illusion of preparedness in India vanishes from the picture.* We have referred to the handicaps of Great Britain at the outbreak of War in 1914 earlier in this article, let us give a concrete example given by an authority.

When the Great War started in 1914 we found ourselves in Great Britain temporarily embarrassed for want of a small number of mineral substances that had previously been obtained quite freely through the Central Powers. I will give you two illustrations. We were accustomed before the War to rely on Austria for magnesite bricks to line our steel furnaces. That supply, of course, was cut off. And although we then seized the island of Euboea, and worked the magnesite deposits there under range of the naval guns—that was when Greece was still sitting on the fence—we could not for some time make satisfactory magnesite bricks. Well, it will take a metallurgical expert to estimate the kind of loss of efficiency that deficiencies of that kind meant. To give another example: although we worked the tungsten deposits of South Burma with British companies, the ore went to Germany before the War; and we relied on getting our supplies of tungsten metal from German metallurgists. We were compelled, therefore, when war broke out, regardless of expense, to learn the technology of tungsten-smelting on a large scale. It would not be difficult to show that even such temporary embarrassments regarding the supplies of mineral raw materials limited our efficiency, and, appalling to think of, possibly caused unnecessary losses, at any rate through 1914 and 1915. These two illustrations are very significant, because in the industry of steel smelting, Great Britain was then the leading country of the world as regards the quality and variety of high-class steel, and was also the third producer in quantity. So you can understand that the General Staff, if they ever thought of these things at all, might have been forgiven for relying with assurance at least on our steel industry. But that is only one mineral industry in which the results might easily have turned in a fatal direction.—*International Affairs* Sir Thomas Holland. *Mineral Sanctions.*

Compared to Great Britain in 1914, our present industrial equipment for the production of the primary materials for munitions and armaments is almost primitive. Therefore the Sea-routes being interrupted the position would be hopeless in a very short time.

K. N. C.

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Top: Civil guards and militia of the Government forces in action on the Guadarrema front
Bottom: Government troops sniping at the rebels from behind a sandbag barricade in San Sebastian

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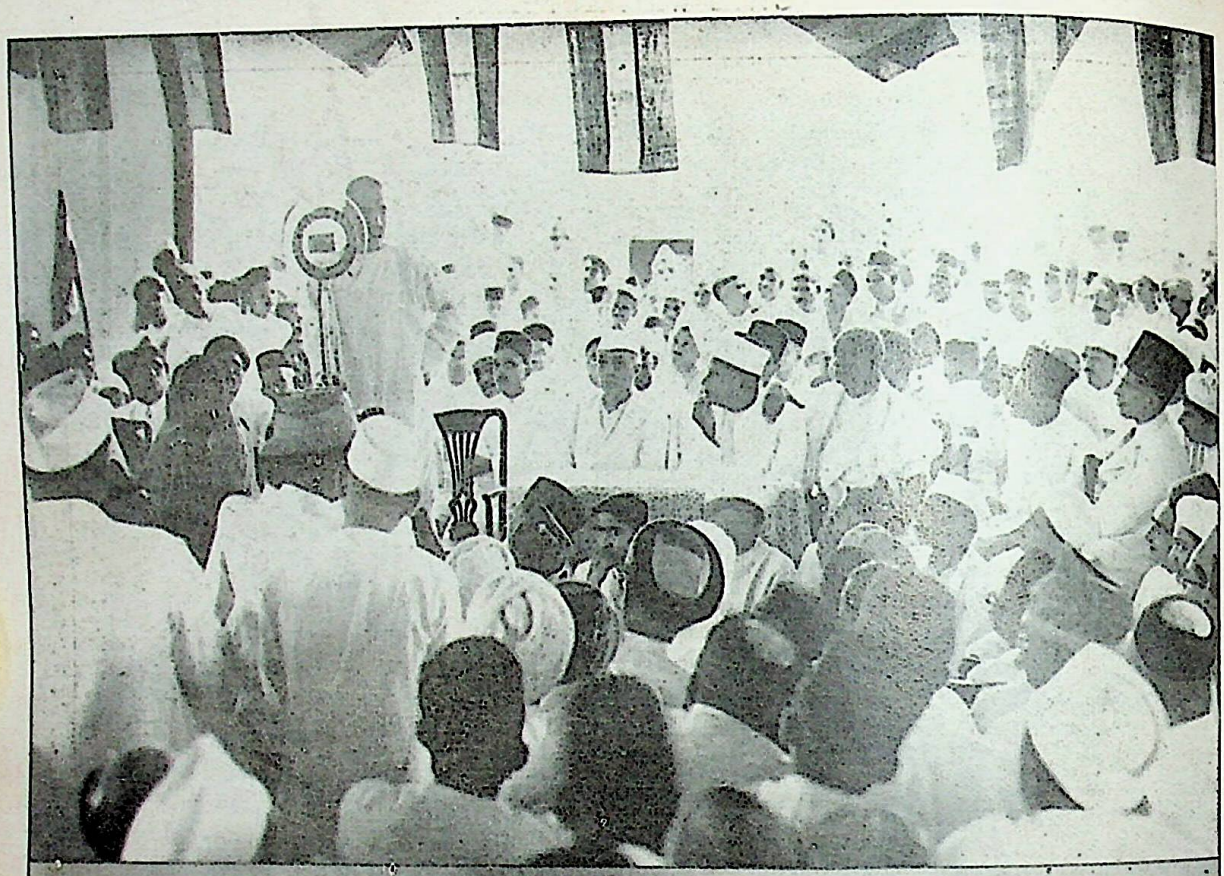

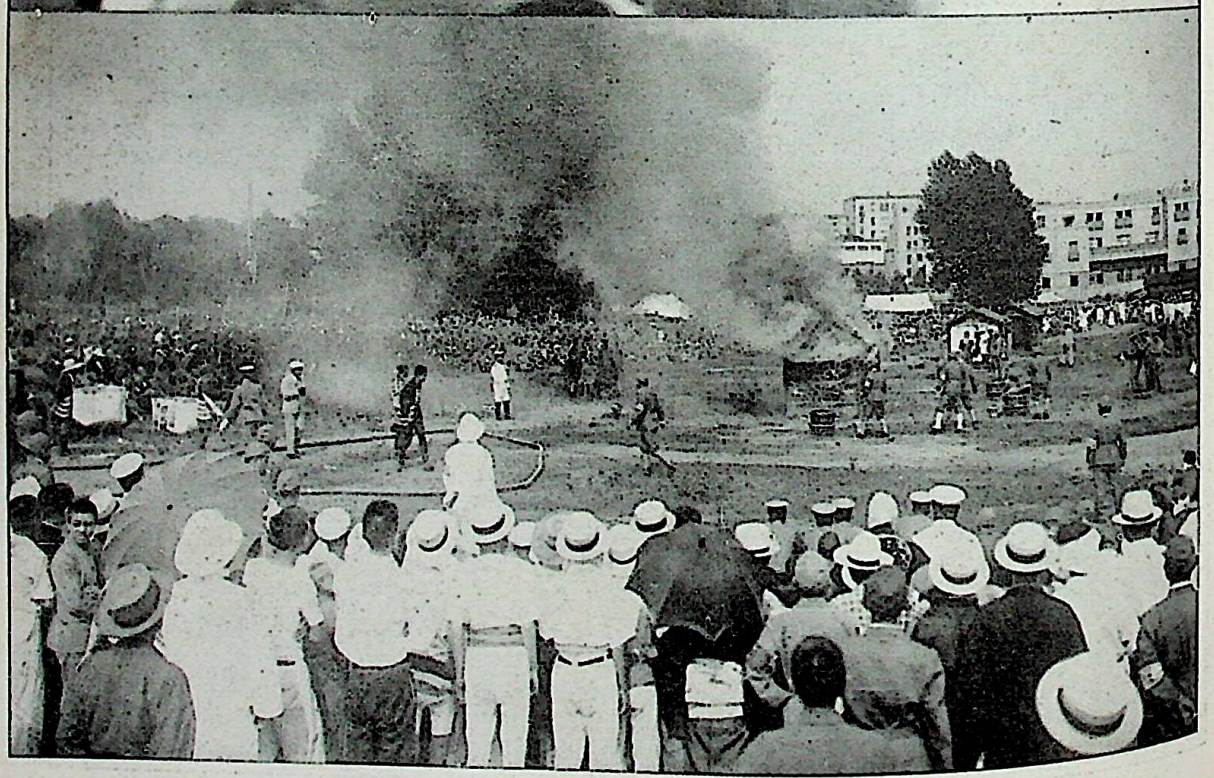

Top : Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders at a meeting of the Bombay Merchants : Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan replying to the address

Bottom : Air-defence manœuvres in Japan; Extinguishing a fire supposedly caused by incendiary bombs

[Other pictures of air-raid defence manœuvres in the next pages]

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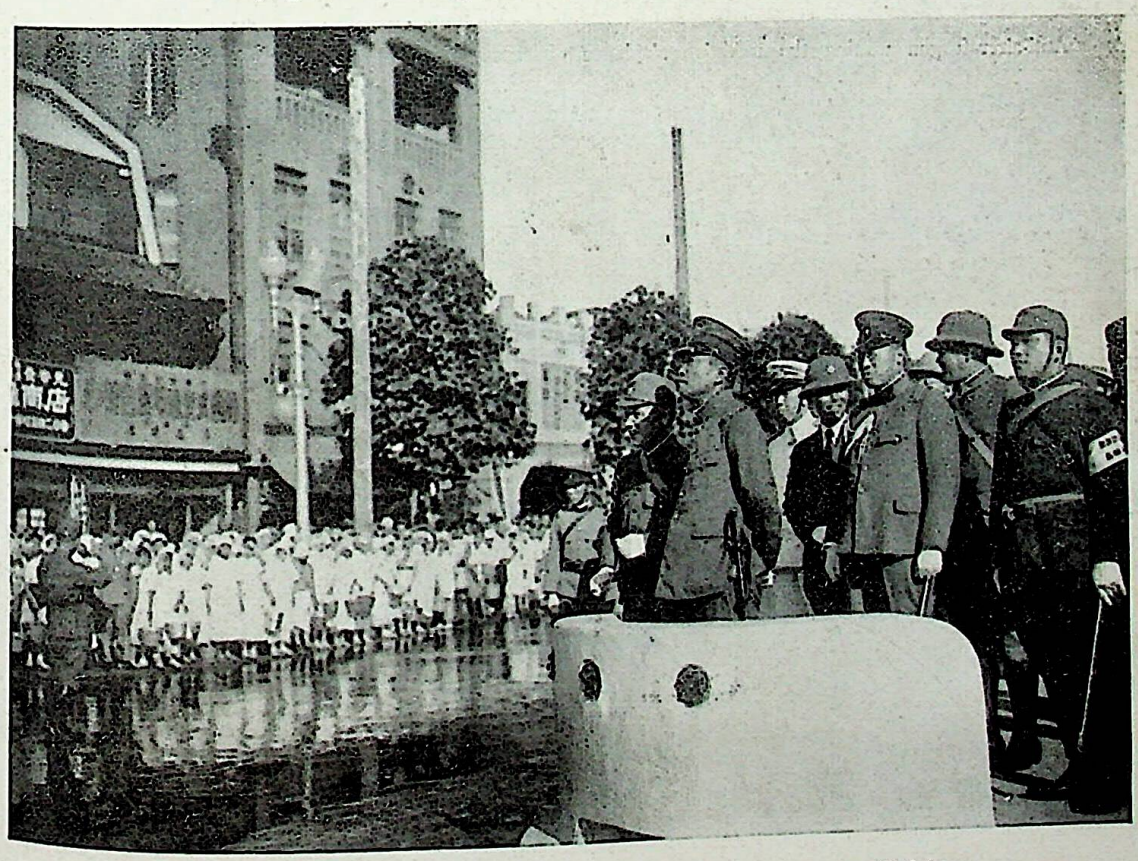
Even the Geisha of Yoshicho, Japan, were called out for training in air-defence manoeuvres. They are shown here carrying water to extinguish a blaze that an incendiary bomb would cause



Prince Higashikuni of Japan inspecting the citizens trained in air-raid defence

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Anti-aircraft gun waiting the imitative airplanes of enemy in front of the Imperial Palace

Harry Richman and Dick Merrill leave Wales for Croydon on the last lap of their Atlantic flight
Crowds Cheering the Atlantic flyers before the take-off at Llandovery

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WORLD-UNREST

Palestine

The position in Palestine may best be described as one of stalemate. Armed intervention by the Mandatory Power, with the imminence of the declaration of Martial Law, can at the best provide a temporary lull in the very disturbed state of affairs now obtaining. But the real solution is as far off as ever—at least so it seems to the onlooker—unless advantage be taken of this forced peace to let the disputants arrive at a solution through direct negotiation with each other. The psychological root of the troubles is mutual distrust, as is amply shown by the following extracts from the the speeches of two spokesmen of either party, as published in the September-October issue of *International Affairs*.

Speaking for the Jewish interests before The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Dr. Chaim Weizmann said :

Let us consider for a moment the two essentials which induced British statesmen to recognize the claim of the Jewish people to the establishment of a national home in Palestine. I think that what played the greatest part in the framing of this policy was the recognition that the Jews have always hoped—it was an article of faith for religious and even for non-religious Jews—that a day might come when they would be allowed to return to the land of their ancestors. They have never given up this claim. They prayed for it. They fasted for it. And events have proved that it was not merely a romantic attachment on the part of a dispossessed people to a country of which they were deprived two thousand years ago. As soon as the slightest chance was given to the people to come back and begin work here, these hopes and these sentiments released an enormous energy, which has been transformed into actual performance. People who were town-dwellers began to till an ungrateful soil. A language which has been derelict to all intents and purposes has been revived, and has produced a modern literature, and a newspaper press, equal to those of any small country. Towns have sprung up, universities, schools, shops, a whole life, simply as a result of these sentiments which, stored up for thousands of years, had found a possibility of expression.

The Jews have had opportunities of settling in other countries. As far back as 1904, the British Government, under the ægis of the late Joseph Chamberlain, offered the Jews a strip of territory in what was then Uganda, now Kenya, of, I think, about eight thousand square miles in area—not very much less, that is to say, than modern Palestine, which has ten thousand square miles. It was at a time of very severe crisis in Jewish life; pogroms swept over those parts of the world where great Jewish masses were living. When this offer was brought before the Zionist Assembly (an offer of a territory which was then empty—there were no difficulties there), the Jews refused it, saying only that it was not Palestine, and that a day might come when this same great Government might find it possible to help the Jews to go back to Palestine itself. This prophecy of feeling and sentiment was fulfilled in 1917.

So what the Jews wanted was not an outlet for their powers of colonization or development, they wanted a country—more specifically, they wanted Palestine.

The right to establish a Jewish national home in Palestine was qualified by the condition, also embodied in the Mandate, that nothing should be done which in the process of the up-building of the national home would interfere with the rights and the position of the populations which already existed in Palestine, that is to say the Arab population and the Christian population. It will be interesting to see whether this second half of the Balfour Declaration has been adhered to—how it actually works, and whether there is a conflict, as is sometimes suggested, between the first half, the Mandate to establish a Jewish national home in Palestine, and the second half, the preservation and protection of the interests of the Arab population.

I should like to state that not only has nothing happened in Palestine during the years we have been working there since the War which might impair the position of the Arabs, but, paradoxical as it may seem to some who are not fully acquainted with the position in Palestine, never has the Arab been rooted so firmly in the soil of Palestine as he is to-day.

The total citrus area in the hands of the Arabs has grown from twenty thousands *dounams* immediately after the War to a hundred and thirty thousand to-day. Now that is an increase of over a hundred thousand, and as each *dounam* of citrus represents an investment, even for Arab standards, of approximately fifty pounds, the increase of the actual wealth of the landed property of the Arabs in a comparatively short time is obvious.

There is a legend that we have ousted Arabs from the land in the course of our work. Well, I have spoken of the increase of Arab population, but the official figures of the Palestine Government, which were tested and should be believed, indicate that, perhaps as a result of our colonisation, six hundred Arab families have left their previous holdings. They were offered new land, but very few of them availed themselves of this offer.

I think I have said enough about the present position of the Arabs to indicate that they have certainly come to no harm, but that their position has improved greatly.

To-day the Arab demands can be summed up in three lines : stop Jewish immigration; stop the sale of land; and a National Government. Crystallise the National Home! Those three hundred and fifty thousand Jews I referred to cannot be pushed into the Mediterranean, and therefore they must stay where they are. They may possibly be dealt with piecemeal later on, but there must be no further development. The Arabs would then be satisfied.

Everything that is going on in Palestine to-day is on the pattern of that which is going on in Egypt (or that which was going on only a few months ago), and also going on in Syria. The same demands, the same formulas are being applied. In Palestine, I admit, we

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are an additional pretext, and the Jews are always a convenient pretext. Therefore the position is somewhat more acute. But I think, in justice and in fairness to the Arabs, it should be said that there is one element which makes the situation dangerous. It is an element of fear. If you talk with a reasonable Arab, he will tell you that it is all right, what you say is perfectly true. The Arabs have not suffered; on the contrary. But what will happen to-morrow? And it is the usual, almost Biblical, Pharaonic fear, lest the Jews become too numerous. What will happen when we become the majority? There is the usual talk about the Jew, powerful, with all his international connections, unlimited quantities of money, sweeping on to Palestine. Here are the Arabs, a poor people, who will be pushed into the desert. It will be the end. And therefore they will stop us when they can. Now they still can. If they make themselves sufficiently unpleasant in Palestine, and throw bombs, the British will think twice, and the Jews will be stopped.

In this element of fear—and it is very difficult to reason with people who are frightened—there is a reality with which one has to reckon, and it is our duty to allay the fears of the Arabs, in our activities and in our relationships with them. It is our duty to point out that if the development of Palestine goes on as it has done up to the present, not only will the Arabs not become weaker, but they will become stronger than they have been hitherto. And they will see that we have no desire to oust them, as we have proved by our activities. And we consider, and we repeat it, that Palestine is a country common to Jews and Arabs; both parts of the population are destined to build up a common fatherland. It is difficult to think in these terms to-day, but in spite of the acuteness of the momentary difficulties there is much more cooperation beneath the surface between Jews and Arabs than people are likely to believe. And I believe that when the Arabs realise that they cannot throw the Jews into the Mediterranean, then they will, just as we are anxious to do, sit round a table and try to work out, on the basis of the actual possibilities of the country, a *modus vivendi*.

In the discussion that followed the lecture, Mr. Rennie Smith's remarks contained the following statement:

He (Mr. Smith) had been to Palestine recently, and had tried to find out whether the cooperation between Jews and Arabs had increased during the last five years. He thought that if there were a growing tolerance among the Arabs he would certainly find it among the Christian Arabs there. But, on the whole, he had come away much more depressed than he had done five years ago. The conflict between the Jews and the Arabs, not on grounds of terrorism, as superficially suggested by Sir Norman and Jewish propaganda, but on grounds of deeply-seated principle, not rational, but irrational, seemed to be aggravated; and no one looking the facts in the face could doubt that that conflict would grow in intensity during the next few years.

The important factor was Arab psychology. No one would wish to dispute the economic facts mentioned by Dr. Weizmann, but they simply did not count in Arab history. This was not a rational age. The whole of Europe rested on principles that were on the whole irrational. It was the same with the Arabs. Their case was quite simple. They had looked to the British as their protectors. They had fought under Colonel Lawrence in the hope that they were going to be emancipated; instead of that they had been handed the present situation, which was unforgivable.

An Arab view of the situation was presented before to the same Institute by Mr. Emile Ghory. We give the following extracts from his address from the same issue of *International Affairs*.

The present situation in Palestine is the direct result of the Arab opposition to the Balfour Declaration, and to the Mandate embodying that declaration. Not only do we oppose the Balfour Declaration because it is contrary to the natural rights of our country, not only because it is contrary to our natural life, but also because it is contrary to promises and international obligations which we believe to be as sacred as any international obligation which the people of Great Britain have always claimed to protect.

Great Britain, through its Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, promised the Arabs in a letter addressed to Sherif Hussein, the late Prince of Mecca, and dated October 24th, 1915, that the British Government would recognize and support the independence of the Arab countries, bounded on the north by Adana and Mersina, on the east by the frontiers of Persia up to the Persian Gulf, on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the west by the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea up to Mersina, subject to certain provisions, as follows: that the portions of Syria lying to the west of the district of Damascus—Homs, Hama and Aleppo—with the district of Mersina and Alexandretta, which cannot be said to be purely Arab and in which France has certain interests, should be excluded from the limits and boundaries mentioned in the letter, and that Aden should also be excluded. I lay the stress upon "portions of Syria."

Zionists and their supporters have repeatedly tried to assert that Palestine was also excluded from the McMahon-Hussein Treaty. But Palestine was not excluded. In 1915, 93 per cent of the population was Arab, and one could, therefore, very safely say that it was an Arab country. Palestine does not lie to the west of Damascus, it lies to the south, and France never had any interest in Palestine. France had her interests in Lebanon, and these she has asserted since 1860. If Sir Henry McMahon had meant to except Palestine, he would have mentioned it by name. He excepted Aden because the British had interests there.

Jerusalem fell into the hands of the British army under the late Lord Allenby in December 1917. Aleppo fell into the hands of the Anglo-Arab army at the end of 1918. But during that year, the Arabs had heard of the Balfour Declaration, the Sykes-Picot agreement and other secret treaties between the Allies. They were afraid; and to allay their fears, an Anglo-French joint declaration was made public on November 7th, 1918, of which the following is an extract:

"The object aimed at by France and Great Britain in prosecuting in the East the war let loose by German ambition is the complete and definite emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of national governments and administrations, deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations."

But still some of the Zionist leaders said there were no promises made to the Arabs. On September 19th, 1919, the Arabs heard the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, say at a Conference at Downing Street that the Arabs had redeemed the pledges they had given to Great Britain, and Great Britain would redeem the pledges she had given to them. The Prime Minister himself acknowledged those promises. Further, on June 14th, 1921, the Secretary of State for the Colonies stated in

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the House of Commons that "in order to gain the support of the Arabs against the Turks, we, in common with our Allies, made during the War a series of promises to the Arabs for the reconstruction of the Arab nation."

In spite of all this, the Balfour Declaration was regarded by Great Britain as a sacred instrument. As I have pointed out the Declaration is not only contradictory to promises given to the Arabs, but it is contradictory to international promises and instruments. Firstly, the twelfth of the Fourteen Points of President Wilson, which were one of the basic elements which terminated the War, referred to Arab autonomy.

Secondly, the Balfour Declaration is contrary to several articles of the League of Nations Covenant which is really the authority from which the theory of the Mandate itself is derived. Article 20 says that:

"In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations."

The Balfour Declaration, which deprives a nation of its right to self-government and of its right to live, is inconsistent with the spirit of the League of Nations, and should, therefore, be annulled.

So, as we can well see the Arabs want annulment of the Balfour Declaration. Mr. Ghory goes on to point out the contradictions and irregularities that finally culminated with the fulfilment of the Balfour Declaration—in so far as the Jews were concerned—and the taking up of the Mandate by Great Britain, although the Arabs wanted the U. S. A. to be the mandatory power in charge. Further there are complaints as regards the administration by the Mandatory Power.

The essential idea of the Mandate is that there should be two parties, a guardian and a minor; the guardian is to teach, and the minor to be taught. France has a Mandate over Syria, but the Syrian Government is a national government from the highest to the lowest official, officially guarded and educated by France. France thought, or was forced to think, that her duty was at an end, and Syria will therefore soon become an independent State. The British Government has applied the spirit of the Mandate in two cases, but has failed to do so in the third. Iraq was given to Great Britain as a Mandate, but in 1932 it became an independent State and is now a member of the League. Great Britain also carried out the spirit of the Mandate in Trans-Jordan, which is populated by about three hundred thousand Arabs, who are not more advanced than the Palestine Arabs, perhaps less advanced; they have a semi-independent government with the British Government there as a guardian to educate the "minor" until the time when it can stand by itself, in accordance with the theory of the Mandate.

Finally the source of the present troubles is revealed. The Arab has an idea that he is being discriminated against and that his position is growing more and more hopeless.

I will give a few examples. There are immigration laws in Palestine, and all Jews, whoever they are and wherever they come from, who meet the requirements of the immigration laws are admitted to Palestine. Arabs who more than meet those requirements are not allowed into Palestine. Not only that. Forty thousand Arabs from Palestine have migrated to the United States, to South America and to other parts of the world. In Palestine they have property, in Palestine they are bound by ties of religion to their holy places, whether Moslem or Christian, and yet they are not allowed to return to Palestine.

In Palestine the Arabs, who are the majority, are not allowed to sing their national anthem in the streets. They are not allowed to carry the Arab flag (although of course they do it especially during these hard days). But the Jews are allowed to hoist their flag next to the Union Jack, and they are allowed to play their national anthem. The High Commissioner and all the Government officials stand up for the "Hatikvah"—the Jewish National Anthem—as if it were "God save the King."

I do not want to dwell any longer upon these several phases of discrimination in Palestine. All that I have said is only one phase of the Arab disappointment in Palestine. The Arab sees that day by day he is being driven into the position of a minority, and perhaps into a situation where he could be easily ousted from the country. Jewish immigration, which was on the average of eight thousand a year between 1922 and 1930, was held, by British experts and British commissions, to be in excess of the absorbing capacity of the country. Since 1932, the average number of Jewish immigrants is fifty thousand legal immigrants, besides the illegal ones, whose numbers are unknown. But the High Commissioner himself said in 1933 that in his opinion illicit immigration was not much less than legal immigration.

We have seen the Jewish point of view and that of the Arab. In the discussion that followed, Mr. J. Harvey presented another aspect of the matter:

Another point was that in the event of any future war Great Britain was going to depend very largely on a supply of oil for the Navy, Air Force and so on. The oil which existed in the countries under discussion was not under entirely British control. There were many miles of pipe-line coming across Iraq, which were not in British hands at all. There was also oil in the South of Palestine within a hundred miles of the Mediterranean and easy reach of the Red Sea, thus avoiding use of the Suez Canal, which, if it were in British hands as it should be, would render Great Britain independent of the eight or nine hundred miles of pipe-line which could be blown up by any marauding Arab, or Jew or anyone else. But there had been a great many difficulties put in the way of the British obtaining these rights. Again, if the British bayonets were not in Palestine the Jews would be either killed or thrown into the Mediterranean. Great Britain had an Imperial heritage which she must keep intact for future generations.

SPAIN

News from Spain still carry an impression of unreality about them. What one finds is that with the exception of M. Blum's party in France the rest of the world is sitting on the fence—when not actively helping the insurgents. Indeed the confusion of terms between "Reds" "Loyalists" "Rebels" "Communists" etc. has bewildered readers all over the world. *The Literary Digest* of August 29, has been obliged

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to add an explanatory note to clear up the confusing vocabulary :

In a broad sense, the civil war is a rebellion of regular army officers acting for conservative political groups which were defeated in last February's elections. These officers are in revolt against the Popular Front Government.

Meanwhile, the Catalonian Government, already semiautonomous, has socialized all land and industry *a la* Soviet, and moved to secede completely from the Madrid Government, while continuing its war against the army Rebels.

At the outset, it became clear that the plot had been carefully prepared by Gen. Francisco Franco, who immediately became the Rebels' Commander-in-Chief; Gen. Emilio Mola, Rebel Commander in the North; Gen. Miguel Cabanellas, President of the Rebels' Provisional Government, and Gen. Gonzalo Quiepo de Llano, Rebel Commander in the South.

Government

Variously referred to as Loyalists, Reds and Leftists. President of the Spanish Republic is Manuel Azana, head of the Popular Front Government formed last February through a coalition of the following parties :

1. Center :
   - (*a*) Radical Party; favors Republican regime and co-operation with Right Parties.
   - (*b*) Conservative Republican Party; Catholic and conservative.
   - (*c*) Independents.
2. Left :
   - (*a*) Socialist Party; favors confiscation of landed estates and socialization of production; anti-clerical and antiroyalist; leaders : Francisco Largo Caballero (extremist) and Indalecio Prieto (moderate).
   - (*b*) Radical Democratic Party; favors complete separation of Church and State, free public schools, evolutionary improvement of peasants' and workers' living conditions by legal process.
   - (*c*) Catalonian Left Party; favors radical, social economic and political reforms and regional autonomy.
   - (*d*) Communist Party; Soviet-minded, bitterly anticlerical, favors State ownership of all industries.
   - (*e*) Anarcho-Syndicalists; belligerent labor group which flouts constitutional methods and demands local autonomy everywhere.

Civil Guard : Mobile constabulary recruited from he army; formerly loyal to Government, but now divided between Rebels and Loyalists; actual strength 22,000, of whom 5,000 are mounted.

Army : About 160,000 effectives, mostly deserted to Rebels.

Marxist or Workers' Militia : Emergency male and female volunteers mustered by Socialist, Communist and Anarcho-Syndicalist leaders.

Red Carmens : Militiawomen taking active part in front-line fighting.

Assault Guard : Shock police troops numbering 17,000, mostly with Rebels.

Rebels

Loosely termed Whites, Monarchists and Fascists, they are supporters of the Rightist Popular Action bloc formed last February to offset the Leftist coalition of the Popular Front, and embracing the Royalists, Clericals and Fascists.

In general, they are opposed to rapid social, political or economic reforms, altho, with the exception of the Royalists, they have become reconciled to Spain's Republican form of government. They are supported by at least nine Parties, including :

- (*a*) Renovacion Espanola; royalist reactionaries led by Jose Calvo Sotelo, whose assassination on July 13 precipitated the civil war.
- (*b*) Falange Espanola; led by Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the former dictator and now in a Madrid jail. They are strongly Fascist, reactionary and proclerical, bitter haters of Communists.
- (*c*) Agrarian Populist Party; Catholic Nationalists, whose leader, Jose Maria Gil Robles, fled the country at the outbreak of the insurrection.
- (*d*) Traditionalist Party; Monarchists opposed to Alfonso's return; intensely Catholic and conservative.

Beyond Parties, but included in General Mola's rebel forces of the North, are the Carlists, red-bereted peasant militia from Navarre (of which Pamplona is the Capital) numbering approximately 20,000; devoutly Catholic, bent on restoring monarchical government, but with descendants of Don Carlos—*i.e.*, the "legitimist" branch of the former ruling house.

Foreign Legion : Organized in 1920 and patterned after the French body. It counts 6,000 men and officers of Spanish and other nationalities.

Moroccan Regulars, or Moors : Stationed in Spanish Morocco, now in complete Rebel control; number about 35,000, of whom 10,000 are native Arabic-speaking Moors. Also included in Rebel control are the Balearic Islands, in the Mediterranean; and the Canary Islands, off the west coast of Africa in the Atlantic Ocean.

M. Blum's strenuous efforts at neutrality evidently came to an end last month, when 18 French planes were delivered to the Government forces at Barcelona. The Spanish Government is probably receiving supplies from outside as the latest news indicate that the rebels are being held. Earlier this month the rebel successes of last month seemed to indicate that the constituted Government of Spain was on its last legs. Foreign papers vehemently accuse British complacence as being responsible for the open aid given to the Rebels by Italy and Germany by indirect methods. *The New Statesman* of London openly accuses the British Government of allowing M. Blum's attempts to be nullified through its unilateral action.

The issue is still very much in doubt. It is not very likely that this attempt at converting the Mediterranean into a Fascist Lake—thereby completely isolating France—will be given up without further attempt. Latest news show that the stamina of the Rebel troops is still fairly high and although mercenary troops like the Moors may be discontented, there is every likelihood of the struggle being prolonged.

In the meantime interest in the rebellion is running high in France itself, rendering M. Blum's task an extremely difficult one.

K. N. C.

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NOTES

Reverend Jabez Thomas Sunderland

Born in Yorkshire, England, on February 11, 1842, the Reverend Doctor Jabez Thomas Sunderland, M.A., D.D., passed out of this world on the 13th August last in his 95th year in the home, at Ann Arbor, Michigan, U. S. A., of his son Professor Edson R. Sunderland of the University of Michigan.

There was no greater friend of India in any foreign country than Dr. Sunderland. No foreigner loved India more or worked more incessantly for her good, till his last days, than he. By his death India has sustained an irreparable loss. The loss to the cause of world freedom and world peace is equally great. We cannot adequately express our own personal loss.

We first made his acquaintance at Allahabad in 1895. The editor of this Review was at that time principal of Kayastha Pathshala. Dr. Sunderland stayed for a few days at Laurie's Hotel in South Road, near the E. I. R. station. We still remember the eloquence and vigour with which he delivered a lecture at the old Kayastha Pathshala hall.

During his visit in 1895, he took a prominent part in the session of the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Social Conference and other organizations. During that visit he addressed the Indian National Congress at Poona on the subject of education in a speech of uncommon excellence.

His second and last visit to India was in 1913-14, when he came here as Billings Lecturer, and when he presided over the All-India Theistic Conference. As Billings lecturer he visited Japan, China, Ceylon and the Philippines also.

During his last visit to Calcutta he was the guest, with his daughter Florance, since deceased, of Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose. He kept up very close relations with the Brahmo Samaj. It was at his suggestion that the Unitarians of England instituted a scholarship tenable at Manchester College, Oxford, to enable Brahmo young men to receive training for religious work.

His religious views were most liberal and free from the least tinge of sectarian bigotry and narrowness. He could appreciate the truth and the good that there are in all religions and in the position of scientists like Darwin and Tyndall.

Though as a minister of religion he was deeply interested in religious questions, the range of his interests was very wide. His essays on authors and their books, including scientists and their works, are remarkable for their breadth of view and power of appreciation. His thirst for knowledge was insatiable. Till the last, he was always learning. Even while his book on *Evolution and Religion* was going through the press, he wrote to the editor of this Review to include a reference to a new discovery in geology and anthropology relating to the antiquity of man.

Owing to the banning of "India in Bondage", he is best known in India as the author of that book.

The Tribune writes :—

> The death of such a man is, indeed, a terrible loss to India at a time when a systematic campaign of vilification and calumny is being carried on against her in all foreign countries and nowhere more energetically than in America.

If anything appeared in any American paper which was calculated to damage the cause of India's freedom and if it caught Dr. Sunderland's eye, he was sure to try to undo the mischief by placing before its readers true facts and irrefutable arguments. That was not the least of his services to India.

We have noticed some incorrect statements made by some editors in their obituaries of Dr. Sunderland and by some speakers at Sunderland memorial meetings in India relating

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to the banning of that book. It has been said that it was banned as soon as it was published. That is not true. Most of the chapters of that book appeared in this Review and their publication took about two years. It was not objected to. When the book was published, the first edition was sold without any objection. It was after a few hundred copies of the second edition had been sold that the publishers were prosecuted. The book was banned after the conviction of the publishers.

Two other wrong statements may also be corrected here. It has been said that Dr. Sunderland was long connected with a Christian mission in Bengal. The fact is, he was never connected with any Christian mission in any part of India. In fact, he was not a missionary anywhere. He was a Unitarian minister of many churches in America, Canada and England.

Another wrong statement is that "Dr. Sunderland's interest in Indian affairs was roused by Lala Lajput Rai and *since then* Dr. Sunderland took the keenest interest in India till the end." The fact is, Dr. Sunderland's interest in India began at least two decades before Lala Lajput Rai met him in America. He, Dr. Sunderland, began to write on Indian affairs in 1896, after returning from his Indian visit. Of course, this is not to say that the meeting of the American friend of India and the Indian patriot did not have a mutually stimulating effect.

Of the tributes paid in India to Dr. Sunderland not the least noteworthy are those from those who had the privilege of knowing him personally. Two such are published elsewhere. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, presiding over a great public meeting held at Bombay in honour of his memory, said, in part:

> Dr. J. T. Sunderland might be only a name to most people, but there were a few thousands in this country, who owed a deep debt of gratitude to him, for the assistance he had rendered them, when they approached him in America.
>
> If people had not heard about this wise man ripe with experience and knowledge, that did not affect his greatness. . . . who could take away from his greatness, whether he be known to fame or not?
>
> If most of you did not hear his name, that does not alter the greatness, variety, and quality of his services to this country.

Mr. K. Natarajan writes in *The Indian Social Reformer*:

> It is hardly appropriate to use the language of grief about the death of a man at the patriarchal age of 95, especially of one, whose life was so fully devoted to the service of humanity. Three years ago when this writer had the privilege of being Dr. Sunderland's guest at Poughkeepsie, where he spent some months every year, he was struck by the wide range of his interests, his intense vitality, and his affectionate interest in his Indian friends. Dr. Sunderland wrote frequently, always in his own hand. His death creates an aching void, but the memory of his intense love for India and her people, shown not only in his writings but in his personal contacts with Indians, will long continue to be cherished as a precious experience. A great light has passed beyond our ken. The current *Modern Review* publishes an appreciation by Dr. Sunderland of the poet Robert Browning. The following lines from *Paracelsus*, which he quotes, might have been spoken by himself:
>
> "I see my way as birds their trackless way.
> I shall arrive! what time, what circuit first,
> I ask not; but, unless God send his hail,
> Or blinding fireballs, sleet or stifling snow,
> In some time, his good time, I shall arrive:
> He guides me and the bird. In his good time!
> "If I stoop
> Into a dark tumultuous sea of cloud,
> It is but for a time; I press God's lamp
> Close to my breast; its splendour, soon or late,
> Will pierce the gloom: I shall emerge one day."

"*The Bhowal Sannyasi's*" *Case*

What is known as the "Bhowal Sannyasi's" case has roused keen interest, among other reasons, because of the length of time it took and because of the finding of the Judge that the man who was alleged to have died and to have been cremated did not die. On account of a violent rain-storm on the night of his alleged death, his unconscious body was left for a time on the funeral pyre by the party who had gone to cremate him. Soon after they had left, he regained consciousness, recovered his health by the care bestowed on him by a band of Naga Sannyasis, wandered in their company for years and then made his appearance and claimed to be the second son of the Zemindar of Bhowal. He later instituted a case for obtaining possession of one-third share of the estate, which is worth many lakhs a year. The Judge has given his decision in his favour.

In the last century there was a similar case in Bengal, known as the case of Jal Pratap Chand (the counterfeit Pratap Chand). There is a book which narrates the whole story of that case. But in that case the judge held that the claimant to the Burdwan Raj was an impostor, though even now there are intelligent and disinterested persons who think that he was the real Pratap Chand.

There are works of fiction in Bengali which have episodes relating to the dead coming back to life again or impostors claiming to be the dead person, such, for instance, as *Samaj* by R. C. Dutt, *Ratna Dip* by Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee.

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But the best known and the most remarkable of such stories are to be found in Rabindranath Tagore's *Jibita O Mrita* ("Living and Dead") and *Ghater Katha* ("The Tale of the River Stairs").

The first story is, in brief, as follows:

"Living and Dead"

Kadambini, a widow of an aristocratic family, lived in the house of her dead husband's brother, Sasankamohan. She was childless and very deeply attached to Sasankamohan's child Khoka. Suddenly one night Kadambini had a heart attack and fell down apparently dead. It was a dark and stormy night. Four persons, all of them employees of Sasankamohan, carried the body to the cremation ground outside the village. Two of them waited in a hut with the dead body while the other two went away to the village to fetch wood for the funeral pyre. The two persons in charge of the body began to feel very much afraid. A storm was raging outside. Suddenly the body on the cot seemed to move and the sound of a sigh was heard. The two men, frantic with fear, dashed out of the hut and ran back towards the village. They met their companions after a while, who scolded them soundly for leaving the body alone in the hut. The four went back to the hut together and found to their consternation that the cot was empty. For fear of punishment, they decided to suppress the truth and went home. They told Sasankamohan that the body had been duly cremated.

Kadambini had come out of her deathlike trance in that dark hut. At first she could not understand what had happened and how she came to be in that strange and horrible place. Then she remembered her death and took it for granted that she was no longer a living being, but a ghost. She began to walk on at random and met an old gentleman, who asked her who she was and where she wanted to go. Kadambini had no relatives of her own and she did not want to go back to Sasankamohan's house, as that might bring evil to the family. She had a friend named Yogamaya, who lived in a nearby village with her husband Sripati. Kadambini gave her friend's address to the old man, who escorted her to the village and left her there. Yogamaya was glad to see her friend and received her warmly. But Kadambini had become exceedingly queer and strange in her talk and behaviour and Yogamaya became quite bewildered. At last Sripati went to Sasankamohan's village to enquire about the cause of Kadambini's leaving home. He came back late at night and reported that Kadambini was dead and this woman therefore must be an impostor. While husband and wife were talking, Kadambini came in suddenly and announced that she was a ghost and not a living woman. The couple fainted at this dreadful announcement, while Kadambini left their house and wandered out into the night again. Her feet carried her to her former home, perhaps unconsciously.

She entered the house unseen and walked straight into Khoka's bedroom. The child was lying ill and alone. He was very glad to see his aunt, whom he had missed dreadfully. Kadambini took him in her arms and began to talk to him. At this moment a maid-servant came in with food for the child and fainted with a terrible scream on catching sight of Kadambini. Sasankamohan and his wife rushed in and stood frozen with terror. Sasankamohan implored the ghost, as he took her to be, to go away and not to harm the child.

Kadambini struck her forehead with the metal cup and drew blood to prove that she was still made of flesh and blood, but she could convince no one now. She rushed out and flung herself into a tank adjoining the house, thus proving by her death that she had not died before.

The other story may be briefly summarized as follows:

"The Tale of the River Stairs"

Kusum, a young village girl, became a widow while still a child of eight. Her husband had not in fact died, but had reported himself dead and turned a sannyasi. Her father's village stood by the river Ganges. There was a big *ghat* (river stairs), where all the village women congregated morning and evening. There was also a temple of Shiva by the ghat. Kusum grew up into young womanhood unnoticed by anybody, as her widowhood was like a veil over her youth. Ten years thus passed by. One day a young and handsome sannyasi was seen at the temple, who took up his abode there thenceforward. He soon became an object of reverence to the village people—of the women especially. At the time of the annual fair a large number of people came to the temple from the neighbouring villages. Some women arrived from the village where Kusum's husband had lived. They seemed to recognise him as the dead young man. But they had their doubts and refrained from giving publicity to their discovery.

The following words are part of the tale told by the Ghat or River Stairs.

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"It was morning. The Sannyasi was counting his beads on my steps, when all of a sudden one of the women pilgrims nudged another, and said: 'Why! he is our Kusum's husband!' Another parted her veil a little in the middle with two fingers and cried out: 'Oh, dear me! So it is! He is the younger son of the Chatterjee family of our village!' Said a third, who made little parade of her veil: 'Ah! he has got exactly the same brow, nose, and eyes!' Yet another woman, without turning to the Sannyasi, stirred the water with her pitcher, and sighed: 'Alas! That young man is no more; he will not come back. Bad luck to Kusum!'"

Kusum afterwards met the young Sadhu one night and deep adoration filled her heart. The Sadhu also became attached to her and tried to teach her and show her the right path of life. After a while Kusum ceased to come. The Sadhu sent for her and asked her the cause of her absence. Kusum had to acknowledge that unseemly thoughts had visited her heart after a dream. In it, a person whom she revered as a god, had appeared as her earthly lover. Questioned by the Sadhu, she confessed that the person was himself. The Sadhu asked her to forget him and told her that he would leave the village at once. He did so, and Kusum, unable to bear the terrible pangs of separation, found her last refuge in the deep bosom of Mother Ganges.

Reuter's Neglect of Duty

At a public meeting held in Calcutta under the auspices of the Indian Journalists' Association, warm tributes were paid to the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland. The following was among the resolutions passed:

"This meeting expresses its deep disappointment, surprise and its sense of resentment that the news agency of Messrs. Reuters Ltd. failed for unaccountable reasons to send forth the message of the passing away of a great friend of India to the country, which had to depend upon a private message for the news, which was thus received so late in the day."

The news was that of the death of Dr. J. T. Sunderland, which became known in Calcutta early in September from an air mail letter from Dr. Taraknath Das, dated New York the 15th August, addressed to the editor of this Review.

Forty-eighth year of "The Indian Social Reformer"

We congratulate *The Indian Social Reformer* on its completing 47 years of signal service to the country. Mr. K. Natarajan, its veteran editor, is entitled to great credit for this achievement.

The Maharaja of Pithapuram

Mr. Paul Brunton, author of *A Search in Secret India,* has written a character sketch of the Maharaja of Pithapuram, in the course of which he says that the Maharaja "avows himself a keen admirer of the illustrious Raja Rammohun Roy. He draws much inspiration from the life and ideas of that famous pioneer of India's awakening." Continuing, Mr. Paul Brunton writes:

His interest in the cause of culture has been very definite. Every one of the 1,800 students at the Pithapur Raja's College in Cocanada is indirectly indebted to him for the munificent help which has been given to this first grade institution in the way of new buildings, financial endowments and scholarships. He has made it possible for an encyclopædic Telugu lexicon to be prepared and for rare or ancient Telugu books of merit to be published.

I have seen at Cocanada the finest orphanage in South India, where poor boys and girls receive a home and education—another fruit of the Maharaja's generosity. Finally it is worth mentioning that he was the prime mover in an attempt to get the Madras Legislative Council to provide for the care of ailing, aged and disabled destitutes.

We have no personal knowledge of what the Maharaja has done for the Telugu language and literature, nor of what he did to influence the Madras Legislative Council in the matter mentioned above—we have no doubt that these statements are true, but we personally know that what has been written about the College and the orphanage is correct to the letter. We may add that many students of the college are directly indebted to the Maharaja, because they do not have to pay tuition fees and receive scholarships in addition.

The writer says that there is an idea

that people whom life and birth financially favoured are likely to be spiritually bankrupt. I have heard this said in Europe, and I hear it said again in India of that class called zemindars. Well, they may be so, but on the other hand they may not.

Anyway, I know one zemindar who most definitely and assuredly is not but who, on the contrary, is spiritually rich.

That man is the Maharaja of Pithapuram.

He is "a man of humble faith in God and kindly disposition towards his fellows." "If he accepts his privileges, he does not forget his obligations."

Child Marriage Restraint Act Amending Bill

Mr. B. Das's Bill for amending the Child Marriage Restraint Act, popularly known as the Sarda Act, in order to make it more effec-

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tive, is a very important measure. The defects of the Sarda Act which Mr. B. Das seeks to remedy are three. In a letter contributed to the London *Times* by "Nancy Astor, Margery I. Corbett Ashby, Elizabeth M. Codbury, Thelma Cazalet, Lothian, William Paton, Eleanor Rathbone, Mavis Tate," of the "British Commonwealth League (non-party)," these defects are described as follows:

(1) No provision was made in the Act to prohibit a marriage in contravention of that Act before such took place. The Bill would empower Courts at their discretion to issue an injunction prohibiting a marriage, and it proposes that a higher maximum penalty should be imposed for the breach of such injunction.

(2) One of the principal impediments to the enforcement of the Act at present lies in the obligation placed upon a complainant to incur the publicity of a formal complaint, the onus of taking action against child marriage being placed entirely on the private citizen, and the possibility of losing a sum of Rs. 100 which might be required by the Court as a security in case of the failure of the action. The Bill seeks to permit the Court to take proceedings upon its own motion on information privately received, without necessarily requiring the execution of a bond or security.

(3) No provision was made under the Act for the protection of the child wife, and in default of such a provision those who have her welfare at heart are often deterred from prosecuting the offenders by the knowledge that the prosecution, even if successful, will not rescue the child from the dangers of premature motherhood, and might actually cause her to be maltreated by the husband or his family in revenge for the prosecution. The Bill enables the Court to require provision to be made for the separate custody and maintenance of the child wife until she reaches the legal age for marriage or until a later date if it is considered necessary.

These defects ought certainly to be remedied.

Are Female Infants Neglected in India?

In the current number of the *Bulletin* of the National Council of Women in India, Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta writes:

Miss Mayo of "Mother India" fame and others of her complexion, out to vilify India and things Indian and that with a motive, have framed the charge that here in Bengal female infants are suffered to die a premature death. However welcome the birth of a male child may be in a country, where more than 70 per cent of the people are directly dependent upon agriculture and whose civilization is agricultural, Miss Mayo's charge regarding female infants in Bengal or in India is absolutely unwarranted.

In support of his statement Mr. Datta has given six statistical tables compiled from official reports ranging from the year 1911 to the year 1931, with explanatory observations of his own. We subjoin only his last table with its introductory paragraph.

This excess of male infant mortality over the female one is not confined to Bengal or the Bengalees alone. In the following Table VI, we give male and female infant mortality rates in the several major provinces of India for the year 1933. We have chosen the year 1933 as that is the latest year for which statistics are easily available. The fact that male infant mortality is greater than female infant mortality could similarly be demonstrated by the figures of any other year.

TABLE VI

Infant Mortality rates per mille. Calculated on the number of Births registered during the year 1933.

Province	Male	Female	Total
Bengal ..	204.5	195.4	200.1
Madras ..	195.40	173.95	184.94
Bombay ..	168.04	152.70	160.66
U. P. ..	142.53	132.65	137.88
Punjab ..	195.13	189.66	192.5
C. P. ..	213.41	185.95	200.07
Bihar & Orissa ..	143.1	126.9	135.2
N.-W. F. Province ..	136.40	138.61	137.36
Burma ..	204.16	179.81	192.26
Assam ..	172.62	153.71	163.46

"A Bachelor's Revolution?"

Under the above caption, *The Poughkeepsie Eagle-News*, an American paper which was established in 1785, prints the following:

The Mexican Congress is considering a proposal that bachelors be given this choice: marry or pay more taxes. Twenty women (and no men) signed a petition requesting legislation which would tax all unmarried men, more than 30 years old, 5 per cent of their annual income. In support of this petition, three arguments were advanced, as follows:

1—The population would be greatly increased.

2—If Mexicans married young, development of the country's natural resources would be accomplished more quickly.

3—Crime would decrease, for wives would keep their husbands at home and out of trouble.

It was further proposed that the revenue from the bachelor's tax be used to help younger men to get married, to build maternity hospitals and to finance women's homes. Congress will take up the petition at the September session.

Mexico has been a land of many revolutions. Will the next one be a bachelors' revolution?

What can be the choice that can be proposed to be given to bachelors in Bengal or in any other part of India?

Ethiopian Resistance Not Yet Broken

LONDON. SEPT. 16.

Haile Selassi, Emperor of Abyssinia and now in England, has received information from Gore, Western Ethiopia, that a government has been set up there.

The news reached him in a letter in Amharic, signed and sealed by Bitwoded Wolde-Sadiq, head of the new government.

It states:

"All the west of the country remains calm and in perfect order. In conformity with the instructions given by your Majesty in view of the occupation of Addis Ababa by the Italians, a Government has been set up and, with the aid of a council composed of officials drawn from all Provinces of the Empire, and chosen among themselves, all the Government services are being carried out."

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The letter adds that news of the appointment of Wolde-Sadiq as leader of the Government has been communicated to the British Consul at Gore.—*Reuter.*

How one would rejoice to see an independent and undivided Ethiopia, with a free and enlightened people!

Alleged Principal Backers of Spanish Rebellion

The Civil War in Spain, in which massacres in cold blood have perhaps resulted in more deaths than pitched battles, guerilla warfare and sniping, goes on with unabated fury. In Europe and America several powers are alleged or suspected to be the principal backers of the Spanish insurgents. *The Living Age* for August writes:

While most journals regard the Italian Government as the principal backer of the Spanish rebellion, the *Lumiere* (of France) claims that the British financial oligarchy played a more powerful role in the plot, and notes that the City received the news of the outbreak from Morocco 'with no surprise and much satisfaction.' British capital has heavy interests in Spain. British investors hold large blocks of stock in railroads, mines, power plants and shipyards. Sir Basil Zaharoff and Vickers, Limited, own nearly one-third of the capital of the Sociedad Espanola de Construccion Naval. British firms entirely dominate such companies as The Sevilla Waterworks Company, Limited, the Compania General Canaria de Combustibles, the Tharsis Sulphur Copper Mines, Limited and the famous Rio Tinto Copper Mines, Limited, one of the largest copper mines in the world. Also, Sir Henri Deterding has no more forgotten his rough treatment at the hands of the Spanish Oil Monopoly than he has the confiscation of his holdings in Russia. These great interests fear that as the Spanish Government moves further Left they will lose the virtual extra-territorial rights which they have enjoyed for many years. Finally, the fact that British business exerts strong control over Portugal suggests that the City was by no means indifferent to the aid which the rebels obtained from this quarter.

In this the financial powers appear to diverge sharply from the policy of the Foreign Office, which takes a long-range Imperial view. Several months ago *The Living Age* pointed out that the British had invested 11 million pounds in the fortification of the Balearic Islands. In case of war between Italy and Britain, these islands might successfully challenge Mussolini's power in the Mediterranean, assist in keeping the route to India clear and block Italy's way to the Atlantic. Triumph of the Fascist rebels, with their well-known connections with Italy, might prove to be a defeat for Britain. Again, as in the case of the Abyssinian war and the Rhineland reoccupation, a division of attitudes in Britain's governing class prevents her from taking decisive action one way or the other.

The Lesson of Spain's Decline

An American daily points out the lessons which America may learn from Spain's decline and the Spanish civil war. That is a lesson which any other powerful and prosperous nation may well take to heart. But why powerful and prosperous nations alone? Peoples who were once prosperous but are now in a decadent condition may well ponder to what extent their former wealth, easy lives of luxury and the resultant softness, added to internal dissensions, have contributed to their decline and fall.

The American paper writes thus of the decline and fall of the once mighty Spanish nation:

How mighty that nation was and how great its power is attested by the Spanish place names, the language of half the Americas. But the civilization that sired that great expansion, which built New Spain, is crumbling before our eyes. And if you listen carefully you can hear in the rattle of machine-guns around Madrid, the death rattle of a nation.

For a little less than a century, from the year 1492, when the Moors were driven out of Granada and Columbus sailing blindly westward discovered the New World, to the year 1588, when Drake and Frobisher harried the Spanish Armada up the channel, Spain ruled the world. And in the two centuries after that, despite Britain's growing might, her name was a mighty one in the council of nations. No monarch ruled more powerfully than his most Christian majesty, Philip of Spain.

But wealth and ease brought disaster. More wealth than the world had ever known flooded eastward to fill the pockets of the grandees. And wealth brought ease and the lean men who had driven out the Moorish army and laughed at the dangers of Mexico and Peru grew fat and indolent.

The subsequent history of the Spanish nation and its far-flung empire show that fatness and indolence produced their natural result:

Then came the long years of the Napoleonic wars and privation and suffering remained. Even when Europe was at peace the nation was ruptured by civil disputes. One by one the colonies that had contributed so much gold were lost. The South and Central Americas slipped away in the first half of the 19th century and in the closing years of the same century America took Cuba and the Philippines.

Since then the rest have gone. Morocco was lost to the descendants of those same Moors who had left Spain in 1492, and Gibraltar, the gateway to Spain and the Mediterranean, is now a British fortress. Now the country is suffering once more in the grip of the fiercest kind of war, civil strife.

It was not Drake and Dewey that brought about the downfall of this once mighty nation. The battles of Manilla Bay and the Atlas mountains were but punctuation spots of a long decline.

The hardy virtues that had grown while the Spanish people wrung their food from the rocky soil and battled the Moorish invaders grew soft with ease.

The American paper asks in conclusion:

May we not too lose those same virtues, the virtues of Boone and Crockett, if we permit ease and wealth to sap the roots of a nation's strength, honesty, courage and the deep religion of the common man? Kipling has said it in another way, "If drunk with sight of power we lose wild tongues that have not Thee in awe."

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What the American paper has written is true. But perhaps it is only part of the truth. Probably the religious bigotry and intolerance of the Spaniards, their tyranny, and their cruelty in politics and pastime had not a little to do with their decadence.

Congress and the Coming Elections

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said in his electioneering addresses that Congress had adopted the council-entry programme not with a view to winning independence for the country thereby—independence cannot be won by wordy victories on the floor of the council chambers, but to keep out undesirable elements from the legislatures. In this object we wish Congress complete success. Speaking generally, we have no fault to find with the Congress programme—with one exception: we disapprove its still continued passive attitude in action in relation to the Communal Decision.

Bengal and the Communal Decision

The decision of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to agitate for the scrapping of the Communal Decision is entirely in consonance with nationalist thought and feeling in Bengal. As to whether the committee has correctly interpreted the passages in the Congress election manifesto bearing on the Decision and what the Congress Working Committee has resolved and what Babu Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said at its meeting in Bombay, our opinion is that the Bengal Committee is right in holding that, if Congress disapproves only of "one-sided agitation," of agitation by one group to get something at the expense of some other group or groups, the corollary fairly follows that it should not and cannot object to any agitation carried on by any organization which includes all groups, whose membership is open to all groups, and whose agitation will be carried on on *national* grounds—not on grounds of any injustice to any communal group or groups. Moreover, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee seeks the very object which Congress has at heart, namely, to replace the Communal Decision by an agreed settlement.

If Congress did not or does not want any agitation at all against the Communal Decision, why did it say that it was against "one-sided agitation?" *It ought to have said frankly that it did not want* any *agitation at all,* whether "one-sided" or otherwise, whether by one group or by an organization which does or can or is prepared to include all groups which are animated by nationalist principles.

It was said at the meeting that individuals were free to agitate against the Decision. So they were, are and will be. Congress cannot, dare not, deprive any true man or woman of that human right. But we do not see any logic in holding that, though individuals can agitate individually, they must not combine with others to do so.

Congress leaders are no doubt aware that Government in this country has in different times and at different places ordered that a gathering of three or five or more persons will be considered an unlawful assemblage. Is not the Congress ukase that Congressmen can agitate individually but not in combination with others something like the above-mentioned Government orders? What is the meaning of individual agitation? Suppose an Anti-Communal Decision man stands up in a street corner and begins to deliver a speech against the Communal Decision and some men, including some Congresswalas, gather there to hear what he says. Must he immediately cease to speak on the subject and tell his audience: "Gentlemen, you must disperse at once—particularly if there be any Congresswalas amongst you. For Congress wants that I should not agitate against the Communal Decision in any organized manner. I must shout in a desert, my cry must be literally a cry in the wilderness; in any case, I must not speak on the subject to any Congresswala. If Congressmen see from a distance that I am speaking, they should plug their ears in case they want to come nearer. For I may be suspected of agitating in an organized manner."

When Congress leaders spoke or speak of one group seeking to deprive any other group of some advantage enjoyed by them, did they or do they mean or imply that the Bengal Hindus' agitation against the Communal Decision was or is meant to deprive anybody of any right? It certainly was not and is not. Bengal Hindus have been deprived of the right which they would have got and would get in any democratic constitution. It is that right which they want. And they want that all other citizens, irrespective of race, colour, creed, sect, caste or class, should have that democratic right—nothing more, nothing less.

In the spheres of politics, industry and commerce, Britishers have somehow or other come to occupy the position which belongs to Indians. Indians have been trying to recover

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lost ground. In the eyes of British imperialists such an endeavour is an attempt to oust them. But should people who have got what does not rightfully belong to them, think in that way? Are not Indians justified in trying to get what naturally and rightfully belongs to them? They cannot be accused of agitating to get some advantage at the expense of or by depriving Britishers. Similarly, if Bengal Hindus want to have their democratic rights, of which they have been deprived by an arbitrary and unjust decision, their agitation cannot be characterized as having for its object the deprivation of any other group.

Terms of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty

The terms of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty show that the treaty is not like one between two countries having the same political status, but between a suzerain or semi-suzerain power and a dependency or protected country. In some respects it is somewhat like the so-called treaties between Britain and India and between Britain and some of the Indian States.

Reuter has summarized the terms of the treaty as follows:—

LONDON, AUG. 27.

The Anglo-Egyptian treaty terminates military occupation and establishes Anglo-Egyptian alliance, which continues for twenty years; whereafter it is subject to revision by agreement at the request of either party. The negotiations for revision may begin after a decade, if both parties wish. Any revision must provide continuation of the alliance in accordance with the principles of the present Treaty, namely, neither party should adopt an attitude or conclude a Treaty inconsistent with the alliance, both will consult each other with a view to peaceful settlement of any dispute with a third State, threatening risk or rupture.

In the event of either party being engaged in war, the other will come to its aid as ally, subject to its obligations under covenant of the League or Pact of Paris.

In the event of war, imminent menace of war, or apprehended international emergency, Egypt will accord all facilities to United Kingdom, including the use of Egyptian ports, aerodromes, means of communication and necessary administrative legislative measures, including establishment of martial law, also facilities for sending British forces.

With a view to ensuring the defence of Suez canal, the United Kingdom is authorised to maintain canal zone forces, not exceeding ten thousand land forces and air forces not exceeding four hundred pilots, until two parties agree that Egyptian army is capable of ensuring proper and entire security of the navigation of the canal, but these numbers may be increased in the event of international emergency.

At the conclusion of the period of the treaty the question of the capability of the Egyptian army, if the contracting parties do not agree will be submitted to the League Council or any other person agreed to by the parties.

The Egyptian Government will build canal zone barracks for British troops and also construct roads from the canal zone to Alexandria and Cairo and improve the railway canal zone. On the completion of this work British forces will be withdrawn to the canal zone, but the forces at Alexandria will remain there for a period not exceeding 8 years, which time is considered necessary for the final completion of the barracks in the canal zone, the improvement of the roads from Cairo to Suez and Cairo to Alexandria and Alexandria to Mersamatruh and the improvement of railways between Ismailia Alexandria and Mersamatruh.

British and Egyptian air forces will be permitted to fly on a reciprocal basis, wherever considered necessary for training and adequate landing grounds for sea-plane anchorages will be provided.

The British personnel of the Egyptian army will be withdrawn. The Egyptian Government will avail themselves of the advice of the British military mission. The personnel of the Egyptian forces will receive training in the United Kingdom.

The armaments of the Egyptian forces will not differ from those of the British forces. British forces will enjoy immunities and privileges in jurisdictional and fiscal matters.

SUDAN

The condominium in the Sudan will continue. The British Government recognize that the responsibility for the lives and property of foreigners devolves exclusively on the Egyptian Government. The latter undertake to ensure the fulfilment of all obligations. The European Bureau and Public Security Department will disappear on the ratification of the treaty but for further 5 years the Egyptian city police will remain under the command of British officers. The services of one-fifth European police officials will be dispensed with annually. The British Government agree to support Egypt in her immediate approach to the other Powers with a view to arriving at an agreement regarding the disappearance of the existing restrictions and application of Egyptian legislation, in the transitional regime wherein mixed tribunals will exercise jurisdiction and at the end whereof the Egyptian Government will undertake legislation applicable to foreigners which will not be inconsistent with the principles of modern legislation or discriminatory. The two parties will be represented at each other's capitals by Ambassadors.

Britain will support Egypt's application for membership of the League.—*Reuter.*

Military occupation does not terminate entirely or really in consequence of this treaty. Perhaps it is relaxed to some extent, but not substantially.

India's Participation in Britain's Wars

In the past India has been made to participate in Britain's wars, though the enemies were not India's enemies. This was never right. Mr. Satyamurti wanted to move a resolution in the Legislative Assembly in order that the subject might be thoroughly discussed. But the Governor-General has disallowed it on the ground that such discussion would be detrimental to "public interest"! "Public interest," "reasons of state," and the like are very convenient expressions. But what do they

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mean? What "public" is referred to and which "state"? British and the United Kingdom?

At the last session of Congress at Lucknow the people of India were definitely exhorted not to participate in Britain's imperialistic wars—not to give her any help in case she engaged in any such warfare. Of course, Congress does not at present possess any power to make its exhortation or advice effective. But Government ought to have accepted the Congress challenge and brought forward in the Assembly its arguments to convince the people of India that they ought to take part in Britain's wars.

In the case of the self-governing parts of the British Empire—we beg pardon, in the case of the self-governing parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, namely, the Dominions, the Imperial Conference has recognized their right to join or not to join in any wars of Britain—they may remain neutral if they choose. So, the principle is recognized that when Britain is at war with any enemy of hers, parts of her "Empire" or "Commonwealth" of which she is the Mother Country may remain neutral. Why then should not this principle also be recognized that the most populous part of her Empire of which she is in no sense the Mother Country should have the option of joining or not joining in her wars? Her own children, of whom she is the Mother Country, are at liberty not to fight for their Mother. But India, of whom she is not the Mother, must fight for her. Why? obviously because India is not a child but a . . . what? and Britain is not her Mother but her Mistress.

When a former Secretary of State for India spoke of India already enjoying "Dominion Status in action," he was not joking, no doubt. But it was an unintended joke.

Additions to Britain's Air Arm

A British Official Wireless, dated September 16th, states that big additions have been made to Britain's air forces—in men, machines, aerodromes, royal air force stations and special civil flying training schools.

If and since India *must* fight for Britain, why are not at least a hundred flying training schools established in India?

"Known" Backers of Spanish Rebels

The opinion or guess of one American journal as to who are the backers of the Spanish rebels has been already quoted. Another American paper writes that the rebels are "known to have received substantial aid from Italy and Germany."

Change of Japanese Attitude towards Russia?

The same paper writes:

> "Japanese dispatches hinted at a possible change of attitude toward Soviet Russia. The Japanese, it is reported, impressed by the powerful military strength of the Russians in Siberia, are contemplating a far more friendly attitude than in the recent past."

Good news, if true.

Macmahon's Punishment

Macmahon, who was arrested in connection with the revolver incident in Hyde Park when King Edward VIII was returning after the ceremony of trooping of colours, said in the course of his trial that he was paid by the agents of a foreign power to shoot the King to bring about the disruption of the British Empire, some parts of which, after its break-up, to fall to other countries. He was tried at the Old Bailey on a threefold charge of unlawful possession of a fire-arm with intent to endanger life, presenting the pistol near the King with intent to break the peace and unlawfully producing the said pistol with intent to alarm His Majesty. He declared that he threw the pistol along the ground because he did not wish to shoot. The Attorney-General disbelieved the story relating to the foreign power. He said, it was the creation of the imagination of the accused. The Attorney-General believed that Macmahon did not intend to shoot the King. He was sentenced to twelve months' hard labour for "attempting to alarm the King," being found not guilty on the first two charges.

If the incident had happened in India, if the accused had been an Indian, if he had thrown a pistol along the ground near the Governor-General or a Governor—or, say, a Magistrate or a paharawala, what would have been the result? Would his voluntary or extorted confession—that he was the tool of some foreign power or some Indian Prince or some political leader of the violent or non-violent sort, have been disbelieved as the figment of a heated brain? Would it have been believed that he did not want to shoot anybody? Would there not have been instituted a big conspiracy case with wide ramifications? And what would have been the punishment inflicted on the accused?

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Take some cases cited by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his essay, "Prison-land," in his latest work, *India and the World*:

Here is an *Associated Press* message from Peshawar dated December 15, 1932: "For writing threatening letters to the Inspector-General of Police and other high officials of the Frontier soon after the Coldstream murder, accused named Jamnadas has been sentenced by the City Magistrate of Peshawar to eight years' imprisonment under Section 500-507 I.P.C." Jamnadas was apparently a young boy.

Here is another remarkable instance—also an *Associated Press* message, dated April 22, 1933, from Lahore: "For being in possession of a knife with a blade seven inches long, a young Muslim named Saadat was sentenced by the City Magistrate under Section 19 of the Arms Act to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment."

And a third instance from Madras, dated July 6, 1933: "A boy named Ramaswami threw a harmless cracker in the court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate as he was engaged in a conspiracy case hearing. Ramaswami was sentenced to four years, apparently in a Juvenile Prison."

In Bengal it is not uncommon for detenus, interned without trial on mere suspicion, to be sentenced to hard labour for a year or more for mere technical breach of some rule.

Personal Liberty as a Test of Civilization

Mr. Winston Churchill is reported to have said in a recent speech:

"The degree of Civilization to which any country has attained can be judged by two simple tests—the structure of its social organization and the degree of personal freedom enjoyed by all classes in the community. We can face these tests with some confidence. There is no other country where the apparatus for the protection of the weak and the poor is more lavish, more complicated, and more incorruptibly administered, and in this country the light of freedom is still burning. We have a special duty to guard these things, and to guard them well. We must not let this island sink beneath the waves of barbarism and reaction."

Why do not Indians enjoy personal freedom as the British people do? Is it because they are not civilized? Or is it because it is not necessary for them to be civilized like Britons? Or is it because it is nobody's business to see that India does not "sink beneath the waves of barbarism and reaction"?

Rabindranath Tagore's Message to World Peace Congress

The poet-sage Rabindranath Tagore sent the following message to the World Peace Congress which was held at Brussels during the first week of September:

"If peace is to be anything more than the mere absence of war, it must be founded on the strength of the just and not on the weariness of the weak. The groan of peace in Abyssinia is no less ghastly than the howl of war in Spain. If, then, we are to strive for that true peace in which the satisfaction of one people is not built on the frustration of another then the average peace-loving citizen of the successful nations of today must extricate himself from the obvious anomaly of wishing for peace whilst sharing in the spoils of war, which exposes his wish to the charge of mere pretence. He must not let himself be bribed on the promise of prosperity and honour and call it patriotism.

"We cannot have peace until we deserve it by paying its full price, which is that the strong must cease to be greedy and the weak must learn to be bold."

Syria to Become "Independent?"

PARIS, SEPT. 6.

The establishment of Syria as an independent state and her eventual entry into the League of Nations are foreseen by the treaty between Syria and France to be signed in Paris on Wednesday as a result of some week's negotiation.

The treaty provides a transition period of three months [or years?] in which progressive changes will be made with a view to the termination of French mandate and admission of Syria into the League as also a reduction of number of French troops, organisation of new system of judiciary and regulation of the position of French subjects and property in Syria.—*Reuter.*

PARIS, SEPT. 9.

The Franco-Syrian treaty, which was initiated to-day in the famous clock room at the Quai d'Orsay, confers independence on Syria in three years.

The treaty is modelled on the lines of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty, but according to M. Vienot, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, it avoides the mistake in the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of not ensuring protection for Christian and other minorities.—*Reuter.*

Is Syrian independence to be of the Egyptian variety?

Sarat Chandra Bose Against Office Acceptance

Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, the Bengal Congress leader, has said:

The rejection by the Congressmen of offices under the new constitution is as essential as the rejection of the communal decision for the success of the Congress cause. The acceptance of office under the new constitution is entirely inconsistent with the rejection of the same constitution. I shall continue to work in the faith and hope that Bengal Congressmen will never sell their province and their country for "handfuls of silver" or "ribbons to stick to their coats."

These views are similar to those often expressed in this Review.

India's Expenditure In Connection with League of Nations

The following detailed statement (as laid on the table of the Assembly) shows the expenditure incurred by the Government of India for 1924-25 onwards in connection with the expenses of delegates sent to the League Assembly, International Labour Conference and

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various committees etc. connected with the League :—

1924-25.—In connection with the International Labour Conference Rs. 27,125.

1925-26.—In connection with the International Labour Conference Rs. 16,859.

1926-27.—For Indian Delegation to the League Assembly Rs. 12,114 and to the International Labour Conference Rs. 25,570.

1927-28.—For League Assembly Rs. 42,934 and International Labour Conference Rs. 25,663.

1928-29.—League Assembly Rs. 8,686 and International Labour Conference Rs. 29,714.

1929-30.—League Assembly Rs. 8,403 and International Labour Conference Rs. 87,616.

1930-31.—League Assembly Rs. 50,552 and International Labour Conference Rs. 44,449.

1931-32.—League Assembly Rs. 21,428, International Labour Conference Rs. 43,918 and Disarmament Conference Rs. 4,320.

1932-33.—League Assembly Rs. 3,641, International Labour Conference Rs. 15,111 and Disarmament Conference Rs. 5,694.

1933-34.—League Assembly Rs. 2,320, International Labour Conference Rs. 14,967. For a delegate to the Child Welfare Commission Rs. 1,358 and Delegation to the Disarmament Conference Rs. 173.

1934-35.—League Assembly Rs. 630, International Labour Conference Rs. 19,491 and for a delegate to the Child Welfare Commission Rs. 460.

1935-36.—League Assembly Rs. 3,034, International Labour Conference Rs. 32,700 (Revised estimate) and for a delegate to the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People Commission etc., Rs. 1,752.

For all this expenditure what has India got in return?

Our question does not imply that we are for severing India's connection with the League of Nations. So long as the League exists, India ought to remain a member provided Indian delegates are chosen by the elected members of the Central Legislature.

Germany's Demand of Return of Colonies

It is said that the prominence given by Herr Hitler to the question of return of colonies has caused a flutter in British political circles. Well it may.

The question of demanding colonies for the alleged purpose of obtaining raw materials or as a remedy for over-population is discussed in an article in our present issue.

It has been also discussed in R. Palme Dutt's *World Politics*.

What the Grand Old Man of China Says

Voice of China, of August 15, 1936, prints on its cover the portrait of Mr. Ma Hsiang-pei, China's 97 year old grand old man. An interview with him is described. In course of it, said he :

"I have a book here; a good book." His trembling hand held a copy of Mencius whose worn edges showed a great deal of thumbing. "Listen, Mencius has written," and he quickly turned several pages for the quotation he was seeking, "a country cannot be invaded unless there is dissension within."

The old man was perspiring freely. Speaking with vigour, his spirit ignored the weak, physical vessel that was failing him. We urged him to rest awhile, but his rising passion could not be restrained.

"Abyssinia has only a population of ten million people which is only one-fifth of that of Italy. When the fifty millions came to conquer the ten million, they had the courage to resist for seven months. Japan has only fifty million people, while we have four hundred million. Japan is not even one-fifth of us. Yet, when we, incomparably stronger, eight times larger, are invaded by Japan we are afraid to resist. This is like being a "turtle with a shrinking head." But it is only the authorities and not the people who want act like turtles."

"Why Japan Will Be Defeated"

The same paper publishes an article by General Li Tu in which reasons are given why Japan will be defeated. They are briefly stated in the sectional headings : (1) Japan has her own internal troubles; (2) Japan lacks unity in her political life; (3) Japan has exhausted her financial resources; (4) Japan stands isolated from the family of nations; (5) the danger of a military dictatorship; (6) Japan has lost her national prestige.

The Dehra Dun Military School

"Wayfarer" writes in *Roy's Weekly* that the father of a boy in the Dehra Dun Military School has given him the following impressions of life in the school :

"The School is very well run so far as its technique goes. Its standard is certainly superior to that of the Doon School. But there is something radically wrong in the outlook of those who are running this School. The boys of the Military School have been given orders that they should speak only English. If they talk, even among themselves, in Hindustani, the teachers, who are English, think there is a conspiracy in the making

"The boys are condemned to English food, all through the week, except for one evening when they are served Indian meal and revel in it, so much so that a few suffer from over-eating. They are so much eager to have the Indian meals which are denied to them, and, when they do get it, they observe no bounds! The boys cannot buy an Indian newspaper! It is disloyalty to the institution to do so! If perchance they buy it in the bazaar and are noticed reading it, evil days are in store for them. Their record begins to be noted and one day, perchance, some minor offence may be committed and an order of expulsion may follow.

"The boys cannot play Indian records nor sing Indian songs. Their outlook and education is cent per cent English and in fact anti-national. My boy tells me that this strictness does not make for happy boys, that they are nurturing feelings of hostility against the system which is so dominating and suppressing them so completely."

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Difficulties of Indian Commissioned Officers in the Army

Speaking of the difficulties of Indian Commissioned officers in the army, the same writer says :

There are some messes in which Indian officers have insisted on playing Indian records and eating Indian food and this has caused some feelings between them and the British officers who are members of the Mess.

There is no solution so long as Englishmen do not alter their outlook. Indians are more than enough Anglicised. If Englishmen would begin to be Indianized a little, there may be no difficulty in evolving a common basic standard of life and civilization which may do honour to the partnership of the two races.

Another difficulty that arises in the way of Indian officers is that the moment they show a little independence of thought, they are dubbed "dangerous" and requiring a "close watch" and in fact quite a number of cases have occurred where lapses which are found so often among young English officials are punished heavily in the case of their Indian colleagues.

If statistics are collected, it may be found that the "confidential" against an Indian officer is always tending to paint him as "insubordinate" or "anti-British" and suspicion of this kind is enough to doom a man for life.

Korean "Bandits"

When one country is conquered by another and annexed as a dependency, the irreconcilable patriots who continue to fight on—it may be, unwisely—are termed "bandits." There are such "bandits" still in Korea.

TOKYO, SEPT., 14

Twenty-five Japanese officers and men were killed and 65 wounded in night attack by Korean bandits on a Japanese troop train in the vicinity of Mulingchan coal-mines in East Manchuria.—*Reuter.*

"Koreans Never Really Conquered"

A special correspondent of *The China Weekly Review* writes to that paper from Peiping on August 3 last that "Korea was never really conquered."

Japan, in a true sense, has never conquered Korea, and the Korean people have never recognized the Japanese as the rightful masters of their land. After entering the land with its military forces at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War on terms definitely guaranteeing the political independence and territorial integrity of Korea, Japan remained, gradually shifting her position through the presence of this military occupation, thus peaceably obtained in the first instance, from that of a friendly neighbor to adviser, from advisership to protectorate, then to final annexation against the will of the people. Through the most elaborate system of publicity propaganda, of which she is a past master, and diplomatic maneuvers, Japan created an impression in the West that she was absorbing Korea for the benefit of the Korean race.

But the Korean people were not and still are not reconciled to their loss of independence.

The Korean people did not submit to Japanese domination so peaceably as the West had supposed. When the Korean army was disbanded in July, 1907, the soldiers of Major Pak's battalion fought and died to the last man against the overwhelming Japanese forces. Thousands of Koreans organized into volunteer corps to fight without arms the Japanese army. They were described in the Japanese press dispatches as bandits, but they were no more bandits than were Washington's Continental Army or Garibaldi's Volunteers. F. A. McKenzie is the only white man who ever visited the fighting districts of the Korean volunteers. After describing the heroism and suffering of the Koreans against some 20,000 Japanese regulars, he concludes, "The Koreans continued their fight until 1915, when, according to Japanese official statements (which is only another piece of Japanese propaganda work), the rebellion was suppressed. One can only faintly imagine the hardships these mountaineers and young men of the plains, tiger hunters and old soldiers, must have undergone. The taunts about Korean 'cowardice' and 'apathy' were beginning to lose their force. Their gallant defense excited the greatest admiration even among the Japanese. The Japanese spoke with more respect of Korea and the Korean people than they had ever done before." But fighting still goes on in the remote districts of Korea. The Japanese government no longer calls these fighting patriots bandits but Bolsheviki, knowing that the name Bolsheviki would suggest an odium in America and Western Europe. The truth is that they are neither Bolsheviki nor bandits. They are militant nationalists who prefer death to living under the Japanese yoke. Many of them were sent to different parts of the country with special missions.

The Koreans themselves admit that Japan has unintentionally rendered them one service:

The Korean's love of country has been learned in the losing of it, and the value of liberty in the deprivation of it. The process of denationalization forced upon her by Japan served as a crucible in which Korean patriotism was crystallized. During the 28 years of tyrannical domination, Japan, unconsciously and in spite of herself, gave Korea a new hope, an ideal and a fighting spirit. New Korea is no longer the Korea of traditional sloth. A fresh impulse has been generated in Korea and the awakening of a vital nationalism has taken place. The people have become conscious of the meaning of their nationhood and are sacrificing themselves for the realization of it. They have opened their eyes to the world outside their beautiful peninsula and are eager to fall in with its step. No longer can the soldier's rifle or the firing squad cow them. This is the spirit of the New Korea—the spirit in which we have pledged our lives, until death, for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism and for life and liberty.

India and War Preparations in Europe

An (American) Associated Press telegram dated Paris, August 26, 1936, runs as follows:

6,000,000 SEEN READY TO FIGHT IN EUROPE

PARIS, Aug. 26 (A.P.)—Here is how French statisticians arrive at the estimate that there are almost

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6,000,000 men in Europe ready to go to war tomorrow if necessary :

Germany	1,365,000
Italy	1,250,000
Russia	1,200,000
France	654,000
Poland	266,000
England	213,000
Rumania	141,500
Czechoslovakia	109,000
Yugoslavia	107,000
Belgium	63,500

The above table will supply food for thought to all Indian statesmen who have vision to realise that the future of India is linked up with developments in the international situation. This table does not tell the whole story. Soviet Russia can bring into the field 13,000,000 men. Mussolini boasts that 8,000,000 Italians are ready to follow their country's flag. Hitler says 15,000,000 Germans will spring to their feet at his call. In any war, in Europe, Great Britain will be involved and she is depending upon the support of her prospective allies. Britain with a population less than that of Bengal, maintains an army of 213,000 men, while all of Europe maintains, about 6,000,000 men for the coming conflict. Of course India has a population nearly equal to that of all of Europe, and India can bring into the field at least 5,000,000 men for national defence, in case of necessity. But in India no steps are being taken to train Indians in general, because the British authorities apparently prefer to depend upon military aid from France, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Russia and possibly Japan, than to use Indian man power. This is not due to Britain's conversion to and acceptance of the doctrine of *ahimsa* or non-killing. It is due to distrust. This attitude of distrust of India is based upon the fact that Britain does not wish to grant India her legitimate demand for freedom or even full dominion status. The British authorities argue that so long as India cannot defend herself, she should not ask for Dominion Status. If Indian man-power and resources were fully trained and used for Indian national defence, then their use of the alleged Indian inability to defend the country as a reason for not granting self-rule would have to be given up.

Development of Filipino and Indian Man Power : A Contrast

The Philippine Islands contain a total population of 13 millions, as against India's 353 millions. According to *The China Weekly Review*, August 8, 1936,

Major-General Douglas MacArthur, former U. S. Chief-of-Staff, now principal military adviser to the Philippine Commonwealth, claims that the Philippine Islands will be impregnable against attack after the completion of the present 10-year program of defense construction.

The programme includes all arms—a land army, a navy and an air force. The Chinese paper gives details.

If a small State, containing 13 million inhabitants, can be made ready for self-defence in ten years, surely India with her 353 millions could have been made ready in a century, and can still be made ready in a decade or two.

There is no province in India which has not in the past produced good fighters and military leaders. In no country in the world, except India, is there any division into martial and non-martial regions and classes. But laying aside the Indian contention that the people of all provinces can supply recruits under proper conditions, it can be shown that even those regions and classes which are recognized by the British authorities as martial can supply enough soldiers and leaders.

Take one competent British testimony for example. Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Hamilton writes in *A Staff Officer's Scrap-book During the Russo-Japanese War*, Vol. I, page 8 :

> All this is supposed to be a secret; a thing to be whispered with bated breath, as if every sepoy did not already know who does the rough and dirty work, and who, in the long run, does the hardest fighting. Nevertheless, these very officers who know will sit and solemnly discuss whether our best native troops would, or would not, be capable of meeting a European enemy! Why—there is material in the north of India and in Nepaul sufficient and fit, under good leadership, to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations.....

Similar other testimony can be quoted in abundance. As for military leaders, India has produced very many of great ability down the ages, and can still produce them. During the last great European war the Indian officers of the Indian States contingents which fought in Europe were in no way inferior to their European fellows. The Indian troops from British India were commanded by European officers; but when these were killed or disabled, the Indian officers took command, with complete success. There is no evidence from any source that Indians are any less able than the British to fill high commands (even the highest) if allowed to have proper training and experience.

Pacifism and Militarism, and India

By temperament and conviction we are pacifists. But only they can profess pacifism with self-respect who are in a position to have

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military training and to fight, if need be. There is no virtue in obligatory or compulsory pacifism. If one can fight but will not and does not because he is a votary of ahimsa, he is a true pacifist.

We discuss the problem of India's self-defence, not because we are or want to be militarists.

India's Sad Failure at the Olympic Games

Along with our Indian contemporaries we have recorded the glorious achievement of India's hockey team and their leader Dhyan Chand at the Olympic games. But this solitary triumph ought not to blind us to the sorry figure India cut at the games. The following list shows the medals won by the players and athletes of different competing countries at the games.

Country	Gold Medals	Silver Medals	Bronze Medals
Germany	33	26	30
U. S. A.	24	20	12
Hungary	10	1	5
Italy	8	9	5
France	7	6	6
Finland	7	6	6
Sweden	6	5	9
Japan	6	4	8
Holland	6	4	7
Britain	4	7	3
Austria	4	6	3
Czechoslovakia	3	5	0
Esthonia	2	2	3
Argentina	2	2	3
Egypt	1	1	1
Switzerland	1	9	5
Canada	1	3	5
Norway	1	3	2
Turkey	1	0	1
India	1	0	0
New Zealand	1	0	0
Poland	0	3	3
Denmark	0	2	3
Latvia	0	1	1
Yugoslavia	0	1	0
South Africa	0	1	0
Roumania	0	1	0
Mexico	0	0	3
Belgium	0	0	2
Australia	0	0	1
Philippines	0	0	1
Portugal	0	0	1

Germany's record has been the most brilliant, that of the U. S. A. coming next.

India's poor record is due to various facts. Indians are generally a poor, ill-fed people, suffering from various diseases. It is the intelligentsia who have heard of the Olympic games. But their struggle for existence does not leave them sufficient leisure, energy and money to undergo physical training. The rich in India, generally speaking, are not athletically-minded.

Nutrition in Different Provinces

Dr. Sir John Megaw is an eminent physician and authority on problems of nutrition. He has published statistics relating to the percentage of persons in the different provinces of India who are well-nourished, half-fed and ill-fed. His figures are given below.

Province.	Well-Fed.	Half-Fed.	Ill-Fed.
Assam	53	38	9
Madras	32	50	18
Bombay	45	44	11
Bihar & Orissa	42	40	18
Punjab	42	38	20
U. P.	40	39	21
C. P.	32	50	18
Bengal	22	47	31

The table shows that nutrition is worst in Bengal. In this province 70 per cent. of the people depend on agriculture. And their income is derived mainly from jute. But owing to the low level of jute prices for years, income from that source has dwindled. It was considered quite just to deprive Bengal entirely of the jute export duty, thus depriving its government of the power to come to the rescue of the jute-growers and other cultivators; and when at last Bengal's cries reached the powers that be, even then full justice was not done to Bengal.

The Poorest Province in India

Owing to trade depression, the price of Bengal jute has decreased by 72 per cent., that of Bombay and C. P. cotton by 50 per cent. and that of U. P. and Panjab pulses and oil-seeds by 41 and 29 per cent. So Bengal cultivators have been hit hardest.

In 1928-29 the total value of all kinds of crops in Bengal was Rs. 232 crores and 59 lakhs. In 1933-34 the value decreased to Rs. 95 crores and 56 lakhs. So the income of the Bengal cultivator has become less than half of what it was a few years back.

In Bombay the cultivators have 12.2 acres of arable land per head, in the Panjab 9.2, in C. P. 8.5, in Burma 5.6, in Madras 4.9, and in Bengal 3.1.

In provinces other than Bengal Government has spent far larger amounts for irrigation works than in Bengal, and done far more for the rayats than here. What has been done elsewhere for cotton and sugarcane has not been done in Bengal for jute.

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The Most Decadent Province in India

The following figures are taken from the Public Health Report of Bengal for the year 1934, which is the latest published :

Province	Birth-rate	Death-rate	Natural Increase
Bengal ..	29.3	23.6	5.7
Madras ..	36.17	24.95	11.22
Bombay ..	35.79	25.42	10.37
U. P. ..	36.74	26.75	9.99
Panjab ..	40.01	27.70	12.31
C. P. ..	44.80	37.22	7.58
Bihar-Orissa ..	33.7	26.0	7.7
N.-W. F. P. ..	30.83	21.06	9.77
Burma ..	30.22	20.62	9.60
Assam ..	30.62	19.64	10.98

This table shows that Bengal is the most decadent province in India. It has been pointed out above that it is the poorest and most ill-fed. Apart from what government can or cannot, may or may not, will or will not do for it, it is the intelligentsia of Bengal who might be expected to do most for it to pull it out of the slough of despond. But they have been artificially reduced to impotence.

Tagore on Conversion of Harijans to Sikhism

Dr. B. S. Moonje never engaged in any propaganda to convert the Harijans to Sikhism —he is not a Sikh himself. What he said and says is that, *if* Harijans want to embrace some other religion than what is popularly known as Hinduism, their conversion to Sikhism would be preferable to their conversion to either Christianity or Muhammadanism. We hold that opinion ourselves, along with many other Hindus, and do not consider this opinion either "diabolical" or "dangerous." Though we think Sikhs are also Hindus in a broad sense, in the sense in which the editor of this journal is a Hindu, our view is that it would be best if orthodox Hindus made their treatment of Harijans so just and friendly and fraternal as to make them quite contented to remain within the pale of Hinduism in the popular sense. We are aware that very many Sikhs consider it an insult to be called Hindus. We mean no offence to them, just as Americans do not mean any offence to non-Hindu natives of India when they call all natives of India Hindus.

The poet-sage Rabindranath Tagore has issued the following statement on the subject to the press :

"A friend has sought my views on the vexed question of wholesale conversion of Sanatani Hindu Harijans to the Sikh religion. Normally I am loath to be dragged into religious discussions which are contaminated with streaks of politics. For, I hold the view that religion is a purely personal matter, and there is very little scope of argumentation about it. I cannot, however, shirk responsibility with regard to the particular question raised, for obvious reasons.

"Whatever may be the political status of the Sikhs today, I cannot myself look upon them as very far away from the Hindu religion, for the simple reason, that the fundamental ethical principles are practically the same. My father felt quite at home with his prayers in the Golden Temple. The Sikh religion scores, on the other hand, over Hinduism, by its comparative freedom from dogma and the priestly rule. If the Sanatani Hindus of the upper classes would not be prepared to extend the ordinary rights of a civilized existence to the Harijans, they should not also cry against these unfortunate victims seeking shelter in the Sikh fold."

"The Servant of India" and Mahatma Gandhi

The Servant of India in its issue of the 23rd July last wrote an editorial on Mahatma Gandhi's policy in relation to the people and the rulers of the Indian States. We made extracts from that article. In its issue of the 17th September our contemporary withdraws one of the main statements made in that article. It is only proper therefore that we should reproduce what our contemporary now says. It writes :

In the course of an editorial in the issue of 23rd July we stated that we had good reason to believe Mahatma Gandhi to have given private assurances to the Princes to the effect that he would not make any demands which would embarrass them. This statement was based upon a talk we had with a key-man in the States, but he denies having made the statement or indeed ever having had a talk with us. In any case Mahatmaji writes to us that he did not give to the Princes the kind of assurances to which we referred in the editorial. In the circumstances we accept his statement and unreservedly withdraw ours, which we genuinely regret.

Unfortunately the value of the withdrawal contained in this paragraph is minimised by what the Poona weekly writes in the two much longer paragraphs which immediately follow it. As we have no desire to make this controversy even partly ours, not being in possession of the facts, we refrain from quoting any portion of the latter paragraphs.

A Noble Proposal of Sir P. C. Ray

It is said that Sir P. C. Ray has proposed that, just as big British and German firms contribute large sums to the Universities for the promotion of scientific research, so the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works should contribute Rs. 15,000 per annum to the Calcutta University, to enable science graduates to carry on scientific research. He says that as the Works pays to its shareholders a yearly dividend of 15 per cent. it can afford to give the

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University Rs. 15,000 per annum. The Works has accumulated a considerable reserve fund, it is said. If Sir P. C. Ray had taken his share of the profits, which he has never done, he could have got by this time Rs. 15 lakhs. His proposal is a noble one. And it may prove advantageous to the Works from the business point of view, too, as it will make the concern very popular with the public.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland's Funeral

Dr. Leo S. McCollester, Dean Emeritus of Tufts College, Boston, gave a beautiful address at Dr. J. T. Sunderland's funeral at Ann Arbor on August 16 last.

He paid tribute to the noble courageous character of Dr. Sunderland, who had always stood so fearlessly for what he thought right and true; to the sweet charitableness and appreciative friendliness which characterized his relations with people; to the gentle humour with which he softened the vicissitudes of life; and to the forward-looking, progressive quality of his thinking which made him keep abreast of all the movements of thought and action in the world so that his writings to the end of his life were of current significance.

Dr. Sunderland was singularly free from any manner of race or colour prejudice.

A Poughkeepsie Paper's Tribute to Dr. Sunderland

Dr. J. T. Sunderland lived most of his last 20 years in Poughkeepsie. *The Poughkeepsie Eagle-News* writes in the course of a long obituary article :

The family moved to Iowa when Dr. Sunderland was a boy. He attended Burlington college institute, Burlington, Iowa and spent two years at Colgate university. His studies were interrupted by the Civil War. He joined the northern forces of the Seventh N. Y. Heavy Artillery, serving on the Potomac for about a year and a half. He emerged uninjured and resumed his studies at Chicago university.

He spent two long winters in India, in 1895-96 and 1913-14 and made special studies of Indian art, literature, philosophy and religion. He has written three books about India : "India and World Brotherhood," "The Causes of Famine in India" and "India in Bondage." They have been translated into many foreign tongues.

The author of about 20 books, Dr. Sunderland was widely known through his "The Origin and Character of the Bible" which went into six editions.

Books He Wrote

Other books he had written were "A Rational Faith," "What Is The Bible," "The Liberal Ministry," "Home Travel in Bible Lands," "A College Town Pulpit," "Liberal Religion in India," "A Pacific Coast Pulpit," "Travel and Life in Palestine," "James Martineau," "The Bible and Bible Country," "Oh, to Be Rich and Young," "The Orient and Liberal Religion," "Rising Japan," "Channing," "The Great Religions of Mankind," "Because Men Are Not Stones," "India," "America and World-Brotherhood," "Evolution and Religion."

He went to India in 1895-96 on a commission from the British Unitarian association to study and report upon the educational, social and religious conditions of the Indian people. He was non-resident lecturer on sociology and religion of India in the theological schools at Meadsville, Pa., and Canton, N. Y.

Outstanding Lecturer

An outstanding lecturer, Dr. Sunderland has taken the platform in behalf of his many and varied interests. He has spoken in most parts of the United States and throughout Europe and in the southern parts of Asia.

Before he had suffered his accident, Dr. Sunderland devoted between six and seven hours a day to writing and was in the best of health. He liked to take automobile rides, and talk in his leisure.

Asked once how a person should live to reach a ripe age, Dr. Sunderland said :

"Take care of your health. Study the laws of life and obey them. Be cheerful and hopeful. Work hard and have an interest in something and stick to it."

Central Exchange Bank of India in London

The opening in London of the Central Exchange Bank of India, which is a branch of the Central Bank of India, is a landmark in the progress of Indian banking. It will facilitate the transaction of Indo-British and Indo-European business. The opening of this bank speaks much for the enterprise of the Parsi community of India in particular and of the Central Bank of India.

Indian Steamer Service Between India and Europe

There ought certainly to be a steamer service between India and Europe for carrying passengers and cargo, under Indian management and control and financed mainly, if not entirely, by Indians. The Bombay project for establishing such a service deserves support. It reflects great credit on Bombay's business enterprise.

One thing, however, gives rise to some apprehension and doubt. It is said that there will be Italian "co-operation" in the undertaking and part of the financing will be done by Italians.

We are not opposed to the subsidiary co-operation of foreigners with Indians. But if the foreigners belong to an imperialistic nation and have an eye on India, it is best not to accept any help from them.

The Political Prisoners' Day

The observance of the Political Prisoners' Day all over India, the meetings held and speeches delivered therein, draw attention once again to the grievances of political prisoners.

All prisoners of all descriptions should receive humane treatment. While no prisoner should or can expect to live in luxury or even

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in comfort in a prison, jail diet should be sufficient, palatable and healthy, jail dress health-preserving and not un-decent and jail housing not injurious to health. Arrangements in jails for answering nature's calls should not militate against decency. Prisoners are human beings, not beasts.

Illiterate prisoners should be taught to read and write and supplied with suitable literature, including periodicals and newspapers. Literate prisoners, of course, should also have library and reading room facilities.

The object of prison administration should be the preservation of the physical and mental health of the prisoners and to make such arrangements as would enable them to come out as better men or women than when they got in. The punitive motive may not be entirely eschewed, but certainly the reformative motive should have full play.

If prison administration in India were as it ought to be, there would not be any special reason for ventilating the grievances of political prisoners in particular. But Indian jails are not what they should be. And Government has divided prisoners into three classes, differentiating between their diet, accommodation, etc. As political prisoners generally belong to the educated classes, known in popular parlance as the *bhadralok* class, there is no reason why they should not all be included in class "A", and have all the "amenities" granted to that class. We are sufficiently democratically-minded to be sincerely glad if *all* prisoners of all kinds received "A" class treatment.

"Voice of India" in Japan

We have received a copy of the August issue of *Voice of India* (Vol. VI, No. 41), published from Kobe, Japan. It is the organ of the Indian National Congress Committee of Japan. The editor and publisher is Mr. A. M. Sahay. It is a neatly got-up bi-lingual monthly, articles being printed in parallel columns in English and Japanese. The principal contents of the August number are: The Indian National Congress Lucknow Session, India in Mourning, Subhas Chandra Bose, Indian Students in Japan, Indian National Congress Committee of Japan, Congress Propaganda in Japan, Indian Tourists in Japan, Indians in Japan, Lucknow Indian Congress Resolutions, Repression Continues in India, The Oriental Culture League, P. Hariharan's Art Objects.

It is a noteworthy publication.

Miss Sakuntala Sastri

In South India "Sastri" has become a family name. In Bengal it is generally used by those on whom the Sanskrit College of Calcutta bestows the title for their Sanskrit learning. Miss Sakuntala Rao passed the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University in two subjects successively. Subsequently she obtained the title of "Vedatirtha." The Sanskrit College has bestowed on her the title of "Sastri." So far as Bengal is concerned, she is the only lady who has won the title. She is also the first among the women graduates of Calcutta to receive the Rash Bihary Ghosh Travelling Fellowship. This enabled her to proceed to Oxford, from which University she has obtained the degree of B. Litt. by presenting a thesis.

Miss Sakuntala Sastri

At a meeting of the second International Assembly of the World Fellowship of Faiths, held in London on the 30th July, it was announced that the International President had approved the appointment of Miss Sakuntala Sastri as an honorary organiser in India of the World Fellowship of Faiths, whose third International Assembly is to be held in India in 1938.

Withdrawal of Order about Public Security Act Urged

A united demand for the immediate withdrawal of the Government order promulgating the Bengal Public Security Act in Calcutta, Howrah and 24-Parganas, was made at a public meeting at Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the 20th September last, Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu, M.L.C., presiding.

The meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"This public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta strongly protests against the promulgation of the Bengal Public Security Act in the districts of Calcutta, Howrah and 24-Parganas, predominantly working-class areas. This meeting is emphatically of opinion that this order is one calculated to suppress the legitimate Trade Union

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movement in this province, specially on the eve of the constitutional changes which have for the first time enfranchised Labour of Bengal. This meeting, therefore, demands immediate withdrawal of the order."

Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, who moved the resolution, characterised the Public Security Act as an Ordinance.

Wholesale Conversion of "Harijans"

It appears that Sir Mahomed Iqbal of poetic and propagandist fame has requisitioned Muhammadan missionaries from Egypt to convert the "Harijans" of India to Muhammadanism. They are misinformed who think or appear to think that there is any mass movement among the Hindu depressed class to go over to the Muhammadan fold. The vast majority of them prefer to remain Hindus, though they have many galling and humiliating disabilities. There is great room for their social uplift, economic improvement, educational progress and ethical and spiritual elevation. But Muhammadans cannot and will not do such work.

Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande

Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande, the celebrated musician and author of several Hindustani music treatises, died at Karachi on the 19th September last at the age of seventy-six. He was the founder of the Morris College of Hindustani music at Lucknow and Sangit Vidyalaya at Gwalior.

He dies full of years and honours after doing notable work for classical Indian music. His work as a musician was invaluable.

Compulsory Education in Egypt

CAIRO, SEPT. 20.

A programme of compulsory education for children of school-going-age has been announced by the department of education of the Egyptian Government. The programme which begins from January next year comprises the construction of nearly 1,300 schools all over Egypt. It is estimated that at present these schools will be enough to accommodate one and a half million boys and girls.

The South African Goodwill Delegation

It will give sincere pleasure to all lovers of humanity if the visit of the South African Delegation to India leads to the establishment of better relations between South Africa and India. Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer, the leader of the delegation, stoutly and courageously opposed the iniquitous measure which was intended to deprive the natives of the South African Union of their franchise. In Bombay, Mr. Hofmeyer said in the course of a press statement :

"We hope, we shall be able to take back with us some measure of knowledge and sympathetic understanding of the people's problems in this great land. In the past lack of knowledge has been the primary cause of the misunderstandings that have arisen and the development of personal relations has in the same manner been the primary means towards their removal."

At the Bombay Sheriff's dinner given to the delegation on the 19th September last,

Mr. Hofmeyer referred to the part played by Indians in the development of an important part of South Africa's industry and said that South Africa perhaps had also given something to India. It was in South Africa the philosophy of satyagraha which has done much to rivet attention was evolved. He referred to the great burden resting on India and said it was the burden of poverty, social distress, political strife and communal disunity. "As a community associated with India in the same system of States we desire to have knowledge of your problems and difficulties and we want that knowledge to be a sympathetic one. It is that we hope to take with us when we leave your shores. We have come to India to find a country or sub-continent with far greater diversities than anything we have in our own country and yet one reads in the Simon Report that there is essential unity in diversity in the Indian nation and one learns that you are approximating towards finding that compelling unity, unity of spirit. India in its essence is not a politics-ridden land but rather a spiritually-minded land. She is the Motherland of religions. She has certainly a message."

Nomination versus Competition

Long ago appointments to the Indian Civil Service were made by nomination. As competition is, and was considered, a better method, the competitive civil service examination was instituted. But it has been found that more Indians than Britishers get in by competition. So, beaten in competition, Britishers have cried out again for nomination. So there will be recruitment now by both nomination and competition, so that Britishers, the superior race, may not be swamped by Indians.

Mr. Satyamurti's motion of adjournment in the Assembly directed against the new system of nomination in England has been carried by a majority. Two Muhammadan members of the Assembly spoke in favour of nomination, arguing that nominated men would be better administrators. What do our competitionwala British rulers say? These Muhammadan members do not represent their entire community. For many Muhammadans have been able to enter the service through the door of competition.

Viceroy's Address to Central Legislature

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the two houses of the Central Legislature at a joint sitting of both in the Legislative Assembly hall.

Members of the Congress Party did not attend *en bloc*.

Among the Congress Nationalist Party, which allowed individual freedom to its members, Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt, Sardar Sant Sing, Sardar Mangal Singh, Diwan Lalchand Navalrai, Pandit Krishnakant Malaviya and Bhai Parmanand attended, while Mr. Lakshmikanta Maitra, Mr. Amarendra Nath Chatterjee,

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Mr. Surya Kumar Som and Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder were absent.

The opposition benches were occupied by members of the Council of State.

The Viceroy referred to the subject of the coming constitution in the folowing words:

"By the joint statesmanship of Britain and India there is about to be initiated in this country an experiment in representative self-government which for breadth of conception and boldness of design is without parallel in history. These are the circumstances in which British people and Parliament have seen fit to offer to India a Constitution which by its liberal principles stands in such an impressive contrast to those political tendencies which are evident over wide areas of the world. And if the Constitutional changes now impending predicate remarkable growth of Indian political consciousness in terms of both of desire for self-government and of growing realization of essential unity of India so also those changes connote profound modification of the British policy towards India as a member of the Commonwealth. For indeed, by their very nature, they involve nothing less than the discarding of old ideas of Imperialism for new ideals of partnership and co-operation."

As the Government of India Act of 1935 is not a product of statesmanship in a complimentary sense but rather of state*craft* in an uncomplimentary one, no praise can be given for its authorship to those who are responsible for it.

As the authors of the Act did not accept the suggestions even of the Indian communalists and unprogressive Indian politicians who were chosen by the British Government as so-called delegates or advisers,* as embodied in their Joint Memorandum, it is incorrect to say that the coming constitution is a product of "the joint statesmanship of Britain and India." If any credit is to be given for it, let Britain have all the praise. And obviously, therefore, if the Act deserves condemnation, Indians should not be expected to shoulder any portion of the blame.

The coming "experiment in self-government" is undoubtedly "without parallel in history"! But it is certainly not so for "breadth of conception," though it is unquestionably "without parallel in history" in "boldness of design" in the imperialistic sense!

Neither the Indian National Congress nor the Indian National Liberal Federation have found any "liberal principles" underlying the new constitution thrust upon India. We who do not belong to any party have not found any. Not even any sectional or communal Indian organization has discovered "liberal principles" among its distinguishing features. As for its standing "in impressive contrast to those political tendencies which are evident over wide areas of the world," the contrast is only apparent, not real. The new constitution does not indeed call the Governor-General the Superdictator of India and the Governors the Dictators of the Provinces. But what's in a name? The Act gives them all the powers of Dictators in reality in their respective spheres.

"The constitutional changes now impending predicate remarkable growth of Indian political consciousness in terms of both of desire for self-government and of growing realization of essential unity of India," **in a peculiar manner.** The authors of the Government of India Act of 1935 certainly took note of the fact that Indians have become politically conscious and wanted self-government. But the authors have not noted the fact with the object of satisfying with alacrity the desire for self-rule. On the contrary, not only has the Act not conferred self-government on the people of India, not only has it refrained from making any provision for the new constitution gradually and automatically leading to self-rule in course of time—but it has armed the Governor-General and the Governors with powers to frustrate all endeavours on the part of the people to get self-rule either by constitutional or by extra-constitutional means.

As for the "growing realisation of the essential unity of India," did this realization gladden the hearts of the authors of the Act? The growing unity of India means what in popular parlance is called the growing strength of nationalism in India. If the growth of nationalism in India had been welcome news to the authors of the Act, they would have made provision in the Act for its fruition and further strengthening. But what have they done instead? In the name of an All-India Federation they have introduced the Princes into the constitution as a counter-weight to nationalism in British India with a view to curbing it, and by means of the Communal Decision they have cut up the people of India into many political groups based on sex, religious profession, caste, occupation, etc. The Federal Legislature will be a curious body. It will be like some mythical monstrosity one part of which seeks to move forward and the other part backwards. For, while British India has been given the semblance of democracy, Indian India is to remain autocratic as long as it chooses to so remain, thus serving as a drag on British India.

"Growing realization of essential unity of India," by those who consider themselves the human arbiters of India's destiny, can produce

* This is admitted in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report in a very guarded and unobtrusive manner, when it is said: "Indeed, we recognise that even moderate opinion in India has advocated and hoped for a simpler and more sweeping transfer of power than we have felt able to recommend."—Paragraph 42, Vol. I (Part I) Report.

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results beneficial and satisfactory to Indians only if these arbiters chalk out and follow "a completely united Indian polity." But, far from laying down and following such a polity, they do not even believe in—they do not admit even the possibility, of such a polity. It is stated in paragraph 30 of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee :

"A completely united Indian polity cannot, it is true, be established either now or, so far as human foresight can extend, at any time."

And so they have gone in the opposite direction consciously! This will appear from the following words in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report, paragraph 26 :

"We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India; but, in transferring so many of the powers of government to the Provinces, and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own, we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity."

Or, in other words, they have adopted a polity which may or will have the "inevitable" result of strengthening provincial separatism and "independence" at the expense of national unity, solidarity and inter-dependence of the parts. They, no doubt, proceed to speak in the Report of "such an adaptation of the structure of the Central Legislature as will bind these autonomous parts together." But in that Legislature they have introduced so many non-adhesive, if not disruptive, elements by means of keeping the Princes autocratic and ignoring their subjects altogether, by the Communal Decision, and by transferring most of the most important legislative and administrative functions to the Provinces, that the binding force of the Central Legislature will not avail to effectively counteract the separatist tendencies of the so-called provincial autonomy.

The British Empire is called the British Commonwealth of Nations with reference to the self-governing Dominions. As the Government of India Act of 1935 has not carried out or made any provisions for carrying out the British pledge of conferring Dominion Status on India, it is futile to declare that the coming "constitutional changes" "connote profound modifications of the British policy towards India *as a member of the Commonwealth.*" Of course, His Excellency was speaking seriously—not joking. But Indians may be pardoned for not appreciating the use of such language. The self-respect of even a slave is hurt by being spoken of as a free man.

His Excellency went on to observe with reference to the coming "constitutional changes" :

"For indeed, by their very nature, they involve nothing less than the discarding of old ideas of imperialism for new ideals of partnership and co-operation."

Indians have generally understood the new constitution to involve something very different and we think they are right. They believe that the old ideas of imperialism have not been discarded; they have been presented to the public in a new garb camouflaged to look like "ideals of partnership and co-operation." What real partnership, what true co-operation, is possible between a party which has all the power, all the final power and a party which has no final power? There can be submissive subordination only, under such circumstances.

Concluding the Viceroy said :

"It is axiomatic that the spirit in which a constitution is worked must in the long run count for more than the letter in which it is written. For myself, I am able to assure you that, for such time as I may hold my present office, it is my intention to interpret my duty with a liberal and sympathetic mind. My heartfelt plea to every man and woman of goodwill and public spirit is that they may give these Reforms a fair and reasonable trial and that they will join with me and with the Governors of Provinces in an earnest endeavour to work the new Constitution in a spirit of tolerance and co-operation, for the honour and good of their motherland."

It were ungracious to criticise words spoken gracefully. But duty is a stern taskmaster and must be obeyed.

His Excellency may try to work the constitution in the best spirit—"with a liberal and sympathetic mind." But there is a different spirit underlying and informing the letter of the constitution Act. He cannot go against that spirit. And that spirit is neither liberal nor sympathetic.

One may be pardoned for observing that as there has not yet been any discontinuance of the repressive regime in this country, the people of India have not yet got any foretaste of the sympathetic spirit in which the new constitution is promised to be worked.

There will be every tolerance for difference of opinion or of mere method. But there can be no tolerance on the part of the people of India for what is vitally injurious to their best interests. They will certainly co-operate with the highest and the lowest in all that really makes "for the honour and good of their motherland." But they are not convinced that the Constitution Act makes for the good and the honour of India. Its tendency is rather in the opposite direction.

The Viceroy touched on some of the important matters at present under the consideration of the Government. Among these may be

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mentioned the problem of middle-class unemployment, the problems of public health and nutrition, the problems of industry, and rural development. It may be admitted that something can be done towards the solution of all these problems without going against the letter and spirit of the new constitution or the existing one. But the unvarnished and stern truth is that no adequate solution can be found for them unless there is self-rule in the country.

His Excellency said :

"I am taking close interest in problems of industry and in particular in co-ordination and development of industrial research. In this connection I cannot but affirm my conviction that no steps can be taken which will be more effective in promoting expansion of commerce and industry than those designed to enhance the purchasing power of the rural population."

But will "co-ordination and development of industrial research" counteract Sections 111-121 of the Constitution Act, which have a stranglehold on Indian commerce and industry? By Indian commerce and industry we mean commerce and industry in Indian hands. These cannot flourish so long as at least those sections are not repealed or suitably amended.

As for rural development, there cannot be enough of it without the co-operation of the people. But the Hallett circular, not yet cancelled, does not show that the authorities desire any such real co-operation.

Much more can be said by way of comment on the Viceroy's speech. But we have said enough to show that, whatever its tone, spirit and form, which are undoubtedly unexceptionable, it is not satisfactory from the Indian point of view.

Sailendranath Ghose Permitted to Return

NEW YORK, SEPT. 21.

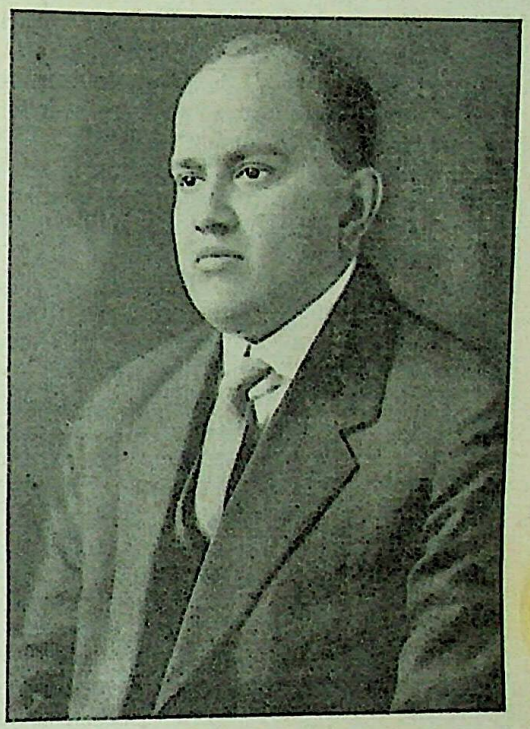
Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghose, who has been for 20 years in the United States as a political exile, has been notified by the British Embassy that the Government of India are willing to permit his return to India.

The Embassy have assured him that no action will be taken against him in respect of his past activities "provided he conducted himself in a lawful manner and did not revert to subversive activities."

Mr. Ghose, with his wife and children, will leave New York by the steamer, *New Orleans*, on November 3, and is due at Calcutta in the middle of December. He will stand for election to the Federal Legislature, for which, it is said, his friends have already entered his name.—*Reuter.*

The condition laid down for Mr. Ghose's immunity from legal action cannot but make those smile who know the slender basis of personal liberty in India.

Mr. Sailendranath Ghose is a native of Nadia. He was a student in a Calcutta college. He left India secretly in 1916 and has since been in residence in the United States of America, where he has married an American lady and where he was president of the branch Indian National Congress. After the Gandhi-Irwin pact, he attempted to return to India, but was refused a passport by the British Government—presumably on political grounds.



Sailendranath Ghose

When America and India were first hooked up by air and when the broadcast between the two nations was attempted in the morning of December 26, 1928, Mr. Sailendranath Ghose announced an elaborate programme. Among those who spoke to India by radio on that occasion were Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (then in America), U. S. Senator Royal S. Copeland, David Lawrence (Editor, United States Daily), Karl A. Bickel (President of the United Press of America), H. H. Stansbury (General Manager of Universal Service), Kent Cooper (General Manager, the Associated Press of America), S. N. Gokhale, Ramlal Bajpai (Secretary, American Branch Indian National Congress) and Sailendranath Ghose (President of that Branch).

Sasi Bhushan Datta

Principal Sasi Bhushan Datta breathed his last on the 16th September last in Calcutta in the 86th year of his age. He was a brilliant student in his university career. He took his M. A. degree in philosophy, obtaining higher marks than any previously obtained by any other candidate for that examination. It is

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said that his answers were so full and accurate, without any erasion or correction, that they were long preserved by the Examining Board as a model of what they ought to be.

Early in his career as a teacher, he was professor in Bethune College. His scholarship was so comprehensive that he taught English and philosophy in the B. A. and history and mathematics in the F. A. (now Intermediate) classes. In the various colleges where in succession he served, he taught English Literature, Sanskrit, Science, Mathematics, History or Economics with ability, whenever required to do so. His scholarship was surpassed only by the conscientiousness with which he taught his students. For some time he was a divisional Inspector of School. The last office which he held was that of Principal of Krishnagore College, from which he retired in 1908.

Besides the subjects which he studied and mastered as a college student and, later, as a professor, he devoted much time to peruse books on the Ayurvedic, allopathic and homoeopathic systems of medicine.

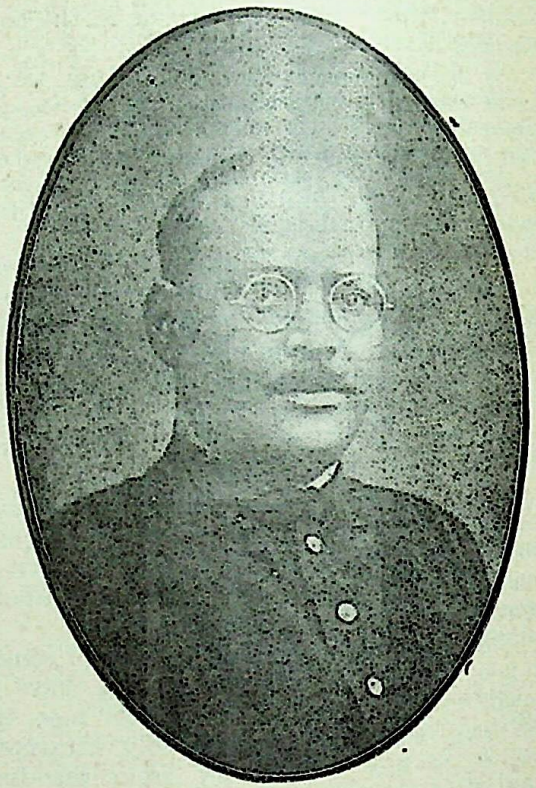
His life was pure, simple and serene—serene in spite of bereavements which try men's faith. His students, friends and acquaintances felt elevated by his company and example. He served the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj at different times as a member of its general committee, a member of its executive committee, its secretary and its president. Spiritual studies and contemplation and philanthropic work gave him more joy than anything else.

Indu Bhushan Dutt

India as a whole is backward in modern industries and in banking and other business. And the people of Bengal are more backward in industry and business than those of some other provinces. This province, therefore, requires captains of industry and leaders in the field of business of various descriptions. She has produced a few, and, it is hoped, will produce more.

Among leaders in banking prominent mention must be made of Indu Bhushan Dutt of Comilla, whose untimely and sudden death at the age of 54, the province mourns.

As a young man he went to England to compete for the I. C. S. examination, but returned without doing so owing to his father's sudden death and his own illness. He was confined to bed for ten long years. When he recovered he founded the Comilla People's Co-operative Bank in 1917. It became a flourishing concern in the course of a few years. He was prominently connected with the local bodies of his district, was twice elected Chairman of the Comilla Central Co-operative Bank, was intimately connected with the Postal and R. M. S. Union and twice presided over its annual conference. He was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council during 1921-1923, when his debating powers and independence were highly appreciated. His greatest achievement was the establishment of the Comilla Union Bank, Ltd., in 1922.



Indu Bhushan Dutt

In the course of fourteen years, by dint of his exceptional ability, indomitable energy, keen foresight and shrewd business acumen, he raised the status and prestige of the Bank as its managing director, and today it is one of the foremost Bengali Banks with thirteen branches all over Bengal and Assam and working funds exceeding 71 lakhs and hundreds of employees. He was unmarried and he spent his whole time and energy for the prosperity and solidarity of the Bank. He was the pioneer of many movements. It was he who founded the colony of Bengalee residents at Cox's Bazar, which is the only sanatorium for East Bengal people. It was he who introduced the principles and system of modern banking in moffusil banking companies and was bold enough as a pioneer to open up a Branch at Calcutta and other branches elsewhere.

He was truly a perfect gentleman. A man of spotless character and great suavity of manners, he was sincerely loved and respected

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by people of all communities, high and low, and officials and non-officials alike. He was always ready to help anyone who sought his help, to the best of his ability. His death has been a great loss not only to business circles but to the general public also.

League of Nations undecided over Abyssinia

LONDON, SEPT. 22.

The Credentials Committee of the League of Nations has decided to refer the question of Abyssinian representation in the League Assembly to the Hague International Court and has also appointed a sub-committee of jurists to decide whether the Abyssinians should continue to sit in the Assembly pending the decision of the Hague Court.

It is believed in Rome that in view of the decision of the Credentials Committee on the Abyssinian problem, Italy will now refrain from sending its delegation to Geneva. The Italian delegation, it is stated, was actually waiting to entrain for Geneva as soon as word was flashed that Abyssinia had been refused admission.

The Negus, meanwhile, arrived at Geneva at 5-35 p.m. yesterday and was met at the airport by a crowd of hundreds of journalists, photographers, 50 policemen and a few villagers. He motored straight to his hotel.

It is understood that the Credentials Committee this morning had before them a letter addressed by the Negus to the League in which he gave details of the area in Abyssinia in Italian occupation.

The Assembly has elected Dr. Saavedra Lamas (Argentina) as its President by 44 out of 45 valid votes cast. The Australian delegate, Mr. Stanley Bruce, received one vote.—*Reuter.*

India Should Withdraw From the League of Nations

On the 22nd of September the Council of State adopted by 35 votes to 6 a non-official resolution urging India's withdrawal from the League of Nations. Another view, that India's contribution to the League of Nations should be reduced, was supported by Government members.

Taking as his text the recent events in Abyssinia and the present impasse at Geneva—regarding the admission of the Negus's delegation to the League Assembly—Mr. Hosain Imam, the mover, launched a bitter attack on the League which, he said, had failed in nearly all departments of its activities—disarmament, ensuring peace, Mandates and safeguarding the rights of the minorities.

The only contribution of Geneva was in the field of social and economic activities, activities in which India could participate without being a member of the League, just as Brazil was doing.

India, Mr. Imam said, did not disbelieve in the League ideal of peace but she was like a shareholder in a company: when the managing agents mismanaged the affairs the poor shareholder could only get out of the concern.

In place of disarmaments there was a race in armaments; and they were faced with unilateral pacts with Powers not even belonging to the League.

The Geneva organization did not interfere when China—for many years a member of the League—was despoiled of territory.

The crowning shame came with the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy. Abyssinia had believed in the League's potentialities but nothing was done to save the Negus.

Sir Samuel Hoare, continued Mr. Imam, who had the honesty to tell Abyssinia that she could not be saved, was sacrificed.

The last event in the tragedy was the disallowance of the Abyssinian delegation at the meetings of the League Assembly, an action "intended just to please the arrogant dictator of Italy." Greater latitude given to Signor Mussolini or Herr Hitler, said Mr. Imam, meant the greater weakness of the League.

While Mesopotamia obtained self-government first and foremost and Syria had been promised a constitution, the situation in Palestine was allowed to go from bad to worse by making the country a home for Jews and by the "smuggling" of 5,000 Jews annually into the country "with the connivance of its Mandatory Power." When the Arab population protested, the threat of martial law was held out, concluded Mr. Imam.

Sir Phiroze Sethna moved an amendment suggesting that a substantial reduction be made in India's annual contribution to the League, preferably from this year.

The League's inability to prevent war, he said, had shaken their confidence in it. But India had a special grievance. She had not yet been made a non-permanent member of the Council of the League nor had any Indian so far been appointed to any position of control or direction. He thought that the principal posts in the League were filled through diplomatic and political considerations.

India's contribution of Rs. 14,50,000 a year, he thought was unjustified. Sir Otto Niemeyer had urged the utmost economy, and the saving of even a few lakhs from the costly luxury of the League could be more profitably spent on the development of national services.

Mr. P. N. Sapru agreed with Sir Phiroze Sethna.

If India withdrew from the League she would be deprived of the present opportunities of participating in its social and humanitarian work. The League, he said, was but an imperfect instrument in an imperfect world. India should co-operate with the progressive elements in the world in reconstructing the League.

Health of Subhas Chandra Bose

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's heath has been causing anxiety to the public. The report of his examination by Drs. Sir Nilratan Sircar and Kumud Sankar Ray should be published without delay, and if, as is rumoured, the doctors have recommended his removal to Calcutta for further medical examination and for subsequent treatment, no time should be lost in taking the necessary steps.

Flood & Famine

Flood in the rivers in Bihar and Bengal—particularly Bihar, continue to cause anxiety. Harrowing accounts of the terrible loss of life and property have appeared in the papers. Man appears powerless in the face of inundations. But with previous scientific preparations they can be controlled and even turned to good account. It is up to the central and provincial governments in India to make such preparations betimes. In the meantime all possible help should, of course, be given to the people in distress.

Famine conditions still prevail in many parts of Bengal. Numerous families still require help.

Bombay papers give distressing accounts of

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famine in some parts of the Bombay Presidency. They rightly appeal to the government and the public to come to the rescue of the people in distress.

International P. E. N. Congress at Buenos Aires

Very meagre news have been received so far by cable, relating to the International P. E. N. Congress at Buenos Aires, capital of the Argentine Republic, South America.

A telegram sent by some private party which has appeared in some papers runs as follows :

BUENOS AIRES, SEPT. 7.

The Fourteenth International P. E. N. Congress was inaugurated on Saturday the 5th of September. The President of the Argentine Republic was in the chair. Delegates received a warm welcome.

The Argentine P. E. N. Centres voiced their greetings and welcomed the Congress which is attended by delegates and their friends from all parts of the globe. Then the famous French author, Jules Romains, spoke.

Among the speakers at the first social function was India's delegate, Madame Sophia Wadia.

The business sessions commenced today.

This telegram does not mention even the name of another delegate from India, namely, Professor Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University.

Information has reached Calcutta that all the delegates to the P. E. N. Congress from various countries were given a reception at the palatial residence of the President of the Argentine Republic.

Six-hundredth Anniversary of Vijayanagar

POONA.

Elaborate arrangements are being made to celebrate in December this year, in a fitting manner at Hampi, the seat of the Vijayanagar Empire, the sixth-centenary of the founding of the empire, and historians, educationists and litterateurs throughout Karnatak were enthusiastically co-operating in the scheme, stated Dr. B. A. Saletore.

Dr. Saletore said that Vijayanagar Empire was the first Hindu State with an ideal to create a national culture as opposed to sectarian traditions. He added : "There was no religion that it did not support, no language that it did not patronise and no community that it did not fraternise with. Jain generals led in its wars, Mohammedan officers commanded its divisions and Christian soldiers fought under its banners."

The Brussels World Peace Congress

The World Peace Congress met at Brussels on the 3rd September.

"More than four thousand delegates coming from 35 countries and representing no less than 750 national and 40 international organizations brought to this first Congress of the International Peace Campaign, the warm support of all forces of peace. The Churches, the ex-Service men, the Trade Union and the Co-operative Movement are joined with intellectual, feminine, agrarian and youth organizations and with every political party : Conservative, Liberal, Democratic, Socialist, and Communist."

In it Mr. V. K. Menon represented the Indian National Congress, Mr. B. Banerjee represented the Indian Swaraj League (London) and Dr. Mulk Raj Anand represented the Indian Progressive Writers' Association.

Head the Hindus Lose, Tails the Hindus Lose

As the Hindus, who are in an overwhelming majority in the United Provinces, are very meagrely employed in the police and some other departments in spite of there being plenty of qualified Hindus, they wanted appointments in proportion to their numbers. But the official reply has been, as expected, disappointing. The real reason is, they are not Muslims, whatever the reason given out may be.

The Coming Congress Session

Preparations for the coming Congress session in a village, Faizpur, are going on briskly. Permission has been obtained from the Government for the use of 83 acres of land there. The Congress Nagar will be named "Tilak Nagar." Mr. N. C. Kelkar has joined the Reception Committee—the genuine patriot that he is. Mr. Madhav Martand Deshpande of Yawal has announced a munificent donation of Rs. 20,000 in case any deficit were sustained by the Reception Committee.

All these are cheering news.

Consequence to Britain of Probable Victory Of Spanish Rebels

A leading article in the *New Statesman* of August 8 last points out the probable consequences if the Spanish insurgents, who are Fascists, became ultimately victorious. It writes, in part :

The British Government seem to have learnt nothing from the Abyssinian humiliation. Yet they can no longer claim that by giving way to Mussolini they are procuring an ally against Hitler. A Radical-Socialist or even a Communist Spain would be bound to keep on good terms with Britain as well as France, while a Fascist Government would, with equal certainty, ally itself with Italy and Germany. It seems to be no idle rumour that General Franco has arranged for Italy to take the Balearic islands and for Hitler to have a share of Morocco. Can it be really nothing—we ask in amazement that such a question should have to be asked—to this Government that General Franco's success would mean an Italian-German-Spanish Fascist alliance in the Mediterranean and that Britain would lose the control of the Straits of Gibraltar as she has already largely lost the control of the Suez? How long in this case would great Britain retain her hold of Malta, Palestine or Egypt? These are not the grounds which awaken our sympathy with the Spanish people. We mention them because we are not yet convinced that a National Government can totally ignore the fate of the British Empire.

Nevertheless the capitalist and Conservative classes in Britain are siding with the Spanish rebels. The reasons can be understood from the extract which we have given from an American periodical in a previous note in this issue.

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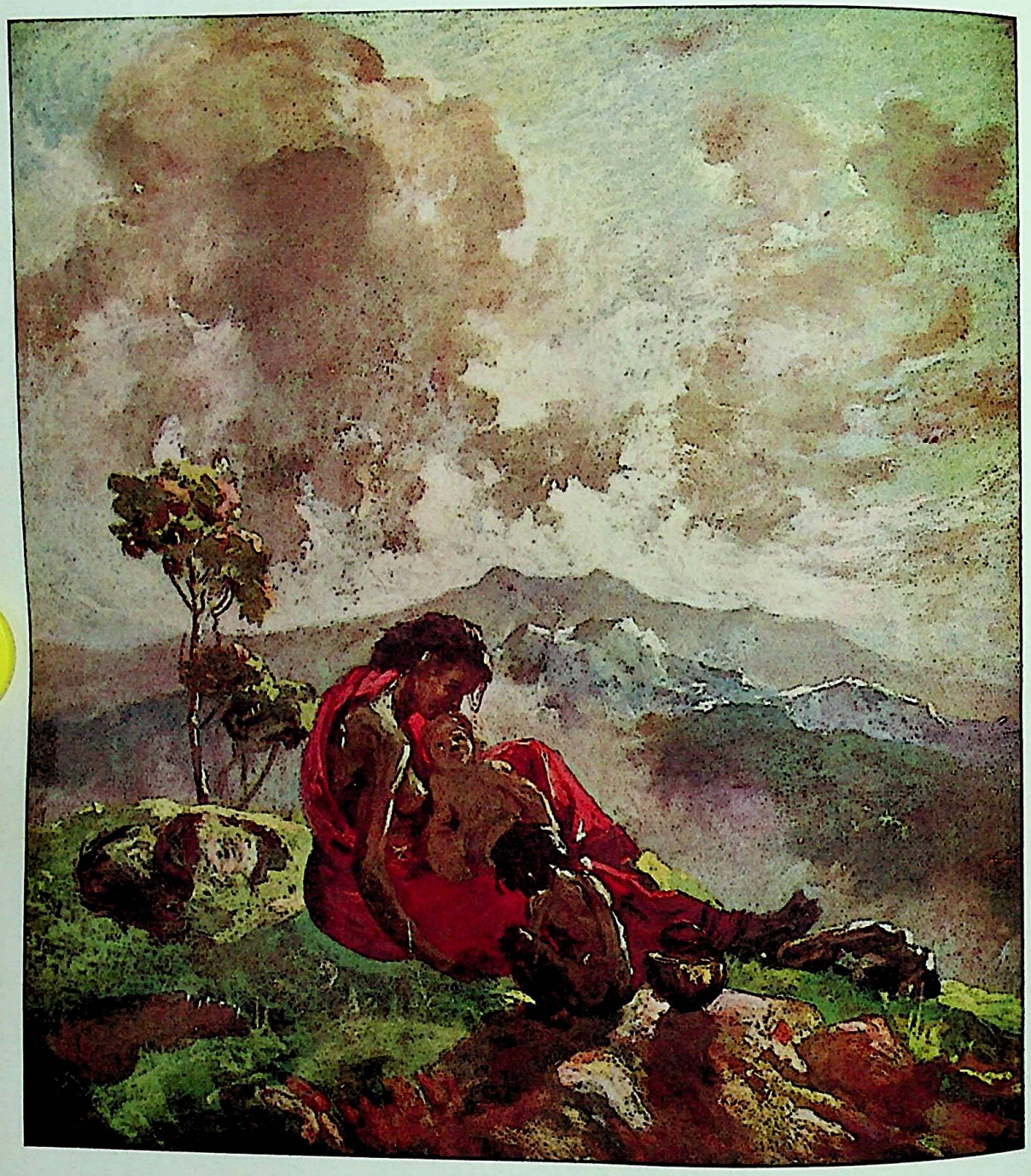

MOTHER
By Debiprosad Ray Chaudhuri

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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N. V. Rai Choudhury.
Calcutta. 21. 10. 36.

THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1936

VOL. LX., No. 5 WHOLE No. 359

LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIAN STATES

BY RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.SC., PH.D.

IN spite of considerable progress in British Provinces, labour legislation lags behind in Indian States, which number 562 and have an area of 712,508 square miles and a population of 81.3 millions, or roughly about two-fifths of the total area and over one-fifth of the whole population of the country.[1] These States came under the influence of the Government of India at different times, with which they established their relationship under various treaties. All of them, however, owe allegiance to the British Government, or the Paramount Power, as it is called, which acts for them in all relations with foreign powers and other Indian States, but enjoy considerable autonomy in internal affairs except in the case of misrule. Except in the case of some maritime States, they have freedom of trade with British India and may levy their own customs and enact their own legislation. Several States, such as Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore, Baroda, Indore, Travancore and Gwalior, compare favourably with some of the European States in area and population.[2]

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Modern industrialism has long made its appearance in some of the States. For instance, 48 States are reported to have factories, mines or plantations,[3] although only a few of them are of any industrial importance. As in the case of the British Provinces, the most important organized industries are the mills, mines, plantations and transport. The development of industry is best indicated by the growth of joint stock companies, the paid-up capital of which increased between 1911-12 and 1932-33 from Rs. .34 crores to Rs. 11.9 crores in the case of those registered in India and from £5.8 millions to £10.9 millions in the case of those registered abroad but at work in the States.

The most important organised industry in the States is the spinning and weaving of cotton, in which the looms and spindles were 20,595 and 1,045,722 respectively in 1932-33.[4] The next important industry is mining, especially the production of gold and coal. The former is the monopoly of the Kolar gold field of Mysore and the latter is scattered over several States. The Kolar gold field produced in 1932, 329,575 ounces of fine gold as compared with 107 ounces in British India. The

1. Without Burma, which is soon to be separated, the area and population of India are respectively 1,575,182 square miles, and 338,170,632, giving a percentage of 45 and 24 respectively for the area and population in Indian States.

2. The area in square miles and the population in millions (in brackets) of these States are given below: Hyderabad, 82,698 (14.43); Kashmir (including Jammu), 84,516 (3.64); Mysore, 29,326 (6.55); Gwalior, 26,367 (3.52); Indore, 9,518 (1.31); Baroda, 8,164 (2.44); Travancore, 7,625 (5.09); Cochin, 1,480 (1.20).

3. The figure refers to the report made by the Government of India to the International Labour Office in 1929-30. *Cf.* "Labour Legislation in India," *International Labour Review*, November, 1930.

4. Cf. *Statistical Abstract for British India* for the respective years.

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production of coal in 1934 was 1,813,123 including 769,636 tons in Hyderabad.[5] The next important industry is plantations,[6] especially the cultivation of tea, coffee and rubber, to which was devoted 227,700 acres, 148,000 acres, and 105,900 acres respectively, in 1934. Some of the States have also their own railways and in 1934-35 they owned and worked 5,284 miles of railways and had also 1,659 miles of railways worked by the main line of British India as well as 39 miles of company-owned railways guaranteed by them.[7] A few States have also ports and Travancore will soon have a first class port at Trichinopoli.

The most important modern industries are factories. In 1932, there were 1646 factories employing 194,802 workers[8] of which 66 factories employing 22,603 workers were owned by the Indian Durbars (Governments); of the remaining 563 factories employing 116,424 persons were perennial, and 1,017 factories employing 55,775 workers were seasonal. The most important classes of these factories were textile mills and cotton ginneries and presses consisting respectively of 101 and 881 factories, employing respectively 63,057 and 46,752 workers. The largest number of factories and workers are to be found in the States of Hyderabad, Mysore and Baroda, which had respectively 484, 159 and 186 factories and employed 31,614, 24,272, and 23,387 workers.

Figures for all classes of mining workers are not available, but most of them are engaged in gold and coal mines. The daily average number of workers in gold mines was 18,892 in 1932, practically all of whom were employed in the Kolar gold mines,[9] and that in collieries 17,871 in 1934 including 9,471 in Hyderabad.[10] Considerable numbers of workers are employed upon various plantations. The tea, coffee, and rubber estates, for instance, employ 83,141, 51,708, and 16,074 workers respectively in 1934. As far as the employment of plantation labour is concerned, the most important States are Travancore and Mysore employing 83,781 and 56,786 persons respectively in 1934.[11] The total number of railway employees in all the Indian States is not available but in 1934-35 their number was 16,803 in Hyderabad, 3,886 in Bikaner, 3,697 in Baroda and 3,280 in Bhavnagar.

Legislative Measures[12]

Reports as to the existence of labour legislation have been received from only 22 States.[13] As in the case of the British Provinces, labour legislation has developed best in connection with factories. The provisions of the Factories Acts differ from State to State, but most of them have been modelled after the Factories Act of the Government of India. As a rule they lag behind, but a few of them have adopted some of the recent amendments introduced by the Government of India on the lines of the International Labour Conventions.

Hyderabad has made considerable progress in factory legislation. The Factories Act (No. IV) of 1928 made the following important provisions :[14]

(1) A factory is defined to be "any premises wherein, or within the precincts of which, on any one day in the year not less than twenty persons are simultaneously employed and steam, water and other mechanical power or electrical power is used for manufacturing any article or part of any article". The Government is also empowered, after notification in the official gazette, to extend the operation of the Act to any premises in which power is used and not less than ten persons are employed, and also to declare to be factories any premises in which twenty or more persons are employed for manufacturing purposes, even if mechanical or electrical power is not used.

(2) A child is defined to be a person under the age of fifteen years, and the minimum age of employment is fixed at twelve. No child may be employed in a factory unless certified by a certifying surgeon or a medical practitioner deputed by him as to his age and physical fitness for work, and unless he has this certificate or

5. *Indian Coal Statistics*, 1934. Table No. 1.

6. Compiled from *Indian Tea Statistics*, 1934; *Indian Coffee Statistics*, 1934-35; and *Indian Rubber Statistics* 1934.

7. *Report by the Railway Board on Indian Railways*. 1934-35. Vol. 2, p. 8.

8. *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1935*, Table No. 314. It includes 4 factories and 8,422 workers in French settlements.

9. *Statistical Abstract for British India 1935*. No. 320. Figures refer to the whole of India but since practically all the gold is extracted in the Kolar gold field, the figure may be assumed to present approximately the number of mining labourers in Mysore.

10. *Indian Coal Statistics 1934*. Table No. 6.

11. Compiled from Table 3 of the Statistical reports mentioned above. The figure for coffee plantations refers to the fiscal year of 1934-35.

12. These measures are by no way complete. They only give some rough idea of the existing labour legislation in these States.

13. Refers to the Report made by the Government of India mentioned above.

14. The Hyderabad Factories Act No. IV of 1337 Fasli, (1 October, 1928). International Labour Office: *Legislative Series*, 1928, Hyderabad 1.

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its token in his possession. A certifying surgeon is also granted power to revoke any certificate granted to a child, if in his opinion, the child is no longer fit for employment in a factory.

(3) The maximum hours of work for men are laid down at sixty a weeek and eleven a day. Each person should have a weekly holiday which will be granted on Fridays (Moslem holiday), unless it may be arranged to be within three days immediately preceding or succeeding the Friday provided that no such substitution shall be made as will result in any person working for more than ten consecutive days without a holiday for a whole day. Each person should have an interval of rest for one full hour for six hours' work. This interval of rest may be reduced, at the request of the employees, to half-an-hour to be granted for each period of five hours' work. Male workers may also have only half-an-hour's interval of rest during a working day if the maximum daily hours do not exceed 8½ and previous sanction is granted by Government to that effect. No child may be employed in a factory for more than six hours a day nor permitted to work more than 5½ hours without a period of rest of not less than half-an-hour, and the rest period shall be so fixed that no child shall be required to work continuously for more than four hours. No woman shall work in a factory for more than ten hours a day. Women and children should not be employed before 5 a. m. and after 7 p. m., and no person shall be employed except during the hours fixed for him by each factory.

(4) Provisions have been made for keeping a factory clean and free from effluvia arising from any drain, or privy nuisance, and from dust, gas, vapour or other impurities, and from excessive humidity which may be injurious to the health of persons as well as from overcrowding. Provisions have also been made for sufficient lighting and ventilation, drinking water and sanitary latrines. The fencing of dangerous machinery is provided and the inspector is granted powers to issue orders in writing requiring a factory to carry out special measures for removing danger to human body and life before a specified period, or prohibiting the use of any machinery or plant involving immediate danger unless it has been duly repaired or altered. Women and children are prohibited from employment in dangerous work such as the cleaning of mill-gearing or the tending of cotton-openers without proper guard. Moreover, provisions have been made for the appointment of qualified factory inspectors and certifying surgeons.

By the end of 1935, the Government of Hyderabad declared all rice mills in which not less than ten persons were employed on any one day in the year to be factories within the meaning of the Factories Act of 1st October 1928. This order was deemed necessary owing to the nature of the machinery used in rice mills, the long hours of employment of women during the busy season and the uncertain conditions as regards sanitation and ventilation prevailing in a number of the smaller mills.[15]

The Government of Hyderabad again issued a notification early in 1936 to the effect that the Hyderabad Factories Act should in future apply to *bidi* (cigarette) factories in which not less than twenty persons were simultaneously employed on any one day in the year for the following reasons[16]: (1) On enquiry by the Factory Department it has been ascertained that the employment of child labour in *bidi* (cigarette) factories is very general, the proportion being in some cases as high as one-third of the total labour force. These children are made to work along with adults such long periods as ten to eleven hours a day. Pledging of child labour by parents is prevalent to a considerable extent; (2) sanitary conditions in the majority of these factories are very unsatisfactory. Employees, who include also a number of very young children, have often to work in crowded ill-ventilated rooms in a suffocating atmosphere of tobacco fumes.

Mysore amended its Factories Act by the Regulations of 1925 on the lines of the Indian Factories Act of 1922, thus giving effect to the Hours and Weekly Rest Conventions of the International Labour Conference, passed the Regulation No. IV of 1929 to provide for better regulation of cotton ginning and cotton pressing factories,[17] and introduced a Bill to amend the Mysore Factories Regulations in June 1935. The amendments are drafted on the lines of the Government of India Act of 1934 with a view to restricting the hours of work to fifty-four a week with a maximum of ten hours a day, safeguarding the health and safety of the workers, and standardising artificial humidification, so as to remove discomfort to workers. In 1934-35, 199 factories employing an average daily number of 17,535 labourers, including 1,418 children, were working under the Mysore Factories Regulation.[18]

15. *Indian Labour Journal*, 8 December, 1935.
16. *Industrial and Labour Information*, 15 June, 1936; 21 September, 1936.
17. International Labour Office: *Legislative Series*, 1929, Mysore 1.
18. *Labour Gazette*, July 1935, p. 862; *Administration*

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Baroda is one of the first States to pass the Factories Act. The Factories Act (No. V of the Samvat or Hindu year 1970) of 1914, framed on the lines of the Indian Factories Act of 1911, came into force on 1st February 1914. With a view to giving effect to various amendments of the Indian Factories Act, the Baroda Factories Act of 1914 was amended by the Factories Amendment Act (Samvat 1986) of 1930, and was brought into operation on 1st August of the same year.[19] The provisions of the Act are practically the same as those of the Hyderabad Factories Act of 1928 with a few alterations. A factory, for instance, has been defined to be any premises or precincts using power but employing thirty persons in any one day; but permission has been given to declare, with due notification in the official gazette, any premises to be a factory which employ ten persons or more whether using mechanical power or not. The localisation and construction of a factory also follow certain regulations and are dependent upon the approval of the chief officer or magistrate of a district. In 1933-34, 123 factories employing 25,859 labourers, including 14 cotton mills with 22,110 workers, were worked under the Factories Act of Baroda.[20]

Indore passed a Factories Act as early as 1904 under which the hours of work do not exceed seven a day for children, ten a day for women and sixty a week for men. It has also provisions for rest intervals and weekly holidays. In May 1935 a Factories Act modelled on the Indian Factories Act of 1911, as modified up to 1931, was passed by the Junagadh State providing eleven hours a day and sixty hours a week.[21] Travancore has also introduced a Bill for the regulation of factories modelled after the Indian Factories Act of 1934.

The main provisions of the Factories Act in these and their States may be briefly summarised as follows: (1) the minimum age of children for employment varies from nine to eleven years; (2) the hours of work are generally seven for children and vary from ten to twelve for women and from eleven to twelve for men; (3) in some of the States children and women are not allowed to work in factories between 7 p. m. and 5-30 a. m., (4) most of the States have provisions for rest periods and weekly holidays; (5) most of them have also provisions for sanitation and safety; (6) some of the States have also special staff for factory inspection, while others entrust it to magistrates and other officers.

Some of the States have enacted mining legislation and prohibit the employment of children and women in under-ground work. Mysore, which employs the largest number of the mining workers, provides for Sanitation Boards and a Mine Inspector.[22] Others have Bills for such purposes under consideration. Most of the States have also passed laws for the inspection of boilers. In one of the States, there is a regulation for the control of work on tea gardens. The Artificers' and Workmen's Contract Act is still in force in some of the States, while it has been abolished by others. Mysore passed a Workmen's Compensation Regulation (XIV) in 1928, and in 1934-35, there were 209 claims for compensation, of which 197, including thirty fatal cases, were settled and twelve were still pending at the end of the year.[23] Similar regulations have been passed by Baroda,[24] and are under consideration by Travancore.

Travancore has introduced into the legislature a Bill for the registration of trade unions, and for the regulation of trade disputes, both of which have been modelled after similar Acts in British India. The Government of Indore proposes to introduce in the first session of the Legislative Council a Bill to regulate the employment of women in factories sometime before and sometime after confinement and to provide for the payment of maternity benefit to them. The Bill lays down a maximum peiod of eight week's absence from the employment during which maternity benefit shall be paid.[25]

Administration of the Law

As far as the administration of the law is concerned, nothing is definitely known about it in most of the States, but some idea of it may be had from the provisions under the Factories Act of Hyderabad and Mysore. Both these States provide for the appointment of certifying surgeons and factory inspectors and additional inspectors, and also make every chief magistrate of a district an *ex officio* inspector. Every

Report on the working of the Department of Industries and Commerce in Mysore for 1934-35 p. 3.

19. International Labour Office: *Legislative Series*, 1930, Baroda 1.

20. Cf. *Labour Gazette*, September 1935, p. 37.

21. *Labour Gazette*, November 1935, p. 197. Junagadh is a small State with an area of 3,284 square miles and a population of 545,152 in 1931.

22. *Mysore Mines Regulation of 1906.*

23. *Administration Report of the Department of Industries and Commerce in Mysore for 1934-35*, p. 3.

24. *Labour Gazette*, September 1935, p. 37.

25. *Industrial and Labour Information*, 3 August, 1936, p. 146.

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inspector is deemed to be a public servant within the meaning of the Penal Code of the State, and is officially subordinate to such authority as the Government may indicate in its behalf.

The administratiton of the Mysore Factories Act is a still better illustration on the point. By the end of June 1935 there were 223 boilers in the State, of which 173 were fully examined during the year. Most of these boilers were maintained in good condition and free from scale-formation. The inspection was carried out by superintendents of industries in their respective jurisdiction and by the industrial engineer in Kolar gold fields. Of the 199 factories, 165 or about 83 per cent were inspected during the year, 92 being inspected by Government electrical engineers. Besides, 36 cotton-ginning and pressing factories were inspected by the *ex officio* inspectors appointed under the Cotton-Ginning and Pressing Factories Regulation. Of the 1,449 children, 341 were examined during the year by certifying surgeons and 325 were granted certificates of age and physical fitness for work in factories.

Much yet remains to be done regarding ventilation, lighting and the supply of drinking water in the main factories, but the fencing and guarding of machinery was found satisfactory and the number of factory accidents was only 119, including one fatal, 59 serious and the remainder minor cases. The provisions for daily and weekly hours, as well as rest intervals, were generally observed by employers. As in British India, weekly holidays are granted mostly on Sundays, but in certain cases the local weekly market day was selected for a weekly holiday. During the year, there were three labour disputes, one in the Kolar gold fields and the other two in the textile mills of Mysore and Bangalore. Mining companies and textile mills have undertaken some work for improving living conditions and for developing general welfare work.[26]

26. *Administration Report of the Department of Industries and Commerce in Mysore for 1934-35*, pp. 18-20.

THE BETRAYAL OF ETHIOPIA

By NANCY CUNARD

I

"Ethiopia was betrayed by the League of Nations at Geneva—we did not expect it to be otherwise. Look at the whole way sanctions were applied. They were tardy, they were far from fully operative. The nations, most of them, had envisaged them in this manner. They would not sell enough war material to Ethiopia. It is no surprise to us now that Ethiopia has been dropped." How many of the Negro and coloured peoples of the world are saying this now?

And they will add: "We wanted to believe in the principles of the Soviet Union, the principles of socialism, which say that all races are equal and recognise the rights of all peoples to govern themselves. How may the contradiction be explained? New France, with her government of the People's Front, which is mainly socialist, and the Soviet Union, have had to act in agreement with the capitalist-imperialist powers. We Negro and colonised peoples—are we to think once again that we can depend only upon ourselves? Moreover, in view of France's attitude to Ethiopia, we wonder what changes we can expect from her new government—what does it propose to do about the brutal and abominable treatment of the natives in all of the French colonies?"

They will add, too: "The Swiss government even refused the Emperor Haile Selassie permission to live in the private villa he had previously bought at Vevey. He had to leave immediately the League Assembly was over. It was even said to be doubtful if he would be allowed to speak in the League. The League turned down all the technically lawful demands of Ethiopia's delegates. It refused to make any loan to Ethiopia. It refused to sell Ethiopia munitions with which to continue to fight Italy, who was officially recognised as the aggressor. In short, it has washed its hands of the whole Ethiopian question. That is what is clear to us."

To examine this monumental treachery, and the repeatedly self-avowed collapse of the League, is what I propose to attempt in this article.

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Be it said at once: there is no possible justification, no possible excuse for the aggression on Ethiopia to have been allowed in the past—or for the League's desertion of Ethiopia now. *But this is not all. There are other things. There are major reasons and considerations.*

II

What happened at the League of Nations in Geneva

"So as not to offend Italy"—that is, of course, the plan which was followed from start to finish. The ending of sanctions was a foregone conclusion; some countries had even abandoned them before the League powers assembled. So what new development could be expected? We heard what we expected to hear, those of us who were there on the spot, at every one of the twice-daily five-day sessions.

The official end came at the close of the last day.

"Recognising that various circumstances have prevented the integral application of the Covenant" is the actual phrase in the *Text of the Resolution on the Abandon of Sanctions*. It is with this phrase that the sanctions were buried.

Let me set down briefly the things that happened in Geneva during these days of the burial of a country, these days of all absolution from blame of fifty-two countries.

The League of Nations had said that it would meet to talk of Ethiopia and of Ethiopia only, and it talked of other things. It talked very much of itself, of its reconstruction, of peace, of the danger of war, of Danzig. It looked at itself, and it looked apprehensively at its future. It looked, proportionately as little as possible, at what was to be done for, or even about, Ethiopia. It made no mention of the abominations of the Indian conquest, of the gases and bombs used on defenceless Ethiopian citizens, nor of the repeated bombings of the Red Cross. There was no denouncement of the aggressor, and there was hardly a trace of excuse to, or condolence with, Ethiopia—with the outstanding exception of South Africa, the sympathy of the Irish Free State, the withdrawal of Mexico before the vote on sanctions was taken, and the humane attitude of Sweden and of some of the South American countries. The excuses that *were* made were made by the League to the League for its weakness and ineffectiveness. It was as if the statesmen were rivalling each other to say as little as possible—throughout the long drag of the proceedings—grouped as they were in the one collective plan of finishing up the whole Ethiopian matter.

This evasiveness is, of course, in line with the style habitually used by the League in considering whatever subject is under discussion. To encounter it personally and on the spot, however, produces an unforgettable impression. It is the first time I have witnessed the League's proceedings, going, as I did specifically, to see what they would, or would not attempt to do, or how they would set about burying the matter. And I have seen.

Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, spoke for some forty minutes at the tribune in the Assembly hall at the opening session of the League on June 30th. His speech was in Amharic; it was instantaneously transmitted in both French and English to those who listened through the special earphones provided—all of the delegates and a certain number of the international press. French and English renderings were afterwards read out.

The speech is a model of clarity and directness. It is admirably constructed (incidentally it is the only one amongst the speeches which is written in living, human style, and not in the technical jargon used by government). In it the Negus told of the different treaties with the white powers, of the special treaty with Italy in 1928 prohibiting all use of arms on both sides—of his confidence in the League, even after the initial incident at Wal-Wal in 1934 and the statement by the Italian Government that the campaign of conquest had been prepared by Italy for fourteen years. He described the gasings and the bombings and their effcets, and the impossibility of continuing the struggle without modern arms. These arms had been sold to Ethiopia very grudgingly, whereas Italy had been able to find all she needed, and had been allowed to pour troups into Africa for months in advance in defiance of the League Covenant. But even after the war had begun he had faith in the Nations. And even now he would ask only that the Covenant they themselves had made with him be respected.

> "I considered it impossible that fifty-two nations, including some of the most powerful states in the world, could be beaten by a single aggressor.
>
> "I was defending the cause of all small nations menaced by aggression, but what has become of the promises made to me?"

There is not one word asking for sympathy —only that Ethiopia's rights and territorial

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integrity be respected—and he concluded with the words :

"I ask the 52 nations who have given the Ethiopian people a promise to help them in their resistance to the aggressor what they are willing to do for Ethiopia?"

"I have come to Geneva to discharge in your midst the most painful of the duties of the head of a State. What reply shall I have to take back to my people?"

As soon as Haile Selassie began to speak, ten men, the special representatives of the leading Italian newspapers, took whistles from their pockets and blew them, varying this with whoopings and cat-calls and the most insulting epithets they could think of, in a premeditated and concerted interruption of his speech. The police removed them and after two days in jail they were expelled from the *canton* (the state) of Geneva. Had the president of this *canton*, Leon Nicole, who is a Socialist, been a pro-Italian Fascist, as is Monsieur Motta, (President of the Confederacy of Swiss States and supreme authority), no doubt this insult to the Emperor and to the League of Nations would have been most leniently dealt with—the more so as it indubitably originated from Fascist headquarters in Italy.

The other seven incidents—greater and lesser—during these remarkable ten days of the Negus' stay in Geneva, were sensational to a degree, and unprecedented. It was the Swiss Fascists who were responsible for the bogus "Emperor" with a carefully blacked face who drove through the town just after Haile Selassie's arrival—and for the chains attached to railings with placards on them saying they were Ethiopian slavery chains given to the town of Geneva "as a souvenir of His Majesty's passage." Likewise for the garden-party hoax, of which hundreds of invitations were sent out to foreign diplomats and delegates, purporting to come from the Socialist Councillor Dicker, "to hear M. Blum speak"—and for another party hoax supposed to be given by the Masonic Lodges of Lausanne "under the patronage of Professor Jeze" (who is legal advisor to Ethiopia) "with Ethiopian music and sale of objects from the battle-fields" —and for the black China ink daubed into the head of the statute of Farel on the Wall of the Religious Reformists in the public garden. That these "pranks" were all part of the Fascist propaganda permeating Switzerland escaped no one.

The suicide by shooting of Stephan Lux, the Czecho-Jewish journalist, in the Assembly hall during the fourth day of session, was in fact the only non-Fascist provocation amongst these events. It was a protest against the Nazi persecution of the Jews in Germany, where he had long lived—a supreme gesture of despair, an appeal made directly to the League, made premeditatedly, as was explained by Lux in letters to friends, to the secretary of the League, to *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Eden and the King of England. The reaction of the League was without delay made clear by the official statement of the President, van Zeeland of Belgium, that the death of Stephan Lux "has no connection with the League whatsoever."

The Genevese townsfolk are, in the great majority, a very courteous, peace-loving and intelligent people, who look with considerable disfavour on the League's existence in their midst. They were outraged and horrified by these events, and their sympathies were entirely with Ethiopia and the Emperor Haile Selassie.

III

Other Things, too, happened in Geneva

Immediately after the suicide, and with the incident of the Italian journalists rankling bitterly, the one same remark could be heard everywhere : "Never two without three—what is going to be the third?" We did not have long to wait. For the next day, which was the last of the Assembly, Dr. Greiser, the President of the Senate of the Free Town of Danzig (which is under League control), saw fit to make a highly inflamed speech demanding that Danzig be given over by the League and saying that two-thirds of its population were Nazi anyway and wished to be under Nazi rule. After which Dr. Greiser banged the table, remarking that he "felt better now," gave Mr. Eden the Nazi salute and thumbed his nose tirumphantly at the correspondents of the International Press when a few of them laughed. There was a uproar, with the President of the Press Association violently protesting. "The incident was closed" by Mr. Eden coldly—and diplomatically—remarking that he had not seen the last gesture, and that it was in any case more consistent with dignity not to take any notice of it. . . .

If the desertion of Ethiopia is a *placation* to Italy it is certainly a great encouragement to Germany in matters which concern Germany herself. There are rich lands in the Eastern part of the U. S. S. R. which Germany says should rightly be hers. And there is, as no one forgets, the matter of the return of the German colonies. How can the powers, "logically,"

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refuse the return to Germany of lands she conquered when they tacitly approve the annexation of a whole independent country—not as yet recognized by the League, but the recognition of which cannot fail to come?

But there were other things happening, and about to happen closer than Africa that engaged the urgent attention of the statesmen. There was the Danzig matter and the question of getting back Italy's co-operation in the League, and there would be the Locarno matter in a few days. And immediately the League Assembly closed there was the Montreux Conference on the U. S. S. R.'s claims and England's claims, with the Turks themselves quite legitimately concerned in this discussion of the re-militarisation of the Dardanelles. Things containing, to put it mildly, the elements of considerable discord.

The minds of the statesmen were not on Ethiopia—nor is Ethiopia in Europe. And when the vote was taken on the abandonment of sanctions, and all the delegates, with four exceptions, had voted to end them, and the last word was said in the stultifying atmosphere of that great grey Assembly hall, they must have arisen with a sigh of relief muttering "Now we can get on with our own concerns."

They are still trying in the League to use consecrated political methods and discussions and arguments as a defence against the explosions of Fascism, be it Mussolini's or Hitler's. The spectacle of the League is that of a body of people which is now afraid—and which may soon be aghast.

And the words written by the special correspondent of the *Morning Post* in Geneva around the tragedy of the wretched suicide, ring, and may ring forever, with terrible emphasis:

"Either the volley of honour over the coffin of the League, or the first shot in the new world war."

IV

"Wars and Rumours of Wars"

The focussing away of attention from Ethiopia into "bigger world questions" during the League Assembly can be explained if one looks at these questions. That is, providing one takes the League of Nations seriously, as having at some previous time intended to honour its own treaties—an intention which has faded away in the weakness of its grasp. If, at no time, did England and France, the two directing forces of the League, intend to put into practice the meaning of the words of the Covenant—that all the League nations shall take the side of the aggressed against the aggressor—then the whole thing is desperately clear. And the moral condemnation of the guilty one is nothing more than a piece of impotent exhibitionism, a gesture at which the victorious aggressor may, and indeed does, laugh—the more so as he knows this is only a temporary mood of the League. They apply the economic sanctions, half-heartedly—they stop short of the military ones. There is a large leak in the honesty of nations, if honesty there be. But there is no honesty; it is only a matter of international politics.

They never did intend to consider Ethiopia seriously. They consider the triumph of Fascist Italy very seriously indeed. It is not a single Italy they fear; it is the alliance of Italy and Germany, and what may come out of that. Certain wars, for instance—of which these are some:

1. Between Germany and France—it will not be France that starts it.

2. Germany and Italy against France and England. In this connection it is of point to remember the speech of Duff-Cooper (England's Secretary of State for War) in Paris at the end of June, in which he said that France's enemies were England's, and that, consequently, so were her borders—the Rhine. Also the speech of Ambassador Bingham of the U. S. A. at a 4th of July Commemoration dinner in London which assured England that she could count on America's help.

3. Germany and Italy and Japan against France, England and the U. S. S. R.—the eventual war which Fascism will start, or try to start, against Communism—for the guns of any war may subsequently slew into position from all sides into the Soviet Union. The Fascists of all countries are arming for that, as well as for civil wars in their own countries.*

4. Civil War in France. The French Fascists attacking the present Government of the People's Front, the united triple front of Communists, Socialists and Radical-Socialists. As the People's Front comprises well over two-thirds of the whole country, and that these would rise in defence as one man, the Fascists would have a bad time of it. But it is evident that Germany might seize that moment to attack France, and the French Fascist leaders

* Two weeks after these lines were written have given us the ghastly spectacle of the civil war in Spain, provoked *and prepared* for a long time in advance by the Fascist-militarists against the Government and the people—as they have themselves told the press.

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would open every door to Germany that they could. This would be an exact repetition of what their ancestors have done before, during the French Revolution and at the time of the Commune of 1871.

Everywhere, daily, the boiling-up for war increases; as soon as one critical situation is conjured (if it so be), another, elsewhere, arises.

In France the abolished Fascist Leagues are not disbanded. Under other names they collect in tens of thousands at a ceremony at the Unknown Soldier's Tomb in Paris and resist the police in a scrimmage all down the length of the Champs Elysees. Result of that Sunday, July 5 : 253 wounded attended to in hospitals (hospitals' official figures—reported in the press as 39), with considerable cafe property damages. Other violent disturbances provoked by the Fascists in the provinces. Violent threats to the Government and the masses of the Front Populaire. Stormy scenes in the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies and the Municipal Council in Paris. Atmosphere of provocations like that which preceded the Fascist attacks in February, 1934.

German events—the Greiser incident in Geneva, which was very seriously viewed. The German press raving against the League's indignation at this. Hitler, Goering, making violent speeches. Berlin's coming Olympic games used, of course, as indirect but potent Nazi nationalistic propaganda, and the anger of Czecho-Slovakia, the northern border region of which is shown as "really German" on advertisement map of the Olympics. Add the information given out by the Commission of Enquiry in Brussels which met the first week in July : 225,000 killed and imprisoned in Germany since the start of the Nazi regime, and this will show the scale on which such things flourish in the Third Reich.

In Spain—Fascist-militarist attacks on the Government of the People's Front there. Detached fights, murders, violences, provoked by the Fascists, and which were the beginning of the atrocious Civil war.

Switzerland itself, this fair land of mountains and waters where at least nature is at ease, contains, paradoxically enough, those hives forever humming with "Peace" and "War." The neutrality of Switzerland is a phrase. But the fact is that there is a feeling of unease—a geographical fear; in the north, of Germany; in the south of Italy.

It became clearer each day in the League Assembly that their concern was to stave off these war dangers, to deal, *somehow*, with this feeling of impending world war—and not to help Ethiopia, Covenant or no Covenant, either in the present, or in the future.

The question of the treaties which provided for Ethiopia's defence and which have been consistently broken, was slurred over. The uselessness of continuing sanctions in the face of the Italian victory, was, of course, stressed.

So, various "self-justifications" for the winding-up of the Ethiopian case, and for their own failure to stop aggression, were made in the speeches of the delegates.

Here are some of England's :

At the beginning of his speech Mr. Eden, in the name of England, said :

"Not one of us here present can contemplate, with any measure of satisfaction, the circumstances in which this Assembly meets on this occasion."...

"In our view it is only military action, *military* action, that could now produce this result" (re-establish the position in Ethiopia). "I cannot believe that in the present world conditions such military action could be considered a possibility."...

"What were the reasons for the failure? Let us consider this matter for the moment for it is of vital importance *to the failure of the League*." (Italics mine). "Was failure due to the fact that there are certain risks which nations are not prepared to run save where their own interests are more directly at stake than they were in this case?"

"If I have tried to indicate with a heavy heart some of the lesssons of recent months, it is not because I believe that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom or the League of Nations need proffer any apology for having made an attempt which has no parallel in history."

Some, who were in Geneva, and who know Eden personally, said : "Eden is very upset. He would have liked to make a different kind of speech." But Mr. Eden said in his speech that England had nothing to be ashamed of. That statement does not come to us as a surprise. But which England is not ashamed? It depends on what this word, England, represents. Does it represent the whole population, with its millions of workers—many of whom do understand what life should be and who have to suffer what it is—who are bitterly angry and, on behalf of the England which-is-not-theirs-at-all, intensely ashamed? Or does the word represent the authorities who govern and control the destinies of England? At the League of Nations it represents the latter.

A similar statement, "We need feel no shame," was made at the last session by the President of the League, to the League, in the name of the League.

Leon Blum, in his speech, which contains the directness, the logic and the cleverness of France, said :

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"There is no European conflict in which France would not risk being involved sooner or later despite her own will."

His fervent and analytical words expressed France's intense desire that any and all wars shall be made impossible. It is the speech of an honest man who knows how to express sincerity, but with scant bearing, visibly, on Ethiopia, and without any voiced condemnation whatsoever of the Italian aggression.

"I have said enough to show you with what serious apprehension France considers the existing situation. The present Europe is not a Europe of peace; the present world is not a world of peace."...

"It cannot be denied that the League of Nations has just met with a check, and none of us can conceal the fact. Doubtless the League has shown itself powerless to prevent aggression and to stop war, but the cause of the failure is not to be found in the Covenant; it is to be found in the tardy, uncertain and equivocal application of the Covenant. The consequence that must be deduced from the failure is not that of relaxation, but that of tightening up the obligations implied by the Covenant."

In other words, by the example of Ethiopia which we now abandon, we must learn to know how to enforce the things we have most solemnly said . . .

There is a note in the Socialist Leon Blum's speech which is not in the other speeches, and it is this :

"The Ethiopian question may perhaps have been settled in Africa; it is not settled so far as Geneva is concerned. France endeavours to reconcile her faithfulness to right and law with her will for peace."

It would indeed have been inconceivable for the Premier of the Socialist-going country which is France not to have made some indication of France's distaste at joining in the collective desertion of Ethiopia. Yet even the new France, the France that asks for "Peace and Bread and Liberty" for all its people, has had to join in doing this. And why ? *Because if France stood out against the triumphant Mussolini, and effectively aided Ethiopia, that would provoke war.* Because, if the League had done the exact opposite of what it has done, and opposed Mussolini instead of accepting the triumph of Fascism over that part of distant black Africa, it would have provoked war. The League could not stand out against Mussolini and Hitler. It seems incredible that this should be so, but it is so, because *it is too late.*

Gabriel Peri, one of the seventy-two Communist deputies of the People's Front, has, in *l'Humanite,* ably analysed the situation. He wrote, at the end of the Geneva sessions :

"There are some who say that the Session which has just ended has killed collective security. This is burdening the League with a responsibility which it should not rightly bear. For collective security was initally sabotaged by Laval's policy, and subsequently by the complacency with which the British Government regarded Hitlerism after the German *coup detat* in the Rhineland on March 7."

Peri adds that the French Delegation in Geneva should have got further away from previous French policy, left like a heavy mortgage on France by the Laval Government.

The Government of the People's Front is in power since June 1st of this year. And if it has been unable to revoke and undo the past mischief of Laval where Ethiopia and the League are concerned, there is the question of France's own colonies, where, if the most drastic reforms are not made immediately, all Negro and coloured peoples will have the fullest right to question the sincerity of the new government.

This is the opinion of the French Socialist and Communist workers themselves, the opinion of those who have voted the present government of France into power.

And it is some of these very comrades who have directly and personally asked me to say this to you, Negro and coloured workers in different parts of the world that their wish is for the most immediate and drastic changes in colonial administration. And I, who live in France, as eye-witness of the immense changes which are taking place here itself, and as witnness of the honesty and strength of the workers of France, I say to you : their wish is sincere and must come true.

The Communists and Socialists here are asking the government for the immediate recall of the worst of the governors and administrators in different colonial territories—Algeria, Morocco, Syria, Cochin-China. It is the Communists who, in the past, before the advent of the present government, fought unceasingly for the abolition of the appalling and indescribable tortures and other persecutions in practice in the colonies. The anti-imperialists and the Communits in France are asking for the prompt "cleansing out" of colonial administration, and for the suppression of the infamous and all too notorious torture-prison of Poulo-Condore in Cochin-China. A government committee of enquiry is to make investigations, as proposed by the colonial secretary, Marius Moutet, who is a Socialist.

Litvinov, in the name of the U. S. S. R., said :

"I speak of the necessity for every member of the League now to realize its individual responsibility for the lack of success of the common action undertaken in defence of a fellow member of the League, because, both inside the League and outside it, there have been attempts

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to ascribe this lack of success to the League Covenant, to its defects, and to the present composition of the League. From this are drawn far-reaching conclusions, which may lead to the result that, together with Ethiopian independence the League itself may turn out to have been buried as well. Such attempts and conclusions must be decisively rejected. We find ourselves face to face with the fact that the League of Nations has proved unable to secure for one of its Members the territorial integrity and political independence provided for by article 10 of the Covenant, so that today it is able only to express to that Member its platonic sympathy. We cannot pass tranquilly and indifferently by this crying fact; we must analyse it, and draw from it all the lessons requisite to prevent similar cases for the future."

The Soviet Union has always asked that the sense and meaning of the League Covenant should be applied in all their vigour and without compromise. The Soviet Union, which has no colonies and no relations with Ethiopia whatsoever is the power which asked for the full application of sanctions against the aggressor as provided for in the Covenant. It is the Soviet Union which proposed and demanded that which the other powers refused to do: to defend the aggressed member of the League—Ethiopia—according to all the measures laid down in the Covenant.

It is impossible to over-stress or repeat too often that the U. S. S. R. is developing more and more in the manner which should be adopted by the whole of humanity. It is the question of the danger of world war which has brought the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, with the intention—not only for the sake of her own millions but for that of the other races and peoples of the universe of leading the struggle against the worst evil which is known—war; and against that which, increasingly, provokes it: Fascism.

If a miracle had happened in Geneva and France and the Soviet Union had suddenly declared that not only would they not abolish sanctions but would reinforce them to the full and now give all possible aid to Ethiopia, one can imagine the violence and the fury of Italy's answer, backed up, that very night, by some demonstration from Hitler in Berlin. And one can also picture the consternation of the other powers, led by England, and the international complications which would have ensued. The nations, grouped under the sign of collective security in Europe, are unable to move singly.

What are the characteristic of the three leading powers in the League—England, France and the Soviet Union, from which I have quoted?

ENGLAND is an imperialist country still, and, as such, despite all the treaties with Ethiopia and the half-hearted sanctions that were applied, her attitude is no surprise. An editorial in the *Philadelphia Record* of the United States has summed this up in a few lines. It says:

"Anthony Eden, the white knight of world peace, made a statement typical of League hypocrisy when he urged that the conquest should not be recognized, but that the sanctions should be withdrawn. He wants to 'ignore' the invasion of Ethiopia."

If FRANCE also voted for the abandonment of sanctions it must be remembered that the Laval government, which was in power throughout the Italo-Ethiopian war, was as openly hostile to Ethiopia and to sanctions as was almost the whole of the French press bought up by Mussolini. Laval and many of the then Cabinet and Government were Fascist. And now, France, as are other nations, is in great fear of war. A collective blame weighs on all the League powers. And, in justice to the great nation that is France it must be repeated that we have the right to look to her to make great changes in all her colonies which will lead to yet greater ones—to the final attainment of *equal rights* by all the colonised millions of her native peoples, rights equal to those enjoyed by her own citizens here in France. The entire world is now, seeing how in France, the democratic rights and concepts of the French Republic are being brought back to life, after having been, for years, attacked and falsified. *A new world* is being born here in France. At present it is revolution by reason which is taking place. This progression in the history of France is, by its example, of the greatest possible importance to the rest of the world. And the way it is being accomplished is nothing short of *heroic*.

It is more than paradoxical and contradictory that the powers should make treaties with another power for the purpose of breaking them. Apart from the hypocrisy and ineffectiveness which characterise the League, there is another word which must now be added, and that word is: fear. Fear that "something" may start which cannot be controlled. It is fear which is under "collective security" and the "indivisibility of peace"—though the paradox of these very terms when one applies them, as one should, to the Ethiopian question, is bitter indeed. The nations are living in fear; they dare not move singly. They have sacrificed Ethiopia—some, gladly, some, not so gladly; France and the U. S. S. R. with regret. The lives of the different countries are, at present, inextricably bound up with each other. The

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nations are being forced, and will be far more forced yet, to come together and stay together against the opposite group of nations, the Fascist nations. Actually they are afraid of offending Hitler and Mussolini. For they know that if this happens it will mean a (perhaps very immediate) war. And daily, as events open out into a new perspective of horror, such as the civil war in Spain and its possible consequence (*i.e.*, a Fascist *coup* in France), this pre-occupation is more and more justified.

Mussolini has dared. Against the world's moral condemnation (which shows just how much moral condemnation is worth when it is opposed by armed force) he has conquered his "empire." Yet a miracle may happen in Ethiopia; it is possible that the Italians may never subdue the country; also Fascism itself may be defeated in the next world war. But the Ethiopians can look only to themselves. The powers have refused to risk drawing their countries into wars for the sake of maintaining the independence of the Lion of Judah. And that is now understandable—as understandable as the whole story of Ethiopia and the League is abominable and demoralizing.

What is the crux of the whole Ethiopian question? The crux is that such a situation should never have been allowed to form and develop. Did not Mussolini inform them of his intentions? Sanctions could have been really operative and Ethiopia could have been allowed to defend herself, perhaps effectively, with the engines of modern warfare which she was not allowed to buy according to her needs. I, myself, heard Dr. Martin, the Ethiopian Minister in London, say in Geneva:

"We do not wish to cause any war in Europe—God forbid—we ask only that a loan be made us so that we can continue our own defence in Ethiopia."

The Italo-Ethiopian war could have been prevented by opposing the growth of Fascism in every way. It was not opposed, but encouraged. And now the powers are regretting their weakness and incompetence—those of them who are the most concerned with what Italy is going to do. And they will, increasingly, and most terribly, regret it.

V

They said they would talk only of Ethiopia, and they talked of other things

I, too, have been talking of "other things." But it is impossible not to, because, as I have tried to show, "other things" are directly connected with, and perhaps in part responsible for, the betrayal of Ethiopia. Although the Ethiopians themselves have fought and died on the soil of their own land, somehow the moral battlefield of this war has transported itself to Europe—where lies the potential battlefield of the next world war. And as they turn their eyes away from the spectacle of a country's corps, they are cogitating in apprehension on the future of their own countries.

The imperialist powers do not care about the future of Ethiopians, but the triumph of aggression has made them think very much about their own; more particularly the smaller powers, who may meet with a similar fate at the hands of a neighbouring aggressor, and those in the more direct line of fire of the war-makers. And there are diverse points which will now arise to disturb their imperial status. For instance, the already stated demands of Germany that her colonies be given back. For, if Italy has been allowed to carve herself an empire twice the size of France, why should not Germany regain possession of her own "legitimate" territories? It is necessary to stress the words: *Violence begets violence, especially when it succeeds*, as wrote Gabriel Peri on this very subject. And I think it is legitimate to add, without being accused of racialism, that it is always the Black Man who pays.

Italy has said, with logic: "All other imperialist powers have done the same." For England, France, Belgium, Germany, Holland, and, in their relatively smaller African possessions, Portugal and Spain as well, have fought their way into the black man's land. Only, the conquest of Ethiopia has been more cataclysmically spectacular, more all-of-one-piece, because of the methods used, the gases and the bombings and the modern machines—more horrifying because of the sweeping and gigantic brutality of the invasion.

Just one week after the League sat in final burial of sanctions and wound up Ethiopia's case, England was starting to "get Italy back." No doubt England would have preferred the mandating of Ethiopia to Italy under League control, because, after all, "it looks better" in the face of world opinion than a conquest, such as this, by straight butchery. (Although, once the fact is accomplished, it matters little enough what is said). But at no time could imperial England have envisaged without horror the victory of Ethiopia over Italy. That would be good-bye to the white man's prestige. So, after the disappearance of the only independant country which had been

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left to the African in Africa, the Negroes, the coloured peoples, the colonised millions in all parts of the world are now looking more than ever to themselves. Is this not very understandable ?

They will say that the initiative must come from them.

But they must remember that they have sincere friends too, many many millions, amongst the whites. I do not mean political friends only—the militant, organized anti-imperialists in all countries who have always fought and agitated against colonial oppression. I mean the human forces who can both *think* and *feel*, which make up the population of the world, the masses of the workers in all countries and the large number of intellectual workers there too *who have now understood*. For one day, and it comes rapidly, it is these forces which will control the nations. It is together that the black, the coloured and the white workers will forever overthrow imperialism. But it is impossible for any racial group to do this alone.

VI

"Long-headed Men . . ."

"'We find it passing strange that long-headed men should sit in distant regions, taking counsel together as to what shall be done to us here in our own land."

These are the words of an African king in the 18th century to the commissioner of Britain who had come to negotiate for slaves, and who thought he had impressed the king with the might of the great white nations in the far-away north.

The long-headed men have sat these days in empty conclave, avoiding all direct reference to the latest tragedy in Africa—the disaster encompassed by their weakness and hypocrisy long ago. The League has put itself on the rocks. It is facing a panorama of volcanoes. If it collapses it will be from the weight of its own collective unwillingness and incapacity. Again and again it showed, in all the technical scaffoldings and constructions of its procedure, in all its verbose Reports Verbatim, that it was more concerned with maintaining itself in being than in honouring its own treaties.

Haile Selassie did right in coming here. He did right in fighting them, point by point, through every clause in every treaty, up to the last, final question mark : "What reply shall I have to take to my people?" He has seen, and the world has seen, the manner in which the imperial white man knows how to say No, and how to dishonour his treaties.

I think it must be in the minds of many who have followed the dastardly evolution of these facts, and who examine the interlocked histories, the seeds of war springing up between nations, that, Europe having destroyed Africa, Africa now, through the indirect action of events, may well become the weapon that destroys Europe.

Today the long-headed men must look, and are desperately looking, to their own affairs. They assembled to write

FINISH ETHIOPIA

And they have.

But, for all that, it happens that it is not the end.

Geneva—Paris,
July, 1936

Literature does not belong to any one in particular, not even to the author himself. It is divine inspiration—divine because the poet marvels at his own production. As the outside world persistently works to manifest itself through its good and bad, its gain and imperfections, so also does this inspiration strive in every country, every age, every language, to find its way though our hearts into outside forms of everlasting joy.

Rabindranath Tagore

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A UNIVERSE WITHOUT GOD

A Study of the Effects of Atheism

By The Late Rev. J. T. SUNDERLAND

The present writer believes that the effects of atheism are evil, seriously so. This does not mean that he regards all atheists as evil men. Quite the contrary. Every intelligent person knows, and every unbiased person gladly admits, that there are atheists of high character, who are active and earnest in the promotion of nearly every good cause. For example, in the anti-slavery movement of two generations ago there were distinguished atheists. The same has been true of the later movements for a larger life for women, for prison reform, for the abolition of war, and others.

Not that a majority of the supporters of these movements have been atheists; the contrary has been the case. The large majority have always been theists and Christians. Nor is there any evidence that the atheists who supported these good causes did so always or usually because of their atheism. Indeed, it is well-known that generally they were actuated by quite other reasons.

Theists claim that non-belief in God, under whatever form or name it may appear, is evil in many respects and many ways. Let us try to get a clear understanding of what the more important of these are.

Atheism immeasurably degrades the universe. Thomas H. Huxley, the distinguished contemporary of Darwin, described the universe of the materialist (the atheist) as "a mud pie, made by two blind children, matter and force." Of course, this was sarcasm, but has anybody described it with more truth? Certainly a universe without Intelligence or Purpose would be an immeasurably low and poor thing. In it there could be no law or order, for these are created only by intelligence. It would be a chaos: in Bible language, it would be "without form, and void," and darkness would be "on the face of the deep." It would be in no sense a cosmos. It would have no power to create life, and would not contain life. One does not wonder that an eminent German writer has described it as "an infinite skull with empty eye-sockets."

Atheism immeasurably degrades and belittles man. The man of theism has infinite dignity and worth. He is the child of an Infinite Purpose. He is the culmination and crown of the whole vast divine plan of the world's evolution. As the ancient Hebrew poet has described him, he is "only a little lower than God." How different is the man of atheism! He has come into being by accident. He represents no purpose. His existence has no meaning. He is the child of lifeless matter and blind force. He is a mere chance bubble on a stream of force flowing nowhere.

If the scientists of the world finally come to believe that the universe is without intelligence or purpose—everything in it accidental and without meaning—what will be the effect on them? Can it be other than in the highest degree disastrous? Can we conceive intelligent men long continuing to have interest in carrying on investigations in what they have become convinced is mere chance and chaos? This is no trivial matter. Men who look complacently upon atheism may well give it serious attention.

Jesus taught the religion of love to God and love to man; of human brotherhood and Divine Fatherhood. Theists believe that all best religion teaches the same. Does atheism? Some atheists, the wisest and best, teach one-half; their serious lack is that they go no farther. They recognize and care for the earth side of man's nature; they deny or ignore the divine side. Their religion is a bird without wings. Of course, a bird that can only walk on the ground is not without value: but it has lost the joy and glory of its life unless it can soar and sing in the splendid and wide skies above its head. Religion loses its joy and glory, and also much of its moral power, unless it can soar and sing in the still more splendid sky of great hopes and faiths that lay hold on God and eternal things.

If the world on a large scale ever comes to believe that man, instead of possessing a spiritual and divine nature, related to the Infinite Mind, and in some deep true sense a child of God, is only an accidental thing, an exceptionally intelligent brute, what will be the consequences? Can the startling fact of humanity dropping down to such a lowered

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estimate of itself fail to be followed by very serious consequences?

For one thing, will not all human advancement, social, educational, moral, and religious, be seriously checked? Will not men tend to lose interest in progress; tend to lose interest in all high things; tend to grow less earnest and less moral in character; tend more and more to say, "Let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die?"

As is well known, the greatest obstacle in the way of getting rid of slums is the low estimate of themselves into which the slum-dwellers tend to fall. To have a low opinion of one's own ability and worth is to do little to improve one's self. To have a low view of other people's worth is to have little interest in helping them to rise. Will not atheism, if it comes, with its universal lessening of the worth of humanity, inevitably result in a universal decline of interest in education, in philanthropy, in reforms, in all efforts and movements to improve human conditions and to lift up the race?*

I am not alarmed by my apprehension that the high view of the nature and value of man entertained and taught by theism and Christianity will ever give place on a world scale to the lower view which atheism and materialism mean. But is it not important for intelligent men to open their eyes to the fact that the lowered estimate of humanity, which, as we have seen, is inevitably created by loss of belief in God, even as the limited scale that we now see, is not a matter for indifference?

Theism is a Gospel ("Good News"). Theists believe that in its most intelligent and most highly ethical and practical forms theism is the best gospel known to the world. It is a real gospel because it is centrally affirmative, and affirmative of the things of highest possible interest and value to man. What are these things?

If brief answers are required, the following are offered:

1. As already has been stated, theism is the religion of Love to God and Love to Men. Or, in other words, the religion of God's Fatherhood and Man's Brotherhood.

2. Theism (as it exists at its best today) is a religion which seeks to unite all good men everywhere in a world-wide movement to help God carry on with ever-increasing effectiveness His mighty evolutionary process of creating a better and ever better world and a nobler and ever nobler humanity.

In widest possible contrast with theism, atheism seems not to be a gospel at all, but a thing wholly of negations and denials. True, it often associates important affirmations with itself, but they do not belong to it, they are outsiders, they are borrowed. Atheism cannot make affirmations of its own, because it has nothing to affirm; its whole nature is negative. The only way it can get affirmations is by appropriating those long held by others. I speak with care. I have diligently searched the most important atheistic and humanistic books and periodical writings, and I have been unable to discover anything positive and constructive except what is common, and has long been so, to all the more intelligent and better forms of theism, and Christianity. The central denials of atheism are six, namely:

1. Denial of the existence of God.
2. Denial of the existence of the human soul.
3. Denial of immortality.
4. Denial of any Intelligence in the universe higher than man's.
5. Denial of any Purpose in the universe.
6. Denial of the reality of a Spirit realm, or of Spirit in any form or under any condition except as a function of matter.

To theists these denials are appalling.

As already admitted (gladly admitted), atheism has one praiseworthy feature. It is its frequent association with excellent outside things, such as important social reforms. Theists desire to give full credit for this. And yet they cannot avoid sometimes questioning whether even these reforms are not often seriously injured by association with the dark denials of atheism.

It should not be overlooked that to be an atheist—or to be an unbeliever in God called by any other name—is to be an orphan in an orphan universe. Can any mind conceive a more desolate situation?

I know there is a shallow atheism, which does not realize its condition, but laughs and jokes in the midst of its desolation, and even boasts that it has got rid of such an antiquated superstition as that of a God. But intelligent and thoughtful atheism, when we find that, well understands how dreary is its uplook and its outlook, and how poorly prepared it is to meet the darker experience of life.

* Social reform movements carried on by atheists have been described as movements to serve humanity which begin by infinitely lowering the importance and value of humanity. Joseph Wood Krutch has put it: "Humanitarianism (Humanism) is devoted to the task of saving human lives without being sure that they are woth saving."

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Tennyson wrote a poem descriptive of the outlook and the feelings of a thoughtful soul without belief in God. Is it any wonder that he entitled his poem "Despair?"

Hoped for a dawn, and it came, but the promise had faded away;
We had passed from a cheerless night to the glare of a drearier day;
God is only a cloud and a smoke who was once a pillar of fire,
The guess of a worm in the dust and the shadow of its desire!
Oh, we poor orphans of nothing—alone on that lonely shore—
Born of the brainless Nature who knew not that which she bore!
Trusting no longer that earthly flower would be heavenly fruit—
Come from the brute, poor souls—no souls—and to die with the brute.

Here are some lines from Emerson. Are they too strong? "Unlovely, nay, almost frightful, is the solitude of the soul that is without God in the world."

Everybody knows that it would be frightful beyond words to be on board of a great steamer on the ocean going at full speed without a captain or pilot or any intelligent guidance. But would it be less appalling to be, nearly two billions of us, on this great Earth-ship of ours, rushing through unknown space at a speed incomparably greater than that of any ocean liner, if we knew that there was no Captain on the bridge, no Pilot at the helm, no Intelligence directing our course or our destiny? Yet it should not be overlooked that that is exactly the situation of all the human race if there is no God, no Infinite Intelligence at the heart of the universe.

Two of the most brilliant scientists of England during the latter part of the last century were Professor Kingford Clifford and Professor George Romanes, both of whom, under the powerful materialistic influences which prevailed for a time after the rise of the doctrine of Evolution, gave up belief in God. But the writings of both show that at times they deeply felt the sadness of atheism compared with theism and Christianity. How full of sorrowful meaning are the following sentences, taken from one of Professor Clifford's essays. "It cannot be doubted," he says, "that theistic belief is a comfort and solace to those who hold it, and that the loss of it is a very painful loss. It cannot be doubted, at least by many of us in this generation, who either profess it now, or received it in our childhood, and have parted from it since with such searching trouble as only cradle faiths can cause. We have seen the spring sun shine out of an empty heaven, to light up a soulless earth; we have felt with utter loneliness that the Great Companion is dead."

Sadder still, if possible, are the words with which Professor Romanes closes his famous book entitled "Physicus," one of the most powerful works in defence of atheism ever written. "I am not ashamed to confess," he declares, "that with this virtual negation of God, the universe has lost its soul of loveliness; and although from henceforth the precept to 'work while it is day' will doubtless but gain an intensified force from the terribly intensified meaning of the words that 'the night cometh when no man can work,' yet when at times I think, as think at times I must, of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed (of belief in God) which once was mine, and the lonely mystery of existence as now I find it, at such times I feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible."

What a confession is that, to come from the ablest atheistical writer of his day! And yet where is the man without belief in God, who is not in his hours of solitude and thought compelled to make the same confession? Of course, there is much called happiness that atheism does not interfere with. Such forms of pleasure as come from gratification of the appetites and passions are for the non-believer in God as well as for the believer. Neither the honest atheist nor the possessor of a cancer is to be blamed. They are only to be pitied. But to be pitied they most surely are, if any human beings on this earth are to be pitied. I know of only one belief in the world so awful as atheism, and that is belief in an eternal hell. This belief is the most shocking that it is possible for the human mind to frame or entertain. He who entertains it should never smile. He should walk through the world with bowed head and tear-streaming eyes. *Next* to him in sadness should come the man who sees no Intelligence, or Purpose, in nature, no Justice at the heart of the universe, no destiny for humanity but a grave.

Dr. Will Durant, in his book, *The Meaning of Life*, draws the following picture of what modern man, with all his knowledge, his philosophy, his science and his boasted progress, becomes, without religion, without God, without faith in the spiritual, the divine, the Eternal. Under such conditions, Dr. Durant declares, it seems

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"impossible for man to believe in his own greatness, or that life has any meaning. Life sinks down to a mere biological episode, to a mere strange interlude between a ridiculous birth and an annihilating death. Science does not offer any consolation; indeed it seems to kill what it touches, reducing soul to brain, life to matter, personality to chemistry, human will to fate. Once (when men believed in God) a child had an immortal soul, now it has glands. Now to the physicist a child is only a bundle of molecules, or atoms, or electrons, or protons; to the physiologist it is an unstable conjunction of muscles, bones and nerves; to the physician it is a red mass of illnesses and pains; to the psychologist it is a helpless mouthpiece of heredity and environment, a rabble of condition reflexes marshalled by hunger and love. Almost every idea this strange organism will ever have will be a delusion, almost every perception will be a prejudice. This 'forked radish' called man is just one species among a billion, a passing experiment of nature, which shows no preferences between men and fleas. To the dog we are but irrational praters, making much noise with our tongues; and to the mosquito we are meals."

Dr. Durant declares that this is what materialistic science, mechanistic science, science without God, seems to reduce us all to. Is it any wonder that he adds:

"The greatest question of our time is not communism or individualism; not Europe or America; not the East versus the West; it is *whether man can bear to live without God.*"

Dr. Durant writes still further:

"We in America (the America that abandons religion and God) are engaged in a gigantic experiment as to the possibility of maintaining social order and racial vitality through a moral code resting solely on the earth. The experiment failed in Athens, and it failed in Renaissance Italy . . . The process has already undermined the Anglo-Saxon leadership of America, in literature, morals and municipal politics; as it goes on (if it goes on) it will probably weaken all the peoples of Western Europe and North America. . . . In the end we shall be an extinct volcano, and Asia (with her faith in spiritual things) will again mount the throne of the world."

Is there truth in this picture?

Dr. Durant writes still further: If atheism is true, then

"life becomes a hopeless venture, and mankind a helpless power doomed to go down to defeat and oblivion. Is it strange that from this gloomy prospect man turns and exclaims, What's the use?"

The Rev. John H. Dietrich has confessed in print more than once the loneliness of spirit, the anguish of soul, the loss of hope and joy, necessarily experienced by earnest souls as the result of losing their faith in God and immortality. The emptiness of the heavens and the sense of there being nothing before men and their loved ones but death and annihilation, he confesses is often appalling and almost unbearable. He admits that he has no word of comfort to offer to such souls, at all comparable with that afforded by their old faith in a God of infinite love and protection. All he is able to do is to counsel them to be brave and meet as heroically as possible what they cannot change.

Joseph Wood Krutch, one of the most outspoken deniers of God and of the whole spiritual outlook of man, does not hesitate to let us know that his surrender of these high beliefs has given him genuine anguish of mind and complete hopelessness of moral outlook.

Such are testimonies from unimpeachable sources regarding the effects of the loss of belief in God on human life, human character and human happiness. Many more of a similar nature might easily be given; but these are enough.

Is it any wonder that William James wrote,

"The deepest need of man is a world with God in it?"

Wrote Alfred Tennyson:

"Only under the inspiration of ideals that are rooted in a moral universe and in God, can a man combat the cynical indifference, the intellectual selfishness, the sloth of will, of our transition age. If you take away belief in God you take away the moral backbone of the world."

William Ellery Channing:

"The profoundest of all human wants is the want of God. The consciousness of God has given moral courage to men, has strengthened men to do, to endure and to suffer, more than all other principles combined. I am accustomed to speak of the greatness of human nature: but man's nature is great only because of his parentage, only because he is a child of the Eternal Mind."

Theodore Parker:

"I will not say that a man cannot be honest without consciousness of his relation to God; but I must say that a belief in a God of justice is a mighty help to honesty in the business of a shop or the business of a nation."

From Stopford Brooke:

"Mankind will bear a great deal, but it will not long bear the denial of God. It really does not much matter to the race in general whether the science of geology or the science of astronomy, or the present theory of force or of the nature of radiation, be true or false. But it would be a most serious and appalling matter to mankind to be made certain tomorrow that there was no God of justice and love in the universe."

From Emerson:

"How dear, how soothing to man rises the idea of God, peopling the lovely places, effacing the scars of our mistakes and disappointments! It inspires in man an infallible trust. He is sure that his welfare is dear to the heart of being."

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THE BARODA HINDU DIVORCE ACT AND ITS WORKING

By V. V. JOSHI, B.A., LL. B.

The Baroda Hindu Divorce Act was regarded as a drastic measure of social reform, and was received with mingled sense of horror and rejoicing. The orthodox section feared that it would pull down the huge and therefore firm structure of society; while the social reformer hailed it as the most appropriate measure for arresting the displacement of social adjustments in matters matrimonial. So it will be interesting to study the Act and its working, a measure the first of its kind in India.

Compulsory registration of customary divorces

The Act came into force on the 10th August 1931 and was designed (1) to afford facilities of dissolution of marriage among such people as were not allowed to do it by custom and (2) to provide for the registration of divorces effected within the castes, among whom such custom was prevalent. The latter provision, for the registration of divorces, aims at providing accurate, lasting and reliable proof of dissolution, better than the oral testimony of hirelings and the fabricated documents of release, one so often comes across in courts of law. The Act makes it compulsory for the parties to get their divorces registered, and further provides that no marriage can be legally dissolved or declared void except by registration in court, and that marriage shall be considered to be dissolved as from the day on which the court shall decide that it is dissolved. This provision has had but very poor response and the figures of divorces registered *viz* :—30(1932-33), 33(1933-34), and 39(1934-35) respectively, though they indicate an increasing compliance with the rule of law, are, far too scanty in proportion to the divorces actually effected. The castes among whom divorce is recognised by custom are backward in education and their omission to get the divorces registered, inexcusable on the score of ignorance of law, is involving them daily in serious consequences of far-reaching effects.

The grounds for divorce and the procedure

The various grounds for dissolving marriages, are picked up mostly from our old Smirtis, but the modern legal connotations which the words used therein imply have combined conventions with convenience and revived forgotten traditions in their most modern implications. 'Desertion', as used in the act, means an abandonment against the wish of the person charging it; 'Cruelty' means conduct of such a character as to cause danger to life, limb, or bodily or mental health, or as to give rise to reasonable apprehension of such danger; 'Adultery' means sexual intercourse with any person other than one's wife or husband. These definitions are wider than those current in legal literature and are comprehensive enough to include the modern notions of the invasions of marital relations. The grounds for dissolution are as follows:—if the husband or wife has disappeared for seven years; has become a recluse; has been converted to other religion; is guilty of cruelty; or of desertion for more than three years; has been addicted to the use of intoxicants for more than three years, and thereby is unable to fulfill the marital obligations: or commits adultery; for a wife, if the husband is impotent, or in the habit of committing unnatural offences; for the husband, if the wife was pregnant at the time of marriage by a person other than her husband, or marries a second time in his lifetime. The proceedings are to be conducted with the aid of jurors, to be selected from those suggested by the parties and belonging to their caste, and where necessary inquiry to be held behind closed doors. The court can dismiss the suit or refuse to pass decree *nisi* or vacate the decree already obtained, if it is satisfied that the suit is collusive, and may refuse to pass a decree if the party has condoned the guilt, or is guilty of himself contributing to the causes. The court has power to order the husband to pay his wife alimony during the pending of the suit also after the final decree, either in gross, or annually or monthly. Likewise it has to pass orders regarding the custody and maintenance of the children of the marriage. These salutary provisions are in themselves sufficient guarantee against the abuse of the law and are convincing replies to many of the unfounded objections heedlessly hurled against such legislation. It is to the credit of this drastic legislation that

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the Sanatanist has to admit to his great disappointment that his fears were all unfounded.

Nullity of Marriage

The Act does not stop here. It makes further provisions—for declaring null and void such marriages as ought not to be regarded as valid at all; a matter though just and proper is unknown to the present Hindu Law. It provides that a wife or husband can get her or his marriage declared void if the other party was suffering from leprosy, or other loathsome disease, was deaf, dumb, blind, lunatic, idiot, or converted to other religion; the parties were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, or were of the same Gotra, of different Varnas; or if the marriage was brought about by force or fraud. The word fraud includes the wilful concealment by the husband of his first wife's existence. The present Hindu Law does not recognise physical defects or diseases as disqualifications for marriage; and in cases where a legal marriage cannot take place according to certain of its rules, the doctrine of *factum valet* puts its seal finally, leaving the couple to repent at leisure.

Working of the Act

In spite of the many and various grounds provided for obtaining relief under the Act, if one goes through the record of the cases decided, one is not a little surprised to find cruelty as the only ground invariably alleged and proved in the majority of them. That no other cause of disruption except the one of cruelty should exist in almost all the cases, is too difficult to believe in. May be, people have not the boldness to allege some of the grounds such as adultery, impotency, habit of unnatural offence, which more or less cast a slur on the opposite party and thereby lower them both in social estimations; may be, their legal advisers find it difficult to handle and prove legal desertion, becoming a recluse, addiction to intoxicants; and as a consequence thereof, legal cruelty is picked up as a ground handy enough, simple to be alleged, and simpler still to be proved. This shows that the legal advisers have not mastered the grounds and their extended modern implications, and indicates the lack of courage on the part of the litigants to lay bare the woes of their blasted matrimony.

The figures, *viz.*, 30 (1932-33), 38 (1933-34), and 53 (1934-35) respectively, mark gradual and substantial increase in the number of petitions for divorce and indicate the growing consciousness of the maladjustments and the increasing courage of the aggrieved parties to take advantage of the Act. The number of cases is as yet nothing as compared to the actual number of maladjusted couples, but the social prejudices, advanced age of the parties, and lack of prospect of remarriage seem to have deterred most of them, especially the women, from claiming relief under this Act. In this, the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act, both local and British, can well be compared and be taken as a standard of the slow speed, drastic social legislation has to run at. People, already married years before, have learnt to take maladjustments as something ordained by God and are not prepared to run the risk of marriage again; but for the younger generation, with their definite attitude towards the marriage institution, and pronounced over-emphasis of individuality, the measure would prove in time to come as the most appropriate remedy.

Almost all the castes, ranging from Brahmin to Bhangi, have taken advantage of the Act and this has belied the argument, once advanced, that for higher classes it was not necessary.

Another striking feature is that, except in a very few cases, all the petitioners who have asked for divorce are females. Man is safe and secure under the leeside of polygamy and women alone are hard hit thereby. Now that Baroda claims to have modernised the old Hindu Law of marriage, polygamy, its greatest enemy and highest disgrace, requires to be abolished. A curious case from Patan, a Taluka town, may well be taken as an instance where a man was required to invoke the protection of the Act. One Vyas Kuber Harishankar, Brahmin by caste, aged seventy years, married Bai Laxmi in 1925. But subsequently he came to know that she was a widow, was married twice before, was of loose character, had lived with a number of persons as a mistress and effected several abortions, whereupon he did his best to confine her in a room and bring her under control. But the woman twice beat him and once ran at his throat, creating in his mind a genuine fear of his death at her hands. There were several complaints and cross-complaints for hurt and theft and the old man had begun to despair about his life when to his great relief the divorce Act came into force. He applied for dissolution and the petition was allowed on a compromise. It was good that the judge did not take into his head to dismiss the petition and the compromise as being collusive, otherwise the poor old man would have had to fight with his wife till his death.

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THE LAST DAYS OF NANASAHEB OF BITHUR

By G. S. SARDESAI

My friend Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji wrote a paper on the above-mentioned subject for the Gwalior Session of the Historical Records Commission, which has been printed in its proceedings, Vol. XII. Mr. Banerji writes that "nothing is definitely known about the fate of Dhondo Pant, the adopted son of the last Peshwa Bajirao II, familiar to readers of Indian history as Nana Saheb, the perpetrator of the Cawnpore massacre", and quotes in support of his statement a letter from Col. Ramsay, Resident of Nepal, dated 8th September 1860. Perhaps the outside world do not know that Marathi papers have definitely established the end of Nanasaheb and all the members of his family in Nepal after they had quitted their residence at Bithur and run away for fear of a pursuit by the British forces. As all the mutiny records and the British and Indian writers are silent on this important episode of that great event, I wish to supplement existing evidence by presenting in an English garb what the Marathi papers have proved.

It is well known that the last Peshwa Bajirao II (born 10th January 1775) surrendered himself and his kingdom to Sir John Malcolm on 3rd June 1818 at Dhulkot south of the river Narmada and after enjoying his pension of 8 lacs annually for 33 years at Bithur near Cawnpore, died on the 14th of January 1851, having just completed 76 years of age. Although he married altogether eleven wives, six in the Deccan before his abdication and five at Bithur, he was not fortunate in leaving behind a natural heir. A son was born to him from Varanasibai, his fourth wife, at Poona in 1810, but the child died within a few months. He had from his eighth wife two daughters named Yogabai and Kusumabai. The former was married into the Patwardhan family of Kurundwad and the latter Kusumabai popularly known as Bayabai was married to Ganapatrao Apte of Gwalior. This lady lost her husband in 1883 and proceeded to Benares, where she spent the rest of her long life of 70 years and died on 19th June 1917. She was a spirited lady widely respected for piety and patriotism and possessed a highly cultivated intellect. It is from her that authentic information was obtained by the historian Rajawade about the sad end of Nanasaheb and published by him in 1913 in one of the volumes of the Bharat-Itihasa-Mandal of Poona.

Bajirao however defied nature on the subject of leaving an heir behind, and adopted not one but three heirs almost with vengeance. For this purpose he brought to Bithur a whole family from the Deccan, probably distantly related to his own and possessing the surname Bhat. Madhaorao Narayan Bhat and his wife Gangabai were inhabitants of Vengam near Matheran and migrated to Bithur at the invitation of Bajirao. They had then a little son with them named Dhondu, born in 1824, whom Bajirao adopted on the 7th June 1827 and who afterwards became known by the name of Nanasaheb. A cousin and a brother of this Nanasaheb, named respectively Sadashivrao Dadasaheb and Gangadharrao Balasaheb, were also later on adopted by Bajirao as sons and shared the vicissitudes of Nanasaheb's life. Of these, Dadasaheb died a few years after his adoption and his wife Rohinibai adopted a son, named Raosaheb, who also followed Nanasaheb in his misfortunes. All these boys were nearly of the same age and received their training together in horsemanship, wrestling and various outdoor games and pursuits in which their campanion Tatya Tope joined whole-heartedly. Tatya Tope, as the reader knows, became one of the rebel leaders later on.

At Bithur, which became known as Brahmavarta and is situated on the left bank of the Ganges, about ten miles north of Cawnpur, an enclosure of about six miles in circumference was set apart for the residence of Bajirao and his followers. The boundary line was marked off by sixteen large stone-pillars of considerable height and was not to be crossed by Bajirao on any account. A British Resident was stationed there to watch him and to administer to his needs. During Bajirao's thirty-three years' residence at that place four British Officials worked as Residents in succession, Capt. Low, Capt. Bacon, Major Manson and Capt. Moreland. Bajirao's deportation to Brahmavarta coincides part of

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the time with that of Napoleon to St. Helena (1815-1821) and curiously enough the first British guardians of both were named Low. Capt. Low who lived with Bajirao was unlike his namesake at St. Helena far more humane and considerate, so that Bajirao never for a moment lamented his misfortune and lived practically the same easy and careless tenour of life as he had enjoyed at Poona.

Two days after the massacre at Cawnpur had taken place on the night of July 15, 1857, General Havelock entered the town with a relieving force. As soon as Nanasaheb heard that Havelock was rapidly approaching Cawnpur, he fled away from Bithur with his followers and relations and as much valuable property as he could collect and carry in a short time, and, traversing the territory of Oudh and encountering severe hardships on the way, he entered Nepal where he could breathe a momentary relief being safe from his pursuers. Havelock and the British forces were long detained by the operations at Lucknow and could not overtake the fleeing party of Nanasaheb, even if they had so desired. Nanasaheb's party was large enough. He had with him his two stepmothers, Saibai and Mainabai, besides his own and his brother's wives. Knowing that Jang Bahadur, the minister and *de facto* ruler of Nepal was a friend of the British, Nanasaheb did not disclose his identity for a long time. In fact the party did not all live in one lot or in one place. They wandered from place to place mostly resorting to hills and jungles, concealing their movements and whereabouts. Various reports about their peregrinations reached both the Nepalese and the British Officials. When they were discovered under the Nepal jurisdiction they ran to the British territory and vice versa. This game of hide and seek altogether lasted for some 14 months, July 1857 to September 1858, and subjected them to untold miseries and hardships. Nanasaheb was utterly worn out and while living near a village named Devkhari about 15 miles from Thada in Nepal, he was attacked by a kind of malignant fever to which he succumbed on Wednesday 6th October 1858, at the age of 34. His brother Balasaheb had already died of the same complaint some three months before him on 10th July 1858. When, owing to illness, Nanasaheb found it impossible to move from his bed and began to be harassed by local officials of Nepal, they formed themselves into two parties, the one mostly of the ladies remained at Thada, and Nanasaheb resorted to a wood near Devkhari, and was after his death, cremated by his companions on the banks of a brook nearby. After the cremation the companions joined the ladies' party at Thada where Bayabai then 12 years of age was present and observed the obsequies of Nanasaheb being performed for 13 days. These details did not become publicly known for a long time owing to unsettled conditions and fear of punishment, and caused an amount of persecution to a number of persons in India who had even a slight similarity of features with Nanasaheb. For years the British did their utmost to capture him. It was even reported that he had fled into Russia.

A few months before Nanasaheb's death his nephew Raosaheb suddenly left him and wandered into British territory in quest of his wife, who was in concealment near Sialkot. Raosaheb however was soon apprehended and hanged at Brahmavarta in front of the palace. His wife too suffered a more or less similar fate.

Thus perished the four principal members of the family, *viz.*, Nanasaheb, Balasaheb and Raosaheb and the wife of the last. There remained in Nepal only a few ladies, *i.e.*, the two wives of Bajirao, Saibai and Mainabai, his daughter Kusumabai, Nanasaheb's wife Krishnabai and Balasaheb's wife Kashibai. As the men folk had all passed away, the Nepal Government had no reason to withhold a kindly protection from these helpless women, who were allowed by the authorities to stay undisturbed wherever they liked. These ladies had with them four grandsons of Tatya Tope, a clerk named Tambe, one Damodarpant Patwardhan, a relation of Sir Dinkarrao Rajwade and a few menials. Tatya Tope's grandson Balvantrao served all the ladies with extreme devotion. The party returned to Kath-Mandu after Nanasaheb's death, purchased a plot in the town by selling some of their personal ornaments and built a house of their own in which they long lived. They also purchased three or four villages which yielded them an annual income of about seven thousand rupees, which sufficed for their maintenance. They then established a small town within Nepal territory and named it Rani-Ganj in which they built two temples, one for Rama and the other for Lakshmi-Narayan and set apart a handsome amount for their upkeep. On these temples they exhibited the usual Maratha flag and placed in them a royal cushion, which are still extant. Most of the ladies died in course of time, and the last one was Bajirao's wife Saibai, who died in 1896, all

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leaving behind them in Nepal a good name for simple and pious life, which still lives in local tradition. Nanasaheb himself possessed a noble and charitable nature, although he is vilified as the perpetrator of the terrible deeds at Cawnpore. The actual facts of this debatable point will perhaps remain for ever buried in oblivion.

Bajirao's daughter Kusumabai was brought to Gwalior from Kathamandu by her father-in-law after all the troubles of the mutiny had vanished. When she lost her husband she proceeded to Benares where she passed the remainder of her life until her death, as narrated above, nineteen years ago. This authentic account of Nanasaheb's last days was published long ago by Rajwade and should serve finally to set at rest all vague rumours, reports and conjectures about this small historical offshoot of the mutiny days. The Peshwa's main family is now entirely extinct. The descendants of Ragunathrao's adopted son Amritrao are living at Bareilli.

ART IN THE HOME

By MIRIAM BENADE

Sometimes when I am walking through the picturesque streets of our old city of Lahore, a kind of fear saddens my thoughts. It is the fear that the beautiful things that used to be made and used in the city are all being lost and destroyed and that little of beauty is taking the place of the old things—or at least little that speaks of the craftsmanship that springs from the very soil of the place.

Even the ugliness and squalor and filth of the city is forgotten on a bright sunshiny morning. You suddenly realize that the dingy buildings standing crazily against each other have acquired a stateliness of mass and line of the sort to please the most haughty artist. The little byway in which you go to find brass and copper is a wonderland full of glowing metal curved into many a shape and touched by many a gleam of light and softened shadow. There are leather-covered *huqa*-stands studded with brass and copper which you can buy; and quaint red shoes; and shoes cunningly embroidered in fine gold thread; fabrics from Benares; embroideries from Kashmir; homespun from the villages; bright pieces of block-printing; gay and fragile paper kites; coils of glittering bangles; baskets of many sorts; little red lacquered *piris;* ornaments of gold and silver; pottery of dusky red or vivid blue and making you yearn to hold a lovely shape in your hand. These are some of the things that greet your eye and speak to you of a part of your inheritance from the rich past.

But in the very roadways where you have these gifts of craftsmanship, you also find crude and ugly pictures that Germany has piled upon us, cheap and tawdry toys from Japan, nondescript dishes from Czekoslovakia and other things that show us the trend toward standardization in the marts of the world.

I would not decry modernization nor scoff at the comforts of civilization which the machine age has brought us. But comfort is not enough. If Europe and the four corners of the earth can send us things of utility and can also discipline us to recognize the chaste beauty of simplicity, then we can be thankful. We should not however be ungrateful to the craftsmen of this land for what they have done to satisfy that craving for beauty that dwells in each of us,—from the sturdy independent peasant worker to the sophisticated city dweller. Such are the thoughts that come to me on occasion as I walk through the streets of the city.

Often when I enter the homes of our country, similar thoughts flood my mind. Some homes fill one with dismay. They are cluttered with bric-a-brac and an indiscriminate display of pictures. Photographs of the great and the near great, of relatives and friends, stand about in ornate silver frames on every available space, in close juxtoposition to knick-knacks that are souvenirs of many a thoughtless buying expedition. You crane your neck and stare up to gloomy heights to look at the pictures on the walls—mediocre oil paintings or dabs of watercolour and character-less prints. Nothing seems to be at the right height to be seen with ease and pleasure. Why not buy a ladder and use it when you want to get close enough to see the pictures on the walls? Gaudy and bold figured upholstery glare at us from fat couches and chairs. The

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whole place seems to shriek of the worst of a day that is done in Europe and which should never have come to India—the mid-Victorian age. You know that much money has been spent on the furnishings but there is no distinction or repose in the atmosphere of the rooms.

I am told that there are those who go to auctions and buy wholesale the belongings of some *sahib* who has gone to England. Such folk attempt to set up in their houses a deadly imitation of someone else's ideas of living.

Besides those who do this, there are those who seem to have no interest at all in trying to convert a house from a cave into a home. Their surroundings at worst are slatternly and at best barren. Of both these conditions the latter is the better one, for at least the fundamental requisite of cleanliness in present.

Fortunately, one needn't stop discouraged at the descriptions just presented! There are also homes in India, where good taste and the personal interests of the owners combine to make a house into a truly delightful dwelling place. Indian crafts have been called upon to furnish upholstery and door hangings and ornaments. Choice pictures, done by Indian artists, hang on the walls at comfortable angles. Here and there one sees evidences of foreign travel—chaste bits of loveliness picked up by connoisseurs of beauty. The old Greek teaching of "Nothing too much" has been observed carefully. On the tables are books—those friends of the discriminating. Flowers arranged in vases in such a way as to show best the natural beauty of the bloom and foliage. Everything from ceiling to floor is immaculate. A quiet unostentatious air of well-being hovers around such a place. On entering it, one senses culture and refinement. In some cases large amounts of money have been spent to obtain these results, in other cases only a simple outlay has been needed to produce an atmosphere of beauty and repose. Universal laws of good taste have been observed and although ideas of comfort and art have been borrowed from the West, at the same time the things of beauty old and new found in this country have been utilized to give a distinctly Indian note to the surroundings. It is encouraging to find more and more people desirous of having the sort of home I have just described.

Unfortunately little advice is broadcasted to such people by the press or in the schools to help them to formulate for themselves the tenets of good taste. Domestic science courses in the schools seldom go beyond the interests of the kitchen and perhaps nursery. All such courses that I have seen are hopelessly unimaginative. No attempt is made to help the Indian girl learn fundamental aesthetic principles—what colour combinations are good; how to obtain good contrasts by the use of light and dark shades; what are useful and beautiful lines in furniture; how to have balance in the arrangement of pictures and ornaments; how both harmony and variety can be obtained at the same time and above all how to have "Nothing too much." The attention of young women needs to be drawn to these subjects over and over again.

In America many women take a great interest in home-making in its widest and best sense. This is the American tradition. There are few High schools where girls are not expected to learn at least the rudiments of home-making, and many universities now offer a wide variety of courses in Home Economics to young women. These courses are of a very high grade and appeal to the most intelligent. A girl who elects to take these courses does not think of herself as a household drudge learning to be a more efficient drudge, but as someone who is learning to be a gracious and queenly home-maker. Then too, many books and articles are constantly being produced, drawing the attention of women (and men) to the principles of Interior Decoration.

Newspapers, women's magazines, furniture and art shops indeed every sort of business—all conspire to interest the American woman in making her home attractive. Not even the bathroom and kitchen of an American home escape the touch of the artist. In the kitchen, pantry shelves are lined with paper stamped in gay designs; cheerful curtains hang at the kitchen window; and attractive linoleums cover the floor. Brightly painted kitchen furniture and kitchen utensils help the lady of the house to enjoy her duties in the kitchen. She comes to her work almost in the spirit of a priestess approaching an altar and because of this spirit she keeps everything spotless and immaculate.

Not many homes in America can boast of a kitchen completely equipped with electrical appliances. But it was once my privilege to see such a kitchen—a symphony of soft colour. Yellowish-pink walls and ceilings; pale green electric stove, dishwasher and refrigerator; cream colored tables and chairs; dishes and utensils of various gay hues; a dark green linoleum floor covering—a rare combination of art and efficiency.

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Supposing a young woman in this country desires to make her home a place of rest and beauty but has few ideas as to how to start, what can she do? I suggest that she try to get one or two books printed in English dealing with the subject of Interior Decoration. From time to time too she can find articles on the subject, in various women's magazines. One of the best of these is *Good House Keeping*, available both in an American and an English edition. Of course an Indian lady will have to remember that the ideas she gathers from a Western magazine, in order to be of real worth, must be adapted to Indian furnishings and art objects and houses.

Perhaps it would not be out of place here to state some of the simplest principles of good taste in interior decoration.

It is usually best to think of a room in terms of earth and sky. The floor there will have a covering of a somewhat dark shade, the ceiling will usually be of a very light shade and the walls of a neutral tone—such as cream or pale yellow, which harmonizes well with practically every colour.

Interior decorators advocate the combining of three colour tones in the furnishings of a room. There should be one predominating colour and another shade that harmonizes well with it, and a third colour used discreetly by way of contrast. It is well to take different coloured fabrics and put them against each other to see which colours look well together. No game could be more fascinating to play than this.

Care should be taken in putting different figured materials together in one room. When choosing carpets, upholstery and curtains, I should advise keeping the material of at least one of these plain. For instance, if your carpet has a decided design in it, you will play safe if the upholstery on the couch is of some plain colored material or of very unobtrusive design.

The larger pieces of furniture should be so arranged as to have their lines parallel with the lines of the room this is especially true in a small room. Of course chairs and small tables look more inviting if they are placed in a casual sort of way more or less facing each other.

It is usually well to have only a few pictures on the walls. They should hang on a level with the eye-flat against the wall, not tilted. If two or more pictures are to hang on one wall, try putting them so that their bottom edges will all be in a straight line. This arrangement is often more restful than any other.

The room should have a "centre of interest", a place toward which the attention travels involuntarily. Often a mantle-piece over the fire place achieves this end if it is decorated with a few interesting and attractive ornaments. Ornaments should be few and beautiful. They should be placed about the room in such a way as to obtain balance and proportion. One ornament should complement another on a mantle or a table, by being of about the same dimensions. Sometimes a group of objects will be needed on one side to complement a single object on the other. Occasionally a pair of candle sticks or vases will help give balance to the decoration of a table or mantlepiece. One requires a lot of practice and experimentation in order to learn how to obtain a satisfying sense of proportion in arranging ornaments.

Flowers and books always give a very homey touch to a room. They make it appear as if it is lived in; they speak somehow of the personality of the inmates of a house as few other things do. The Japanese are artists in arranging flowers. Japanese women make flower arranging almost a religious ceremony and spend hours at it. They have a theory that flowers should be arranged so as to form a sort of a triangle—the bottom of which represents earth; the sides, purple and the top, heaven. They often arrange flowers in shallow bowls. Brass *thallis* make lovely receptcles for flowers in India.

The few simple principles mentioned here should help one to know how to start at making a home attractive and if one uses even the simple objects and products obtainable in every Indian town, one can soon learn how to fit them an artistic plan. There is quaint loveliness in village-made homespuns and embroideries, and dignity and beauty in even the ordinary brassware that every good Indian home possesses in abundance. The simplest pottery and wood work often possess great charm.

Would that more and more the home-makers of India may come to realize and know that a thoughtless imitation of the art traditions of another people bespeaks a lack of genuine aesthetic sense and that a country's most successful art forms must somehow be rooted in the soil of its own best traditions. Truly beautiful effects are achieved not by the lavish expenditure of money but by the exercise of discriminating taste, which is developed in cultured surroundings and which knows how to make use of the best in those surroundings.

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TRAVELLERS IN THE NIGHT

By SITA DEVI

Synopsis of Previous Chapters

Satyasaran, the son of Shaktisaran, a millionaire, has fallen on evil days. With a small sum of money borrowed from his sister Saroja, he goes to Rangoon to seek his fortune. Here, on the first day, luck leads him to a narrow lane, where some people from the Madras Presidency are busy effecting the sale of a young girl named Kanakamma. Satyasaran, aghast at the sight, rescues the girl from the clutches of the villanis and has to spend two hundred rupees over it. The girl is deeply grateful and falls in love with him. Satyasaran with the help of another Bengali gentleman makes arrangement for the girl to stay in a Bengali family as an Ayah. But after some days, Satyasaran has all his money stolen and is reduced to extreme difficultis. He is on the point of being turned out into the streets and starving to death when Kanakamma comes to his rescue, by selling herself to her former admirer and giving the money to Satyasaran. She goes away immediately afterwards and he loses all trace of her. After some enquiry, he learns that the girl has gone away to Bassein, with her purcshaser. Satyasaran returns to India determined to make good and rescue the girl again. He takes service in Allahabad, and here falls in love with Tapati, a daughter of his employer Bireswar Babu. A marriage is arranged between them though the girl's mother is not much in favour of such a poor bride-groom. But the old lady grows reconciled to the idea of the marriage. It is decided that the newly-married pair will live with Bireswar Babu. Satyasaran receives news of Kanakamma from Rangoon and sends some money for her to Gopal Babu, a friend in Rangoon. But a few days later the terrible news arrives that Kanakamma has been attacked with small-pox.

In the meantime, preparations for the marriage go on. It is arranged that for the remaining few days before wedding Satyasaran should live in another house. After he has removed to his new establishment, Kanakamma suddenly arrives in Allahabad and is taken to him. She is nearly gone blind. Satyasaran must give the girl, who has sacrificed his life for him, shelter. And he is faced with a new and terrible problem.

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SATYASARAN's cook came in with some refreshments and tea, though it was rather late. But Satyasaran did not even look at those things and the tea became cold. The darkness deepened around him. He then got up and came out of his room. He called his servant and ordered him to take a light to Kanakamma's room. He then went to the sitting room and sat down there.

The sound of a car stopping before the gate, was heard suddenly. Satyasaran could discern two figures advancing towards the house. One was Bireswar Babu, the other his personal attendant Chhedi.

"Are you in Satyasaran?" asked Bireswar Babu from outside.

So Lalmohan had not let the grass grow under his feet. But it was better in a way to get over the suspense as soon as possible. "I am here," he said getting up from his chair. "Please come in."

Bireswar Babu came in, very carefully minding his steps. He took a chair, then ordered his servant to go and sit in the car.

As soon as the man had gone out the old gentleman cleared his throat noisily and said, "I have heard rather grave news from Lalmohan. I don't want to believe it, yet I can scarcely think that he has dared to concoct such a story about you. So I came over in haste to learn the truth from you. You can understand my position I hope, and excuse my coming. I am Tapati's father and I must look after her welfare. So I have to undertake this unpleasant duty."

"I don't know what Lalmohon has said to you, about me," said Satyasaran. "But I know that you have the fullest right to investigate everything concerning me in any manner you think fit."

Bireswar Babu took a good look around him to see whether they were alone. Then he said, "I hear that a certain Madrasi woman has arrived here."

"Yes," replied Satyasaran shortly.

"May I know how you came to know this woman?" asked the old man. "And by what right does she dare to intrude here?"

Satyasaran's temper began to rise at this tone. But he knew that he had no right to get angry. He was now in the position of the accused in the dock, and he must not show temper. The old gentleman, on the other hand, had every right to be angry.

"I met the woman in Rangoon." Satyasaran began, trying to speak as calmly as possible. "I am deeply indebted to her and she has come here by that right. She has become nearly blind, after an attack of smallpox. She has none to look after her. So I can hardly refuse to give her shelter."

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Bireswar Babu did not appear to have heard the last part of his speech. "Indebted?" he asked. "What do you mean? Did you borrow money from her?"

"I did, but that was not all," said Satyasaran. "She actually saved my life over there. If she had not been there and had not helped me so splendidly, it would have been impossible for me to return from Rangoon."

"Hum!" said Bireswar Babu. "Now if her money is paid back to the full, is she willing to go away for good? Or is there any likelihood of her returning and blackmailing you?"

Satyasaran understood now that Bireswar Babu had taken the ugliest possible view of the affair. He must have heard a good deal about the escapades of the Bengalis in Rangoon, and he had taken this to be one of that kind. God alone knew whether Satyasaran would even be able to make him see differently. But he must try his best.

"The affair is not as ugly as you seem to think," he said. "If you permit me, I can tell you everything in detail, though shame bows me down to the ground, when I think about it." As soon as the last sentence had left his mouth, he understood that he should not have put it that way. It had gone against him.

"I don't want to hear your tale, my dear sir," said Bireswar Babu stiffly. "We are old-fashioned people and we don't look at these things with your eyes. But what is done is done and cannot be helped any longer. Now tell me whether you can get rid of the creature for good. Most people succumb to temptation in their youth, but they reform after that."

So Bireswar Babu was firm in his conviction of Satyasaran's guilt. He was guilty indeed, but not of the sin that was being laid at his door. But how could he make this stupid old man understand? His patience was nearing its end. "You must hear everything I have to say," he said again. "Then decide whether I should send her away."

"What shall I gain by listening to you?" asked Bireswar Babu impatiently. "Let it be granted that I believe you, for the sake of argument, but will Tapati believe you, will her mother believe you, if I carry this tale to them? Will they believe you to be innocent? I think it would be better to suppress the whole thing. You send the woman away, and I shall see to Lalmohan. He knows rather too much about you, but money can always work wonders. My daughter is innocent as a child, I don't want her to know about this. I can hardly believe your relationship to this woman to be as innocent as you profess. I hear that you have corresponded regularly and you have been sending money to her. Lalmohan has proof about everything in his possession. Though he should not have gone through your pockets, I cannot punish him for that in this case. Suppose the marriage had actually taken place and the exposure had come afterwards?"

Satyasaran understood now where Gopal Chowdhuri's letter had been all these while. He had not been able to gauge properly the depth of Lalmohan's enmity towards him. Satyasaran had not missed the coupon of the M. O. sent by him to Rangoon, but Lalmohan seemed to have grabbed that also.

He looked at the old man steadily and asked, "How do you dare to trust your daughter to me, believing me to be a characterless reprobate?"

"What else can I do?" replied Bireswar. "The marriage was not settled by a professional matchmaker, so I cannot break it off at a moment's notice. You settled everything between you, the girl loves you deeply and regards you as her future husband. If I break off the match now, do you think the girl will survive the shock? Do you take her to be one of those Western females, who change husbands every month? But whether she lives or dies, I cannot let her marry you, unless you send that wretched woman away. I hope you understand this."

"I understand," said Satyasaran through his teeth. He felt like throttling this old man. "Permit me to tell your daughter everything. I shall abide by your decision."

"I cannot do that," said Bireswar Babu. "She is but a child. What does she know of the world and its infamy? She has read English books of course, but that has not made her so supremely wise. She loves you so much, that she will take black to be white, if you say that it is white. But we have seen enough of the world during our lifetime to know what is what. We cannot allow her to commit suicide, with our eyes open."

"Then this is your final decision?" asked Satyasaran.

"Yes", replied Bireswar Babu. "You send that woman away. I am ready to pay any amount you like. I had thought of saving some money on Tapati's marriage as you did not want any dowry. Much have I saved! But you must make proper provision against future unpleasantness or blackmail."

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Satyasaran's brain seemed to be on fire. The sneering tone of the old man's voice seemed to pierce his heart like poisoned arrows. "I can send her away if she agrees to go voluntarily," he said, "and if proper arrangements could be made about her."

Bireswar Babu sprang up from his chair. His limbs began to tremble with anger as he shouted "What? You dare to utter such words to me, shameless wretch that you are? Then everything is at an end between us." He stumbled out of the room and would have fallen down had not his servant run forward to catch him. He got into his car, which sped off at once.

Satyasaran sat down in his chair again. For a few minutes he could hardly move hand or foot. He could not even think. His servant came in and asked whether he wanted his dinner. The cook had finished his work, and had been waiting with his food for a long time. Satyasaran sent him away, saying that he did not want any dinner. He entered his bedroom after a while and laid himself down.

He must now wipe off with relentless hand, all the pictures he had drawn about his own future. The dark empty canvass would remain standing, for fate to paint anything she likes on it.

The darkness around him grew deeper and deeper. The servants, the gardener and his wife, all had fallen asleep. The only persons who remained awake, were Satyasaran with his bleeding heart and the sick and sightless Kanakamma in the midst of her cruel surroundings. She had thrown away the food, that had been offered to her. She tried to sleep on her torn and dirty bed, but sleep refused to visit her eyes. She got up and walking with her hand on the wall, stumbled towards the door, which she opened. She sat down on the threshold looking out. The night was dark, the bungalow could be seen faintly in the light of the stars, but Kanakamma's sight was too weak to discern it. She gazed at the darkness in front, tears streaming down her cheeks. The poor girl had wandered here in the hope that Satyasaran alone of all human beings would never forsake her. He had not done so, but it would have been better if he had. She could not forget the relentless hatred in his voice, as he spoke first. She could not tear out this poisoned dart from her heart.

Satyasaran was an early riser habitually, but today he felt too weak to get up from his bed. He felt as if he had been suffering from some insidious disease for months together, which had sapped his vitality completely. But he must not forget that the world was waiting at his door with its claims. He must arrange about the food and other necessities of his unwelcome guest. He must go to the shop also as Bireswar Babu had not yet dismissed him. Then he must think about his own future. He had to make some plan about it, how he was to live and where. Since he was yet alive he must satisfy the claims of life.

He sat up on his bed and called his servant. When the man came, he ordered him to call the gardener's wife to him. The woman came in after a while, with the border of her *sari* pulled down well over her face. Satyasaran gave her some money and asked her to buy some coffee and other necessities for Kanakamma. After the girl had had her morning meal, he wanted to see her and the gardener's wife must conduct her to this room. The woman nodded in assent and went off with the money.

Satyasaran then went to his bathroom and had a bath. This refreshed him somewhat. He drank a cup of tea, but could take no solid food, which refused to go down his throat. He must be at the shop by ten o'clock. How could he face the employees there? Lalmohan must have spread the news everywhere by this time. Even if he had not, Satyasaran's position would be the same, as everyone in the shop had seen Kanakamma arriving and had formed their own opinion about the matter.

He went and sat down in the outer room trying to decide on a course of action. His marriage was off, that much was certain. Bireswar Babu was adamant in his demand and so was Satyasaran in his refusal. He could never forsake poor Kanakamma. His job too would go very soon. He must leave Allahabad very soon, and take Kanakamma with him. For the present, he must go to Calcutta. But what could he do there? At the time of his return from Rangoon to Calcutta, he was as destitute, but he had his good name. And there was Nikhil to help him. This time he would have to go back with a load of infamy, and he would not dare to show his face to Nikhil even. He had nearly three hundred rupees with him, the remnant of the money sent by his sister as a wedding gift and the salary for one month due to him at the shop.

But he had some other assets also. He had forgotten the jewellery he had got from Calcutta, only the other day. These were

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intended as his wedding present to Tapati. But he could sell them and assuage his hunger and thirst, if reduced to extremeties. Tears seemed to choke him, he placed his head on the back of a chair and tried to control himself with all his might. Suffering was his due, why did he resent it then? But why had not God spared the innocent? Why did he allow such a cruel blow to be inflicted on Tapati who was not guitly in any respect? Why such sorrow and such shame in her life? How could such injustice emanate from the supreme source of justice?

Light footsteps were heard near the door. Tears still blinded Satyasaran's eyes and he did not look up. It must be Kanakamma, he thought. Let her wait awhile. A never-ending legacy of tears seemed to have fallen to the lot of these two unfortunate beings, so they need not be ashamed of tears before each other.

Suddenly someone flung herself down on Satyasaran's feet. He sat up in consternation. He could not mistake this touch as long as he was alive. He drew Tapati up with both hands and clasped her to his breast. He repeated eagerly again and again, "How did you come here Tapati? How did you?"

Tapati looked up at his face, her large eyes full of tears. "You made me come," she replied. "What have you been doing? Father is making such a row at home!"

As soon as Bireswar Babu's name was mentioned, Satyasaran came to himself with a shock. He no longer had the right to clasp Tapati in his arms. He had forgotten it for the moment. He was no longer her affianced husband, he was nothing to her except a messenger of evil, who had ruined her young life. He drew forward a chair and placed Tapati on it. He wiped his own eyes and tried to appear his normal self.

"Now tell me plainly what has happened," said Tapati again. "I could not understand father properly. Mother would not explain, she seemed to be frightened out of her wits lest my sister and their husbands should come to know about the affair, whatever it is. Who is it, that has come to your house?"

Satyasaran did not give any reply to her questions. "With whom did you come?" he asked instead. "Do your parents know that you have come here?"

"No they don't", replied Tapati. "I came alone in a hackney carriage. Mother and my sisters have all gone to bathe in the Ganges. There is nobody at home now."

Satyasaran wondered how much about Kanakamma he could confide to Tapati. Would she believe him? Or would she think him guilty as her father had done?

"I should have told you everything long ago," said Satyasaran. "I am being punished like this, for keeping the truth from you. But it will take some time to tell all. How long can you stay here?"

"I think I can stay for an hour or so," said Tapati smiling sadly. "If father does not appear before that."

"Does he know that you have come here?" asked Satyasaran again, rather foolishly.

"No, he does not, as I told you before," replied Tapati. "But he will know as soon as he asks the servants. They got the hackney carriage for me."

Before she could finish, Bireswar Babu's car appeared before the gate. He got down and advanced towards the house, as quickly as was possible for him. "Come away at once, silly girl", he thundered, standing before the door. "By whose permission did you come here?"

Satyasaran and Tapati stood up at once. "She wants to know the truth, and I am willing to tell it to her." Satyasaran said. "Please permit me to tell her."

Bireswar stumbled into the room and took hold of Tapati by the arm. "You need not listen to anything", he said, "You must come home at once with me. What a situation! And look here young man, if you try again to entice away my daughter, I shall sue you. Remember she is still a minor."

Tapati's face became scarlet with annoyance. "Have you gone mad, father?" she cried. "What is this, you are saying? Since you order me to go home, I am going, but I tell you at the same time that until I hear from Satyasaran Babu's own lips that he is guilty, I won't believe him to be guilty." She walked out of the room with steady steps and got into the car.

As soon as the car had gone out of sight, Satyasaran collapsed into the chair. He heard a slight commotion behind him and looked back. The gardener's wife stood in his bed room, while Kanakamma was seated on the floor by her side.

Satyasaran got up from his chair and went up to them. How long had they been waiting, he asked. Kanakamma did not reply. The other woman replied that they had come after Tapati's arrival. They had been waiting in

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this room, behind the door, for fear of intruding.

Then Kanakamma had heard and seen everything? But what did it matter, if she had? Tapati was innocent before God and man. She need not be afraid of facing anyone.

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The gardener's wife went away leaving Kanakamma with Satyasaran. He pushed a cane stool towards the girl and requested her to get up from the ground and take her seat upon it. Kanakamma shook her head, she was quite all right where she was. Satyasaran did not repeat his request, he went and sat down on his own bed.

He had called Kanakamma to discuss about her future. But the unexpected arrival of Tapati had thrown back Satyasaran into a chaotic state of mind again. The utter hopelessness that had taken possession of him, left him again. He knew now that though a minor legally, she was mistress of her own actions fully. Bireswar Babu would never be able to make her bend to his will. She had faith in her own convictions and she did not fear anyone. The slip of a girl looked delicate as a flower outwardly but inwardly she was hard as adamant. Unless she herself gave up Satyasaran of her own free will, no power on this earth was sufficiently strong to tear her out of his arms.

A few hours ago Satyasaran had given up every vestige of hope, knowing that he had lost Tapati for ever. But this despair was suddenly lifted from his heart, like mist at sunrise. Perhaps things might yet take a good turn. New hope and new strength filled his heart. He would win Tapati yet, he began to feel sure. He might have to fight hard for the prize, but that did not matter. He was about to grab this priceless treasure without paying for it. God did not tolerate this cheating on Satyasaran's part and so this punishment was meted out to him. He would gain the right of taking Tapati, after he had traversed a thorny path for her, with bleeding feet. After this nothing on earth would be able to part them.

But the largest and sharpest thorn on his path was here, waiting in front of him. Where could he keep Kanakamma? How was he to hide her from the eyes of the world and from Tapati's eyes in particular? As he called himself a man, he could not forsake this poor wretched creature to the tender mercies of the world. And God would never grant him such a boon as Tapati, if he fell below the standard of humanity.

"Why have you called me, Babu?" Kanakamma's question broke through his chain of thoughts.

Satyasaran answered that he had called her to ask some questions about her friends and relations and to discuss her future.

The girl remained silent for some time with bent head. Then she replied that she had no other relatives except that aunt, who lived in Rangoon. She was nearly blind now, so it was next to impossible for her to earn her own living. She had become extremely ugly after that attack of smallpox. So it was unlikely that anybody would ever want to marry her. Kanakamma's good aunt had taken all these factors into consideration and had turned her out of her house as a bad proposition.

Satyasaran thought deeply for a few moments. Then he asked again whether the aunt was willing to take charge of Kanakamma, if Satyasaran agreed to pay for her.

Kanakamma lifted her half-blind eyes and looked at Satyasaran. He saw her eyes filling with tears. She explained to him in her halting Hindi, that the aunt was not willing to consider this proposal. Gopal Babu had already spoken to her on this subject. The wordly-wise old woman had too little faith in human nature to take Satyasaran's word. She believed that he would cease payment as soon as the blind girl was safely lodged at her house. "And she would let me starve to death", Kanakamma concluded.

The daylight began to turn dark again before Satyasaran's eyes. He was not going to escape so lightly after all. He must pay to the full his debt to Kanakamma at first. After that, he might try to earn the right of winning Tapati if life and strength were left to him. For the present he must think out a way of earning his livelihood and he must leave Allahabad as soon as possible with Kanakamma.

But he must be at the shop very soon. He snatched a hasty meal and rushed off at once.

The other employees at the shop did not behave at all differently. Even Lalmohan was the same, he did not even appear to know that a change had come over Satyasaran's future. But Satyasaran hardly paid any attention to them. He compelled his wounded heart to turn from the contemplation of its own pain and got busy with the work before him. He had nearly got things in order.

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He had worked extremely hard these last few days in order to be free at the time of his wedding. If Bireswar Babu did not require one month's notice from him Satyasaran would be in a position to leave at the end of the month.

In the evening, he got up to go home. He took out the parcel he had placed in the iron safe, and carried it home with him. As he entered his bed room, he found a letter lying on the table. He knew Tapati's handwriting at once. He sat down on the bed and opened the letter.

Tapati had written to say that her father had told her many things after their return home. Satyasaran was a scoundrel in his opinion. He could never allow his daughter to marry such a man. As Tapati was a minor, she had got to obey him for the present. Bireswar Babu had told his other daughters that Satyasaran had been advised by his doctor to postpone his marriage indefinitely as the state of his health had become quite alarming. The old man did not want to expose the real state of affairs to anybody else.

Tapati had not believed her father. She could never believe Satyasaran to be a scoundrel. She did not know the truth, but she wanted to. It was difficult for her to meet Satyasaran, as her father was keeping a strict watch on her. If she wrote to Satyasaran, the letter was likely to be intercepted. But she wanted him to stay on in Allahabad, till she could arrange to meet him.

Satyasaran put back the letter in the envelope. He had still one friend left in the world. She trusted him without knowing the truth, whereas the others were unwilling even to hear his defence.

He must ask after Kanakamma once. He called the gardener's wife and asked whether Kanakamma had her bath and meals regularly. The woman answered that the girl had her bath and breakfast in the morning. But she was unwilling to take more food as this kind of cooking did not agree with her. As she could not see well, it was not possible for her to do her own cooking. Satyasaran asked again whether the girl had been alone, all the time. The woman answered that Kanakamma had been with her all the afternoon. She had asked many questions about Tapati.

Satyasaran told the woman to go away. Kanakamma was already aware then of the relationship between Tapati and himself. The servants, the gardener and his wife, all knew Satyasaran to be the future son-in-law of Bireswar Babu. So the woman must have given correct information to Kanakamma.

(To be concluded)

ROCKS AHEAD

By "SHER-GILL"

Sometime ago, I saw in a popular daily an article by an Indian politician, with the portrait of the author in an English top-hat. This top-hat worn tilted slightly backward, seemed to me an index of the gentleman's mentality in matters social and cultural at least.

In the same number of the daily, there appeared by some coincidence an article showing what some European thinkers thought of the "successful" civilization which our westernised Indian admired so much while denouncing almost everything which related to the past of this country.

The enthusiast for western culture did not seem to be aware of the catastrophe which according to so many western thinkers is awaiting this "successful" civilization, any more than he was aware that the ridiculous, hard-brimmed top-hat is abhorred by all sensible people in Europe now not only for its unaesthetic appearance, but also for its unhealthy effect on the blood circulation in the cranium resulting in premature baldness, and which no one would wear today if the slavery of fashion were not so heard to shake off. This head gear is to me a symbol of an effete civilization.

It may be pointed out for the benefit of such gentlemen that their unqualified admiration and infatuation for western civilization is not shared by a number of very gifted geniuses of Europe. It is well known (though even among the educated ignorance of these things is incredible) what Tolstoy thought of western civilization. His letters to the thinkers of the East, including Mahatma Gandhi, contained warning which are very likely to come true, before many decades have run their course.

I have heard many people of serious thought fear the great probability of a great

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catastrophe overtaking the western countries and their civilization ere long. I have heard the great French philosopher Henry Bergson saying that he was afraid that as ethical and spiritual progress had very much lagged behind the technical development of European peoples, and jealousies and international hatreds were consequently rife, the titanic forces in the hands of man were very likely to destroy not only western culture through another world-war, but probably the whole of humanity. He had hoped that sense and reason would prevail to put an end to war, but had of late begun to utterly despair. The venerable philosopher is never tired of telling this to any visitor who happens to have the privilege of meeting him. What he means to emphasise is that sensible people in every land should organise against war to stop it effectually, and Mr. H. G. Wells has often emphasised the same thing.

Like Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi has deprecated modern civilization with its selfish tendencies which allow the exploiting individuals and nations to prosper at the expense of the exploited masses and races. Romain Rolland thinks the same, and many less known thinkers of the world hold similar views. Some people hope against hope that in the last moment the western people will wake up and stop self-destructive wars, but one sees no sign of such sense arising miraculously, as evidenced by the activities of Hitler and his enemies, and the actual war of aggression for economic ends waged by Mussolini against Abyssinia, Japan's appetite for swallowing up China too knows no abatement. So it is not unreasonable to expect another world war, and this time incredibly far more destructive than the last from which Europe, nay the whole world, has not quite recovered yet. I have heard from scientific friends in Europe (and such things have been more or less fairly hinted in the newspapers of the world also) that stupendous chemical discoveries are ready at hand for mutual destruction on an unimaginable scale, by gases, explosives and other devices which are held in secret reserve by each nation.

Another great danger to the western civilization is the seething discontent of the working classes which is held down only by repressive forces placed by science at the disposal of the rulers and dictators. This danger is checked also by preventing the lot of the working classes from becoming utterly desperate and intolerable by easing their condition through the economic, industrial, and political exploitation of the so called "backward" and suppressed people of the earth, thus affording a safety valve for the explosive social forces of the working classes of Europe.

No doubt the industrialisation of the "backward" and suppressed races will lead to a closing down of the safety valve of the economic stress on the working classes of Europe which the enormous pressure exerted by the taxation for armaments tends to bring to the bursting point. But the rulers of the west who govern these "backward" peoples are trying their best to prevent this industrialisation in every way possible for this very reason. All the same this industrialisation is proceeding slowly and is being assisted by the boycott movement which is the chief weapon in the hands of an otherwise economically helpless people. That is why the western rulers are so anxious to efface this movement along with the industrialisation of their subjects.

This is the chief merit of those who wish to copy the west in industrialism, but they forget that this will not be permitted as far as possible. And for this reason the less controllable weapon of boycott is the safest and easiest of application through an encouragement of indigenous industries.

The industrial weapon can be employed successfully by such nations of the East as are free. Japan has done this though from the point of view of Tolstoy she has done it by making a tremendous moral sacrifice in degrading herself to the level of the western capitalism, and bringing about the same misery to her own masses, and can continue on the lines of the west only by exploiting other races like the Chinese, to prevent a revolution in her own country. But the industrialisation of Japan has helped to increase the pressure of the economic safety valve of the west.

Thus those who ape western civilization may be right in unwittingly bringing the day of economic revolution nearer and nearer, but it will not happen without a moral loss, unless the world becomes industrialised on an ethical basis. This remains to be seen.

Some forty years ago it seemed to me that less than half a century would be enough to bring about a disruption of the capitalistic powers of the west by which time the economic stress helped by the expenditure on armaments would bring about the culmination of those tendencies. Carlye and Ruskin, besides Tolstoy, prophesied that way, but the apparent success of industrialism had discredited them in the eyes of many people.

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In the meanwhile trade jealousies had resulted in the great war, and a disintegration of the capitalistic success of Europe through it. Europe and America are trying to recover from it, but they are not yet out of the wood. And another war seems to be preparing which may break out at any time in the future, not far off. And this is what thinkers like Professor Bergson fear and are in despair about. And it may be seen that Ruskin and Carlyle and Tolstoy were not wrong after all.

Tolstoy and others seem to have uttered their warnings in vain. Tolstoy had requested the eastern people to keep out of the marsh of western civilization which he thought was heading to a catastrophe and which he considered as immoral and condemnable. But the world has gone on in that direction everywhere. The East, whose sons ape the West because of its dazzling success, lures us on, and does not permit us to see towards what precipice we may be proceeding. It almost looks as if destiny is too strong for us as it is for the western people, who want to avoid a war which they know to be suicidal and yet cannot escape, simply because each nation thinks that whoever will lay down its arms will be annihilated. Europe, nay the whole world, seems to astride a volcano and neither able to abandon it, nor able to stop its irruption, hoping that somehow it will be all right.

This catastrophe will not be evaded by arming more heavily, which fear and jealousies render inevitable. Fear and jealousies are the outcome of the selfish nature of the nations which wish to exploit other nations and to keep stronger than others. In other words *selfishness is the root of it all.* And the scientific development of the western people which, as Bergson and others think, has gone far ahead of moral development, drives them on like the Frankenstein, which intended to be a solace has become the master of those who have invoked it.

The only way of escape is to get rid of most of this selfishness, and to make a bid for amity. But who will, who can, do it? And thus it seems that a great catastrophe awaits the dazzling civilization which is in the toils of materialism.

If the western nations are unable to retrace their steps, and to take up the thread of ethical development which is the same really as the religious and spiritual, then they are heading towards as inevitable precipice, which our top-hatted leaders who ape the west are unable to see any more than the votaries of a "successful" civilization whom they admire. We don't stand for that pseudo-religion and ethics which have become a curse of humanity instead of a blessing, by siding with those who exploit and those who oppress; and which should and must disappear with the march of enlightenment—even scientific—which will some day become spiritualised as it tends to do.

It will no doubt be sad to see a great and fair civilization perish, but if it becomes too selfish and nature or nature's God permits it to disappear, who will be the loser? Surely not those who are now enslaved and oppressed by it!

Our people are becoming oblivious of our grand heritage which they have consequently no desire to preserve or develop. Let its superstions go, which are hampering and obscuring it, but let us not ridicule a moral and spiritual culture which lifted us so high and which has more solid foundation than this maddening selfish thing which has blinded us to eternal verities.

WHAT is a book? A series of little printed signs—essentially only that. It is for the reader to supply himself the forms and colors and sentiments to which these signs correspond. It will depend on him whether the book be dull or brilliant, hot with passion or cold as ice. Or, if you prefer to put it otherwise, each word in a book is a magic finger that sets a fiber of our brain vibrating like a harp-string, and so evokes a note from the sounding-board of our soul. No matter how skillful, how inspired, the artist's hand; the sound it wakes depends on the quality of the strings within ourselves.

ANATOLE FRANCE

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JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland, dead on August 13 last in his ninety-fifth year, was the most illustrious as well as most venerable of Unitarian clergyman. As preacher and pastor, author and lecturer, social reformer and dauntless champion of freedom, he was as well known abroad as at home, and was mourned as deeply in India as in the United States and Canada. The dispatches carried at his death by the Associated Press, and the articles published in such newspapers as *The New York Times* and *The New York Herald-Tribune* indicate the influence and fame which he enjoyed.

Dr. Sunderland was born on February 11, 1842, in Yorkshire, England, a compatriot therefore in province as well as in country of Robert Collyer. He was brought to this country by his parents when he was only two years old, and proved his patriotism in his early manhood by enlisting in the Civil War as a soldier in the New York Heavy Artillery. He was educated at the University of Chicago, where he received a A. B. degree in 1867 and an A.M. degree in 1869, and at the Baptist Union Theological Seminary (Chicago), where he received his B.D. degree in 1870. Tufts College conferred upon him the degree of dector of divinity in 1914.

Dr. Sunderland began his ministry as pastor of a Baptist church in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, but soon came under the liberal religious influences then sweeping through the Middle West. Converted to Unitarianism, he entered upon a long series of pastorates in Northfield, Mass, Chicago, Ill., Oakland, Calif., London, England, Toronto and Ottawa, Canada, Hartford, Conn., and Poughkeepsie, N. Y., which were notable for intellectual and spiritual leadership, and for high public service. It is characteristic of a man who never grew old, either in body or mind, that his last pastorate, assumed when he was well past the Psalmist's span of years, was in the service of one of the youngest of all Unitarian churches, located in a town which was swarming with the girl students of Vassar College.

During these years of professional work, Dr. Sunderland was ceaselessly active in the service not only of his own churches, but also of the denomination. Admired and trusted by his colleagues and the laity alike, he was appointed to many important positions in the larger field. Thus, at various times, he was director of the American Unitarian Association, president of the Michigan Unitarian Conference, secretary of the Western Unitarian Conference, superintendent of Unitarian church-extension work in the West, and non-resident lecturer at the Meadville Theological School. In his early ministry he founded, and for ten years edited, a monthly magazine, *The Unitarian,* which enjoyed a large circulation in this country and in England.

Dr. Sunderland was a prolific author of books, which gave him distinguished rank as a scholar and theologian. His most famous work, published more than a generation ago and still widely read today, is *The Origin and Character of the Bible,*† an authoritative and highly readable introduction to the literature of the Old and New Testaments. It has been said of this book that "it has had the largest sale of any recent religious book written by any Unitarian in this country or in England." Another popular work was *The Spark in the Clod,* later republished under the title of *Evolution and Religion,** a delightful survey of the great scientific field of Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer. Other titles include *A Rational Faith, What Is the Bible? The Liberal Ministry, Home Travel in Bible Lands,* and *A College Town Pulpit.* Dr. Sunderland also published numerous sermons, tracts, and pamphlets, which have been widely circulated, and several of them translated into German, Italian, Bulgarian, Portuguese, Japanese, and various Indian dialects. He was for years a member of the editorial staff of *Unity* (Chicago), and contributed generously to its columns.

But, clergyman and scholar though he was, and proudly so, Dr. Sunderland's greatest work was done altogether outside the technically religious field. In his later years at least, his prime interest was not Unitarianism, nor

† The Indian edition is in the press.
* Has been published in India.

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the Bible, nor science, but——India, and the liberation of India's people from the foreign rule of Britain. He will be remembered longest —in India forever !—as the unselfish, untiring, and utterly devoted champion of India's cause of freedom.

Dr. Sunderland first went to India in 1895 on a commission from the British and Foreign Unitarian Association to study and report upon the educational, social, and religious conditions of the people. It was in this visit, which lasted over a year, that he first became stirred by .....and began that acquaintanceship with Indian leaders which later developed into firm-bound friendship with such men as Lajpat Rai, V. J. Patel, and Rabindranath Tagore. In 1913-14, Dr. Sunderland was sent to India and the Far East by the American Unitarian Association, and lectured widely on educational and religious subjects. But now the political cause had his first allegiance, and he returned to America, himself a native-born Englishman, to give his life to the great ideal of independence for India. By exhausting and unremitting study, he made himself an authority on Indian history and life. By voluminous correspondence he kept in constant touch with events and trends of opinion in India. By voice and pen, in season and out, he pled for the liberation of a great people. He crowned the labors of many years with his master work, a book entitled *India in Bondage*, which was regarded as so dangerous that its publication and sale were banned in India on the ground that it was "seditious literature." Dr. Sunderland's last book, written in his ninety-first year, was *Eminent Americans Whom India Should Know*, which appeared in India in 1933.

The issue of India's struggle for national independence was perfectly clear in Dr. Sunderland's mind. It was a repetition, a century and a half later of the great historic issue of the American Revolution. As Americans sought freedom from the British crown yesterday, so Indians seek it today—and for reasons infinitely better than Americans ever had! The principle here was basic, elemental—and to Dr. Sunderland's mind Americans should be the first to recognize and serve it. His part he did with a courage and determination and utter loyalty which made him in India the best known and most beloved of all Americans. When India at last is free, Dr. Sunderland will be remembered and honoured as "the American Lafayette."

Those who knew Dr. Sunderland will ever recall him primarily as an embodiment of ceaseless energy. Whatever he believed, he believed with all his mind ; whatever he did, he did with all his heart. His ardor for Unitarianism burned with a glowing flame. His theism, the conviction of deep thought and earnest prayer, he defended with passionate zeal against the humanistic tendencies of our time. For India he was like a warrior in shining mail, quick to do battle for a subject people. Yet for all his devotion to what to him was truth, and his untiring energy on its behalf, he knew no slightest bitterness or intolerance. He understood and loved freedom too well to betray her even for his own cause. Furthermore, there lay in his heart, as golden treasure, inexhaustible stores of tenderness, humility, and love. No man fought harder for what he believed, but he never spoke a harsh word, and was never guilty of an unkind deed. Through all his years, he was a gracious gentleman, a knight without fear and without reproach.

By some miracle of the spirit, he never grew old. In his last hours his mind was clear, and quick in its orders for the end ere he was gone. He was his own best proof of that immortality which was the crown and glory of his faith.—*The Christian Register.*

Books come at my call and return when I desire them; they are never out of humor and they answer all my questions with readiness. Some present in review before me the events of past ages; others reveal to me the secrets of Nature. These teach me how to live, and those how to die; these dispel my melancholy by their mirth, and amuse me by their sallies of wit. Some there are who prepare my soul to suffer everything, to desire nothing, and to become thoroughly acquainted with itself. In a word they open the door to all the arts and sciences.

PETRARCH

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A FREE PRESS DINNER A CENTURY AGO

By J. K. MAJUMDAR, Barrister-at-Law

The establishment of a Free Press in India in 1835 by the noble Sir Charles Metcalfe, the then Governor-General of India, marked an epoch in the history of the British administration in this country. But this came after a great deal of protest and agitation, with which the names of two great Indians, Raja Rammohun Roy and 'Prince' Dwarkanauth Tagore, are, above all, most intimately and honourably connected. Censorship of the Press came to be established for the first time in the year 1799, and newspapers remained subject to that check till 1818, when the liberal-minded Lord Hastings, the then Governor-General of India, thought fit to abolish it, merely laying down rules for the conduct of editors of journals. This innovation was hailed with jubilation in this country. Rammohun Roy expressed his sentiments on the matter with jubilation and appreciation. It was during this period of the non-existence of the censorship of the Press that he started two of his well-known papers, the one in Bengali called "Sangbaud Cowmuddee," and the other in Persian called "Mirat-ool-Ukhbar."

Since the abolition of the restriction on the Press, the Government was involved in an almost constant but unsuccessful conflict with Mr. Buckingham, the well-known Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, which came to a head in 1823, when he was ordered to leave India. This was also followed by a rigorous Press Ordinance. All this happened during the regime of the temporary governorship of the Hon'ble Mr. John Adam, who was a member of the Governor-General's Council and acted previously as the Press Censor. This curtailment of a valuable right led Rammohun Roy to agitate and protest vehemently against the above Regulation, which, though it failed to produce the desirable change in the law till 1835, was not wholly infructuous. For it has been said that the next Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, made the law remain only in name. In the above agitation, it has been further said, 'Prince' Dwarkanauth Tagore also played a great part with the great Raja, for which both of them were toasted in the Free Press Dinner held in 1838, an annual function to celebrate the establishment of the Free Press in India. To the curious reader the following extracts from its proceedings would reveal the debt recognised to be owed to the above two great sons of the land, and cannot fail to be of interest to them. The function, it should be remarked, was a specially important one, as Sir Charles Metcalfe himself was present as its chief guest to share in its felicitations. Mr. Longueville Clarke, the renowned barrister of the then Supreme Court of Calcutta, presided over it.

Mr. Clarke, before proceeding to the next toast on the list, read a letter from Dwarkanauth himself, who could not be present on account of his departure on a river trip on grounds of health. Dwarkanauth wrote to him in the following terms:

My Dear Sir,

It is a severe disappointment to me that the departure of the Steam Packet, only two days before our meeting, deprives me of the satisfaction to which I had so long looked forward, in common with my brother Stewards and the friends of free printing—of holding our yearly festival in the presence of Sir Charles Metcalfe. But there is no help for it, and I can only beg you to assure the meeting and our greatly respected guest, that nothing but unavoidable necessity could have kept me away on such a great occasion as the celebration of the privilege of freely expressing our opinions of public measures and men.

It is my duty more particularly, as a native landlord and merchant and more intimate than most of my countrymen, perhaps, with yours and with the nature of the Government under which this great and rising country is connected with England, to speak out on an occasion like the present. I sincerely believe that the liberating of the Press in India is one of the most valuable acts ever attempted by the Indian Government; it strengthens their own hands and ears and eyes in ruling this vast region, and it is also a guarantee to the people that their rulers mean to govern with justice, since they are not afraid to let their subjects judge of their acts.

In rising, then, to propose the toast Mr. H. M. Parker said:

Gentlemen, I rise under feelings of no ordinary embarressment with a greater mistrust, indeed, of my own powers to address a public assembly, very limited as I have always felt these powers to be, than I ever experienced in my life. It can scarcely be otherwise, for while I feel that no words of mine can do justice to the excellence of the good man and good citizen I am about to name to you, I am nervously anxious that one whom I am proud to call a dear and valued friend, *should* receive full justice at my hands. Hence my mistrust, hence my apprehensions. I am sensible that the public and private virtues of this admirable individual ought to be themes

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of some tongue "less unworthy than mine," at the same time I feel that my own friendship, instead of inspiring, makes me full of doubts, doubts lest I should fulfil neither my own ideas or yours of the honor due to the name I am about to propose. Yet why should I feel thus apprehensive? It ought to be no very difficult matter to illustrate what is already illustrious. Thank God, the honor due to the name connected with my toast depends upon a more solid foundation than my feeble words! That name is inscribed foremost amongst the foremost on the roll of those most distinguished for mercantile liberality and commercial enterprise. It is amongst the first, if not the very first, on the list of active, able and munificent citizens to whom the whole community is indebted. The name of my friend is revered by many whom he has saved or established in life by his judicious advice or his liberal assistance. It is written in the hearts of thousands who have partaken of his inexhaustible charity, who have had cause to bless his boundless benevolence, confined to no caste, colour, or creed—It shines brightly, surrounded with all that is urbane and kind and courteous, on the tablets of social hospitality. It is heard in the halls of our Colleges, in the porticos of those literary and scientific institutions which he has supported and enriched. It shines gloriously through an act, a recent act, of charity so princely, so magnificent, that I tax my memory in vain to discover a parallel to it within my own knowledge and experience. Above all, the name of this admirable citizen is inseparably connected with that cause whose triumph we have met this night to celebrate. Gentlemen, need I say after this that it is the name of Dwarkanauth Tagore. (Much cheering). Here then we have in an individual,—though to a degree so eminent that we cannot expect it to be common,—the qualities and attributes which we desire to foster amongst his countrymen at large:—moral courage, integrity, liberality, self-dependence, love of truth, a sense of right, a scorn of wrong, and a freedom from prejudice. (Cheers). But what if we succeed in our endeavours to create analogous feelings, not only in those immediately around us in this metropolis, but in thousands, tens of thousands, millions, of their countrymen. . . . .

Mr. Parker concluded:

Dwarkanauth Tagore, then, is inseparably connected with our good and just cause. (Cheers). At the time when all was apathy or dismay—at the time of the passing of the Press Law, Dwarkanauth Tagore and his illustrious friend, who now sleeps with the just, almost alone stood forth to fight the good fight. (Cheers). On the first celebration of this anniversary, we were told by no mean authority, that Dwarkanauth Tagore had spent thousands with no other object than the Freedom of the Press. They went to charges, gentlemen, heavy charges which, after all, is no bad test of men being in earnest. "Kill a man's family," says Byron, "and he may brook it," but keep your hands out of his breeches' pocket. (Laughter). They went to charges, gentlemen, they entertained counsel to argue against the registration of the Law in the Supreme Court—they petitioned the Parliament, they stood in short like those described in the beautiful lines of Moore.

"Night closed around the conquerors' way."

Night, gentlemen, always closes round the way of any conqueror who triumphs over the Press.

"Night closed around the conquerors' way,
And lightning shewed the distant hill,
Where those who lost that dreadful day
Stood few and faint but fearless still."

Manfully did this little band of patriots stand in the breach. Manfully did they continue to hope when "Hope seemed none." (cheers). In the hour of our triumph, then let not these brave hearts be forgotten. One has, as the French happily express it, "gone to immortality." But the noble, the admirable survivor, can still enjoy the applause of his fellow citizens, can still know that his name, "is in our flowing cups freshly remembered." (Cheers). I call upon you, therefore, to pledge me with hearts and voices, with three times three and all the honors, "The principal survivor amongst the native champions of a Free Press, Dwarkanauth Tagore." (Much and enthusiastic cheering).

Air—*For Auld Lang syne.*

(*Bengal Hurkaru*, Feb. 12, 1838).

To the above Romanauth Tagore, the step-brother of Dwarkanauth, returned his thanks for the honour done to him.

In proposing the next toast, to Raja Rammohun Roy, Mr. J. F. Leith said:

Gentlemen, the toast which I have the honor to propose, is preceded by the name of a man whom living England honored, and whom dead India has cause to mourn! To you who know the moral and intellectual condition of the natives of his country, the boldness, the independence, the enlightened views of the late Rammohun Roy (cheers) must be convincing proofs of his superiority over the great mass of his fellow countrymen. While these characteristics command for his memory unfeigned respect, they must induce you to admit the appropriateness of coupling his name with the present toast, "the enlightenment of the people of India." (Cheers). It is no doubt true, that many of his youthful fellow-countrymen, with their present advantages, may soon rival him in mere extent of knowledge, but no other will draw to himself that wonder and admiration which Rammohun Roy's advent excited, at a time when, relatively speaking, moral and intellectual darkness spread itself over the length and breadth of the land. His be the praise of having first, by the inherent force of a superior intellect, burst the swaddling-bands of prejudice and caste, which keep the mind in a state of helpless infancy, to assume the full stature and to assert the natural prerogatives of a reasonable being—a thinking man! (cheers). His name is linked to his country's history, and to the cause of freedom, and must, on account of his unwearied efforts to improve the political and social condition of the people of India, be in after ages ranked among the most honored names of his countrymen, although during his life it was his fate, like that of many now to be found occupying proud niches in the Temple of Fame, to be treated by his country with neglect, if not with scorn. What pleasure would it have given his mind, had he now been alive, to have witnessed our meeting this evening, under the auspices of our Honored Guest, to commemorate the liberation of the Indian Press, an object most dear to his heart, and by him petitioned for and advocated! (Cheers)—to have witnessed also the impulse which has been given, by the praiseworthy exertions of Government, of Societies, and of private individuals, to the cause of Education, the great means for the enlightenment of the people of India. By promoting education we make some return to the people among whom we live for the riches which are drawn from their country; for through education, we will teach them how to improve the natural and how to create new sources of wealth, and will raise them, in a moral point of view, in the scale of nations. This is our duty. It ought also to be an object of our ambition, as no surer method could be adopted to falsify the prediction—that were we driven from this country no monument of state or beneficence would be left behind.

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The enlightenment of the poeple of India will be a monument of our rule more gigantic and lasting than the Pyramids themselves.* They are but a senseless mass to mark the place of sepulture a few *dead* Kings, —ours will be a living monument to speak to latest ages of the *resuscitation* of a whole people ! (Loud Cheers). I have only now to request you to drink to the memory of Rammohun Roy, and to bespeak your best wishes and exertions for "the enlightenment of the people of India." (Drank in solemn silence).—(*Ibid*).

Baboo Prosonno Coomar Tagore gave an appropriate reply to the above toast.

* Do present-day Englishmen in India, official or non-official, desire education and a free press for the people of India ?—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

PATRICK GEDDES AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

By ARTHUR GEDDES

[Friends and former students of the late Professor Sir Patrick Geddes may be interested at the present time of international crisis to remember how this servant of India laboured for peace. The following note upon his life is written by his surviving son, Dr. Arthur Geddes, whom some will have known as Assistant at Bombay University from 1921-1924.

Dr. Geddes who has himself written upon the human geography of India and the welfare of its peasantry, is deeply concerned that in spite of the most inadequate representation of Indian needs and problems as yet at Geneva, far-sighted Indians must join hands with those in the West who are seeking a truly universal co-operation.

Of such was his father, Patrick Geddes. Isolation from the League, Dr. Geddes sees, will cut off the co-operation of those who seek the salvation of India's peasantry and India's civilisation, and who wish to offer and to receive India's help for peace.]

Patrick Geddes' own work, thought and writing has shown that his was no narrow and fractional view of life, nor one which regarded family and neighbourhood, region and province or even nation alone. At the present time of international crisis particularly, the larger aspects of a thinker's teaching should be faithfully reconsidered.

One quotation may be taken from a little biography (Defries, *The Interpreter Geddes*, 1927). "Though civics, like charity, begin at home and a man's first and clearest duty lies at his doorstep, the radiations received from without are not less important." Miss Defries further points out that the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh "strives to set the region in its larger environment" of nation, continent, world. Such an Outlook Tower was planned for Bombay. It was to represent Bombay City, Western India, All India, Asia, Eurasia and the World in ever-enlarging perspective. Everywhere is this perspective, this sense of relationships required.

It was naturally abroad that Geddes himself initiated one of the most ambitious schemes of international co-operation yet attempted—the preservation of the great Rue des Nations, the Street of Nations at Paris, (International Exhibition, 1900). In this, each national pavilion, itself an architectural symbol of its nation's history, traditions and aspirations was to form a centre for some special endeavour for international progress with which its country was specially associated, from Nansen's Arctic exploration for Norway to the social and constructive initiatives of greater States. Professor Geddes and his collaborators had secured the assent and co-operation of every government concerned. All was within a week of readiness when the bolt fell—the date arrived on which the contractor was to begin his demolition, and ruthlessly he destroyed, not merely the building, but this great step forward to peace.

Such early discouragement as this, however, could not damp Geddes' ardour for international reconciliation and for peace. The Civics and Town Planning Exhibition in Belgium in 1913, for example, was concerned not merely with individual cities, but with their co-operation towards peace. His eye for constructive reality, however, made him see all the more clearly the threat of imminent destruction. Few in our military staff had tramped the country as he had in this frontier land, or foreseen the certainty of the use of

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Belgium as a route for armies in case of war. This he foresaw, was only too likely to break out by 1915. How vividly I remember the concreteness and intensity of his premonition then, a premonition which was to come true largely for lack of constructive international endeavour such as his!

Indian readers will remember how this great Exhibition of peaceful construction was sunk by the "Emden" on its way to India in 1914! By the courageous help of friends in Britain, France and even in stricken Belgium, a new Exhibition was sent out. This helped to start a new movement of sane and harmonious city planning in India—a planning based on "survey" of home and *para*, of preservation of social peace through respect for traditional ways of life, of home and work, adapted to the modern order.

It may still be asked what hope Professor Geddes saw in political measures for international co-operation, even though his own work as thinker and planner brought other tools to his hand. After the war, which had so sorely stricken him, he was a consistent supporter of the League of Nations. For instance (in a public lecture given by him in Bombay in 1924 as Professor of Sociology and Civics abroad), he outlined the constructive work already accomplished by the League of Nations showing its real practical value as a new instrument for peace, and urged its courageous use by all who would co-operate in the establishment of peace. On this public occasion, as on many private occasions since, he made it clear that he had no exaggerated belief in politicians of outworn or even revolutionary schools, nor in the faltering use they might make of the League, for lack of precedent to follow or vision to lead them forward; nor was he blind even to the misuse which States might seek to make of the League. As in his writings before the War (*Cities in Evolution*), so in his subsequent teaching he showed "the need for world federation." He saw this as a cumulative process springing from the simplest group of family and neighbourhood, city and region, on to nation and nation state. Thence without permitting the arbitrary frontiers of pre-war Europe, or even their re-arrangement by partial self-determination to arrest his thought, he strove to discover means to achieve the unity of mankind. He visited the League and its bureaus and kept in touch with their work. A Scott abroad as student and planner, and a good European, Patrick Geddes' work, several times in America, and for ten years in the East, must have led him into personal acquaintance of hundreds of families and neighbourhoods through his intensive study of town planning and civil renewal. Yet all the time, and because of this he remained, or rather became, a better citizen of the world.

Wells, with individuals as his starting point, sees their union in a world State, the establishment of which is eloquently preached in his *What to do with our Lives* (1931). Geddes, on the other hand thought along lines much more true to the tradition of our common civilisation of the ancient East or the medieval West, a tradition which has its roots deep in the sources of human life. To him the family and personal group are the units which would lead to "federation of cities and regions" through "national" and so to "international headquarters" which would be "more than a mere League of Governments.....a League of Peoples." As it was written by the Prophet of Palestine to whom God spoke of a time "when it shall come that I will gather all nations and all tongues....they shall build houses and inhabit them....and I will direct their work in truth."

What Patrick Geddes would have us do in this pregnant time, no one can say. I can only express my own deepest conviction that he would continue his life-long endeavour for co-ordination. Home from the International Peace Congress at Brussels—a memorable and constructive meeting combining fourteen different commissions, of which each dealt with specific constructive problems—I feel that his heart would have warmed to the peasants and factory workers, the thinkers, planners and statesmen who supported, organised and led the Conference. He would himself, if still able, have wished to carry forward the remaking, not the unmaking, of the League, as an instrument of social and international peace, of constructive peace which shall establish life.

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YOUTHFUL WIFE AND OVER-AGED HUSBAND

By the late Rao Bahadur Pandit
K. VEERESALINGAM PANTULU,
Rajahmundry.

Enter—Sarvasastri and his wife, Somidevi.

Sar. I say, why did you fling dung-water like that upon the gentleman who called over for me? I then said nothing but just pacified him and sent him away with gentle words, knowing that you would pounce upon me like a *Brahmarakshasi*[1] in case I uttered anything.

Somi. Couldn't you, doleful fellow, have so much as told me beforehand of the presence of a gentleman at the door? I simply thought you were the only one at the door and anon poured it out from behind the wall.

Sar. Oh, should that *abhishekam*[2] have been performed right upon my own self? I got up early in the morning and put on that fine, reddish-tinted *dhoti*.[3] It has got all soiled with the dung-water!

Somi. Enough, enough. Don't you prattle away overmuch but hold your peace at this point. Your whole time is taken up always with falling foul of me and me alone. Oh, how I should have been at the height of happiness, if only I had been wedded to old Brahmayyer, to whom my younger sister was given in marriage! She is junior to me in age by three years; and, already, she has been a widow these four years and quite happy. At first, my father proposed to marry me to him only. But you stepped in between like a *Yamakinkara*[4] and offered a cent of rupees more. So my father, that 'widow's son'[5] of a man, fastened me on to you to my great misfortune. For the matter of that, even as to yourself, are you at all younger than my sister's husband? Happy-go-lucky person that she is, she is all freedom now with her 'widow's covering' all over the head. But, for my part, why should wretched God Brahma have inscribed the fate of wifehood upon my forehead alone that I might go on in subjection to endless torment at your hands?

Sar. What, you want to see me dead, then?

Somi. Why would I wish you dead? Rather, do live on as a decrepit old wight for a thousand years that so you may go on harassing your poor wife to tears for all time! I only desired I should attain widowhood: I never said I wanted you to die. Born of a Vaidiki (Kulin Brahmin) family, am I so devoid of discrimination as to give expression to such sentiments?

Sar. Discrimination, of course, you are gifted with. But doesn't your widowhood mean my decease?

Somi. Why should I say it? I know not those meanings and all that. You are a *Pandit* (scholar); and you are free to construe things as you please. At least, may the word of your mouth bear fruit in all quickness, venerable old Brahmin as you are!

Sar. What burdens of mine have you to bear, I wonder? What rigorous rule, restraint or remonstrance do I impose upon you? No matter what whimsicalities you indulge in, I simply look on with eyes all too silent. If I just so much as open my lips any time, you spring upon me like a demoness and belabour me like anything! Sometime or other, I am doomed to expire under those blows of yours!

Somi. Why; it's even long of that very castigation that you do remain amenable to my control at least to a slight extent. Else, you should have exceeded all bounds out and out. You give out that you are dying on account of my thrashings. But, truth to tell, you have had your body battered into hardness by my blows; and so you have lived on for this length of time. When the man of the house is demented through advance of years and gets into all sorts of distemper over every blessed thing, isn't it for the mistress to exercise some little check? If I just deal one single blow upon your person, you go and make me the talk of people at large, scandlising me like anything. But do speak the truth: even at that rate, I don't hit hard at all lest, as an old fellow, you should croak any moment. How am I to get on, if you take to sobbing away like an infant as soon as ever my hand falls upon your

(1) A fiend of the Brahminical class; the ghost of a Brahmin who, in his life-time, indulged a haughty and disdainful temper.
(2) 'Unction' or sprinkling with holy water at a religious rite.
(3) Lower garment.
(4) Servant of the God of Death.
(5) A term of contemptuous reference.

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body ? You say you keep looking on with open eyes. But if you really had any eyes, would you say that I gave myself over to whimsicalities ? Shall I give you a thrashing upon the head so that you will never again voice forth such insane effusions ?

SAR. Lo, lo! You are an excellent dame. Pray, do not strike me ; do not strike me ; I beg of you.

SOMI. What matters it how excellent a dame I am ? On me you have brought the disrepute of one given to beating her husband. Through you, all my excellence has come to be like so much of rose-water poured out upon ashes.

SAR. Say it, say it ; say whatever you will. Because you have no children of your own, you have, by means of blows and curses turned upon me, been securing for yourself all the delectation of so handling one's offspring. That is all. But you don't sympathise with my old age and serve me even a handful of cooked rice in time.

SOMI. This is just what is meant by scandalising me. You keep taunting me ever so much that I am a childless woman. Whose fault is it ? Why any dearth of children, wedded as I am to a man with one foot in the grave ? If I had gone about like your third wife who passed away before me, I, too, should have brought forth any number of children. Were I one bearing children like that, why any regret in me at your continuing to be alive ? As soon as the lights are lit, you take to bed and slumber away like a corpse. I would bolt the door from outside and roam about at my own will and pleasure.

SAR. Why, even as it is, do you ever share my bed with me at least for nominal amusement's sake? Is there ever such a thing as laying your hand upon my waist in consideration of my being a poor old fellow, whenever the waist or the legs ache with pain ? Is there any shampooing of legs ?

SOMI. Not the legs but the neck has to be pressed and squeezed. Your pains are bound to remain as they are, no matter how many hands are laid upon you. They will not cease except by means of two faggots of sticks. How am I to sleep in your room with that hopeless smell of an old man therein ?

SAR. Never mind if you don't sleep. Only, don't abuse me. You may spare yourself my old-age smell. Neither would I have your youthful smell. Pray, let me have a timely meal agreeable to the palate.

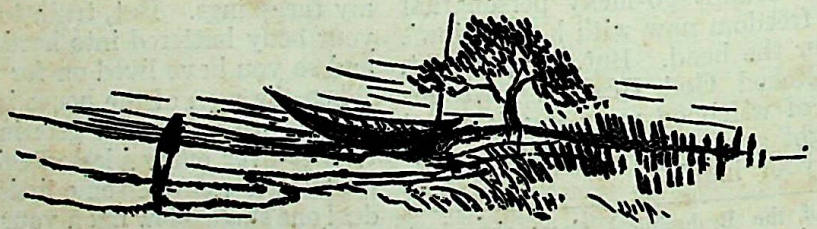
SOMI. Oh yes, I will ; I will feed this aged darling twice over daily and that with pastries as well.

SAR. It seems in our relations' house there is to be the tonsuring ceremony for their little boy today. Do get me two sweet cakes from there, I say, no matter if you don't prepare any for me yourself.

SOMI. Hush ! Your words simply set me all aflame. Let alone their house ; on the day of my own hair-removing ceremony in our own house, I'll have cakes prepared and served to you. Then you may eat them avidly. But how is that good fortune to accrue to an ill-starred woman like me ? If I sit up for a tough disputation with you, the rice cooking inside will get overboiled. I must away.

(*Exit.*)

[Translated from Telugu by Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D.]



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His Highness The Maharaja George Jiwaji Rao Scindia

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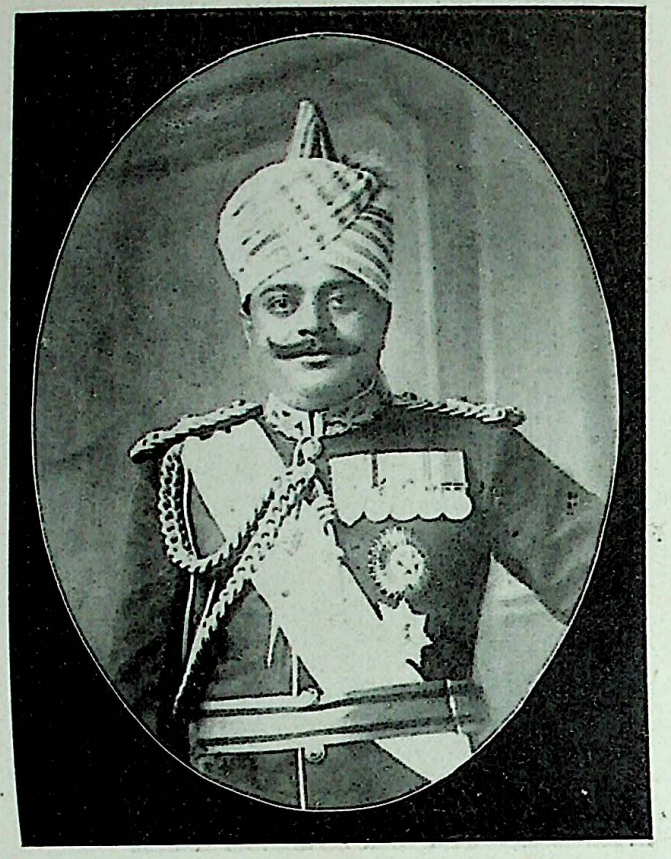
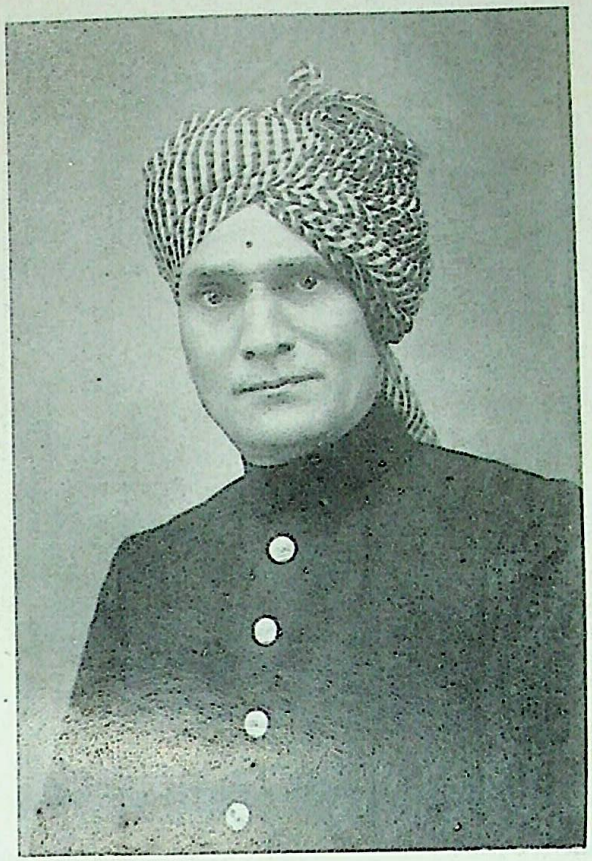


Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia



Rao Bahadur L. B. Mulye
Educational Member, Gwalior State

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TEN YEARS IN GWALIOR

By Prof. HIRA LAL CHATTERJI, M.A.

I.—Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia: 1876-1925

When the present writer arrived at Gwalior ten years ago almost to a day to take up his appointment at the Victoria College he found himself in the midst of the educational week which Rao Bahadur L. B. Mulye, B.A., Member-in-charge of Education and Municipality had organized to commemorate the eventful rule of Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia. It was a unique function, unique in its scope, unique in its conception, unique in the enthusiasm which it evoked, unique also in the pomp and colour lent to it by the presence of the nobility and the gentry not at all connected with the training of boys. I had seen nothing like it in British India. Teachers with their batches of students had come from distant parts of the State to participate in the activities and what added a golden touch to the proceedings was the actual part taken in the debates and recitations by His Highness, the present Maharaja, and his sister the Princess Kamala Raja Saheba whose premature death in 1934 startled the whole country. Every one fondly remembers the day when she went forth a bride from the home of her ancestors taking a strain of grace and tenderness which Gwalior could ill-afford to lose, and whenever the stern decree which Fate launched in the middle of festivities and wiped off the sunshine is recalled, there is a catch in the voice, accents still falter and eyes are at once bedewed.

Mr. Mulye broke new ground: the celebrations solely for educational purpose were, no doubt, a strange innovation in the annals of Gwalior: they did not however exhaust themselves in external pageantry; they produced the finest moral effect. Members of the same profession and scholars sitting for the same examinations and breathing the same atmosphere who would have remained unknown to one another till the end of their days were brought into the closest contact, forging new links of brotherhood and enforcing the real spirit of *camaraderi*, and when the assembly dispersed fresh ideas had been disseminated and an enriched vision assured.

As soon as Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia was invested with full ruling powers in December 1894, there were new stirrings everywhere. The indolence of the hum-drum official jogging along the beaten paths was at once replaced by a vigorous and vitalising system of administration. The normal routine of the budgeteer and the revenue collector was not adequate enough for the new era that was being ushered in by world forces. Armed with the most powerful glass, he swept the most distant scene, taking in the whole vast panorama and gaining an acquaintance with the most minute objects in the landscape.

The notorious autocrats of history delighted in playing the role of the Olympian gods, enjoying power, wealth, fame, the glory of sitting on the heights, dispensing gifts to the toilers below, but His Highness transformed his heritage into a diviner profession. He was resolved that no minister and no favourite should exercise any backstair influence and control the direction of affairs. He fagged like a clerk under the eye of a stern master and his master was duty. To adapt Lord Rosebery's words used in connection with Frederick the Great of Prussia, His Highness "always pervaded his state reviewing, inspecting, planning or surveying his instruments." Nothing was above or below his notice, and uneasy were the heads of those who had to render to him an account of their stewardship. He taught and practised the gospel of work. He altered the weights and balances of administration and brought it into line with the most advanced methods of his day. Gwalior emerged from its medieval cocoon and began to flash across the horizon aflame with a new ideal. The outlook at once became spacious, and, though uncanny patches appeared in the body politic and resisted all efforts at scrapping and elimination, the horn lustily sounded to go forward and blaze fresh trails through inherited tangles of administrative complexities.

The survivors of the middle ages were at once hurled into a region of well-ordered quasi-constitutional government. The turf was thrown over the old world and the funeral oration pronounced at the burial without a tear. The state slipped into the new era without

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spilling a drop of blood or losing an ounce of its suzerainty.

The human spirit loves to wallow in the mire of conservatism and always deliberately resists the introduction of reforms. Each age has its lachrymose Sir Bedivere who is profoundly loyal to tradition and who beats his breast when the so-called good old times pass away, and who unable to stand the shock of change breaks forth into loud lamentation:

Ah! my Lord Arthur whither shall I go?
Where shall I hide my forehead and my eyes?
For now I see the true old times are dead;
* * *
But now the whole Round Table is dissolved,
Which was an image of the mighty world,
And I the last go forth companionless,
And the days darken round me and the years,
Among new men, strange faces, other minds.
* * *

Maharaja Madhav Rao rose to an exalted conception of the office to which the providence of God had called him, and he earnestly began to remould the administrative grooves. Departmentalisation was carried to its utmost length and raised to its highest power. He saw with the eyes of a supremely-gifted ruler the weak joints and the diseased and putrescent parts and he manfully laboured to eliminate them. He knew "who to advance and who to trash for overtopping" as Prospero puts it, and set all hearts in the State in tune with his policy. His annual reports are luminous surveys and he embodied his administrative views in several volumes. There are Delphic utterances, there are reflections similar to those of Marcus Aurelius, and there are sayings on the rigid Baconian lines. "Oppression of the poor, dishonesty and disorder," says the official biography,* "he put down with a strong hand.

"He gave his people security of life and property, speedy justice, improved communications, medical relief, and support in times of famine. No matter what might be his caste or creed, provided he were a subject of Gwalior, Scindia treated him as if he were of his own religion or clan. He was absolutely free from any religious bias and would support a temple, a mosque or a church with equal pleasure.... He was by nature very accessible and always condemned those who by habit were not so, since he held that the Ruler and the ruled should neet as often as possible if there was to be identity of aim and interest between them....His circle of acquaintances in India was enormous and comprised persons in every grade of society. He seemed to know from individual contact every station-master from Delhi to Bombay, just as he knew all the prominent businessmen of the provincial capitals or the leaders of every section of Indian thought and politics...."

The Maharaja was very sensitive to criticism. He overlooked the attacks of the reptile press, but his own methods of dealing with the better class of journalists were original.

"If some administrative measure of his was questioned, he would summon to Gwalior from British India the editor of the paper that had criticised his act, put all his cards on the table, show his guest the files relating to the subject and then demand that with all the facts before him the newspaper man should suggest some alteranative and better line of action and in such encounters he always came off victor."

The lighter side of his character is thus hit off: His Christmas camps, held at Gwalior for many years, grew to be most popular functions, invitations to which were eagerly sought. Two fancy-dress dances, at which His late Highness would appear in some remarkable costume of his own invention, were always a prominent feature at these camps. Never dancing himself except in the frolic of Sir Roger de Coverley, he was very fond of the informality which fancy-dress lends to any entertainment; and on such occasions he was always at his merriest whether, in the garb of a "microbe," he was hanging on to a doctor's coat-tails, or was sprawling at an old lady's feet and begging her to sit on him, in his disguise as an Egg, to prevent his growing addled!

The soul of Gwalior however was not in a place but in its magnanimous ruler who beneath all frivolities concealed the ancient granite of his warrior race.

Like Louis XIV of France he kept the State in unclouded view, and his marvellous powers of organisation helped it to move in ever ascending spirals. 'Nationalism,' says the Right Hon'ble H. A. L. Fisher in his recent history of Europe, "unperplexed by racial strains, now found in France its fullest expression; monarchy as an art its most brilliant exemplar; administration as an educative and controlling force its first real large-scale illustration." All this exactly applies to Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia. He left an indelible stamp on each detail and when the news reached here that he had succumbed to a toxic wound in his rooms on the second floor of Chateau de Madrid in Paris, the lines of Walter Scott on the death of Pitt at once recurred to the minds of all who had come under his spell:

New is the stately column broke,
The beacon-light is quenched in smoke.
The trumpets silver sound is still,
The warder silent on the hill.

But in his last moments thoughts parallel to those expressed in one of Wordsworth's Duddon sonnets must have heartened him:

* Written by Col. Sir K. N. Haksar and Mr. H. M. Bull, Principal, Victoria College.

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We men who in our morn of youth defied,
The elements must vanish : be it so !
Enough if something from our hands have power
To live, and act, and serve the future hour;
And if, as toward the silent tomb we go,
Through love, through hope, and faith's transcedent dower,
We feel that we are greater than we know.

II.—His Highness George Jiwaji Rao Scindia, Alijah Bahadur

[His Highness was born in June, 1916. By their gracious Majesties' consent the names Mary and George were prefixed to Kamala Raja and Jiwaji Rao respectively.]

Ten years have gone by and yet the shadow of the mighty genius of "Madho Maharaj," as he is now commonly known in the halls of the rich and the huts of the poor, still rests on every branch of the administration. Caesar dead is mightier than Caesar living. Framed against the background of medieval chaos, he stood hammering out a new type of government, and mobilizing all the forces moral, intellectual and material, which were at his disposal.

The young Prince will assume power on the 2nd of November next. His is a noble heritage for state sense, state loyalty, state cohesion have already been created.

In the closing chapter of the biography of the late Maharaja referred to above, Col. Sir K. N. Haksar, one of the most prominent members of the Council of Regency, remarks that history records no instance of any minority administration, however beneficent, attaining even to momentary popularity. But it is admitted on all hands that the regime has fulfilled all reasoned hopes and has been eminently successful. During this period there have been no smoking-homesteads, no plundering raids from neighbouring territories, no prodigal extravagance, no obscene tumult. The Residents have had no occasion to take off the velvet glove. The ministers have been vigilant stewards and, like sleepless dragons, have watched all kinds of expenditure. The present Maharaja will therefore see no wide rents in the garment, no huge cracks in the structure. Royalty has no royal road to traverse to reach the heights of destiny, but the ruler who listens to the imperious calls of expanding duty and willingly submits to the serious strain of growing responsibility cannot miss the opportunity of deploying the finest qualities and of finding his way into the hearts of his subjects. His Highness will have officers of disciplined efficiency possessing trained team-spirit and not men who habitually hide their real selves and wear masks in the presence of their master. And he will learn much from the Darbar Policy enshrined in twelve monumental volumes by his illustrious father. The education which the Maharaja Saheb has received under the supervision of European tutors has enabled him to acquire the initial momentum to steer the ship of State with a clear gaze and to discharge the social functions in an admirable manner. His young spirit will not get limed in usages and traditions which defy the assaults of time, nor become "entangled in the cobwebs spun by office spiders of the secretariat." Here and there he will have necessarily to accommodate fresh impulses to hereditary surroundings, shading the new lamp to light up the old altar. In this way the idea of royal descent, to quote Myers, "as a title to enjoyment and despotism will be transformed into the higher view of that exalted birth as a clarion-call to duty." And as has been well-said, whatever may happen in the physical world, in politics a retrogressive movement never collects sufficient force to carry one forward.

A new morn is breaking, kindling new horizons. New forces have been liberated. New enthusiasms have come into play. The Zeit-geist is designing a new forge to try our character in its strange fires. In Gwalior the drums and the trumpets and the bells have leapt to new life and the splendid stage is firmly set for History to lift once more its curtain with a great flourish as it did two thousand years ago at Ujjain !

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INDIAN CHILDREN'S RHYMES AND CHANTS

By Prof. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

II

With a tiny nest in its national literature, the Indian child is just a song-bird. There is a good deal of fresh air in his popular rhymes and chants—an air fresh as the mountain-breeze coming from the Himalayas.

Some of the rhymes reflect the children's attraction for plant-life. Consciously or sub-consciously, the popular mind seems to believe in animism; none can disbelieve in the tree-spirit. In Indian folk-lore life itself is compared to a tree. The luck and the tree are often synonymous in the West.* The *Dek* tree is a symbol of good luck in the folk-lore of the Punjab. Witness the following rhyme where we find a bride eager for the auspicious flowers of the *Dek* tree while she is about to leave her village for her father-in-law's :

O thou the green Dek tree,
Give thy lovely flowers to me.
To the father-in-law's house, do I proceed,
Give thy lovely flowers to me.

The following chant, "Why does not thou blossom, O bud?" comes from the Assamese children :

'Why dost not thou blossom, O bud,
Why dost not thou blossom?'
'If such is the question, then tell me,
Why should the cow devour me up?'
'Why dost thou devour up the bud, O cow,
Why dost thou devour up the bud?'
'If such is the demand, then tell me :
Why should not the herdsman tend me?'
'Why dost not thou tend the cow, O herdsman,
Why dostn't thou tend the cow?'
'If such is the demand, then tell me :
Why shouldn't the cook serve me?'
'Why dost not thou serve the herdsman, O cook,
Why dost not thou serve the herdsman?'
'If such is the demand, then tell me :
Why shouldn't the fuel-man supply me fuel?
'Why dostn't thou supply, O fuel-man,
Why dostn't thou supply fuel,'
'If such is the demand, tnen tell me,
Why shouldn't the rain stop?
'Why dostn't thou stop raining, O cloud,
Why dostn't thou stop raining?'
'If such is the demand, then tell me :
Why should the frogs make noise?
'Why do you make noise, ye frogs,
Why do you make noise.'
'If such is the demand, then tell us :
How can we leave our family tradition?

To the Bengali mother, her son is a flower garden,

My precious son,
O he is a flower-garden.
Who has not got such a son,
His is of course a useless life.

Then there is a reference the *Kadam* tree and Lord Krishna. Take, for example, the following rhyme from Bengal :

The moon is just rising,
The flower is blossoming,
'O who is under the *Kadam* tree?'
I am Krishna, dashing, unveil thy face.

The following chant from the United Provinces is just a picture of a joy-mad barber's journey through a jungle where *Kareli* was blossming.

Zigzag lies the path :
Lo! there comes a barber,
On his rough rod hangs
A pot full of curds.
It is all green in the wood.
Joyful looks the bangle-seller.
It is *sawan*, the month of rains,
The *Kareli* is all blossoming.
My grandfather went to Delhi;
From there he brought seven cups;
One of the cups was a cracked one.
My grandfather gave it to the barber.
Joy-mad, the barber jumped,
One of his legs was broken.

References to bird-lore are common. The song-birds, are believed to be the messengers of good luck. The *koel* seems to be the Punjabee girls' intimate friend; they are ever-eager to hear its sweet song. Take, for example, the following rhyme.

No more sleeps the koel, ye sisters,
No more sleeps the koel,
Come, O koel, to sing thy song.
Sing, O koel, just sing some song.
No more sleeps the koel, ye sisters,
No more sleeps the koel.

To the Bengali mother, her son is just a pigeon :

* "——we arrive at a curious belief which connected the 'luck' of the earls of Winchilsea in Kent with an old oak grove at East-well . . . At every birth in that family the oak in question sent forth a new twig, from the looks of which omens were taken as to the future of the child then born."—*The Science of Folk-lore*, p. 231.

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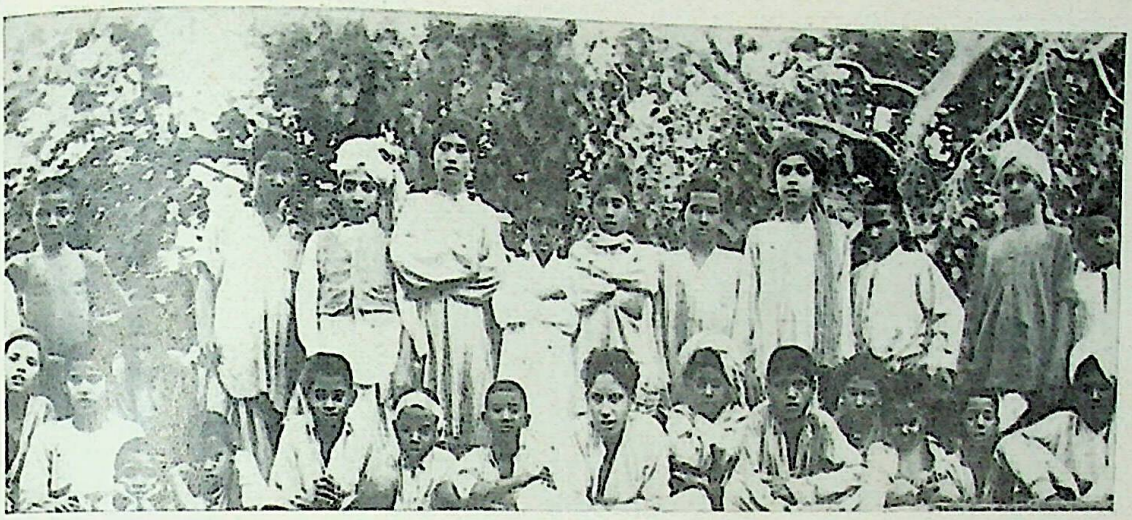

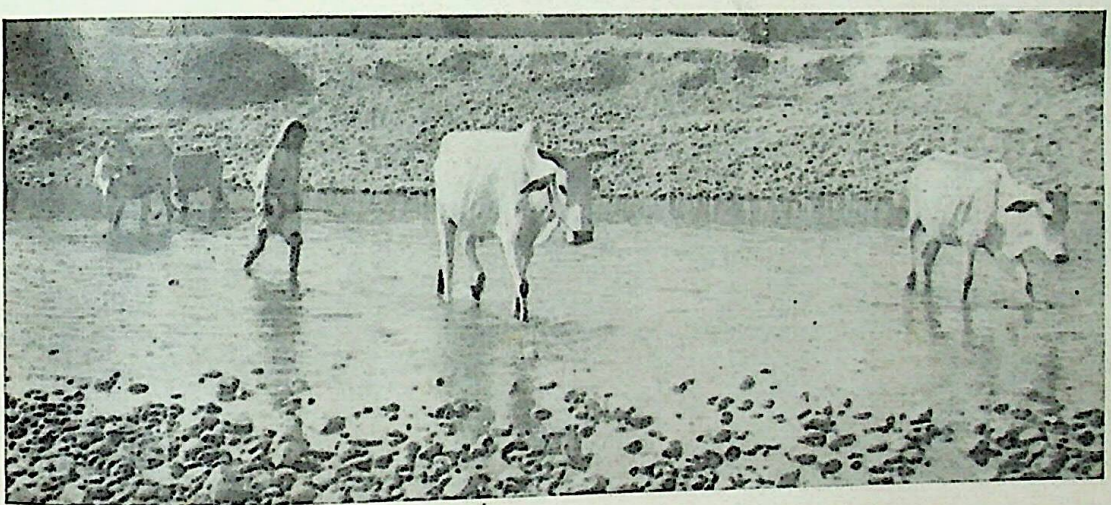

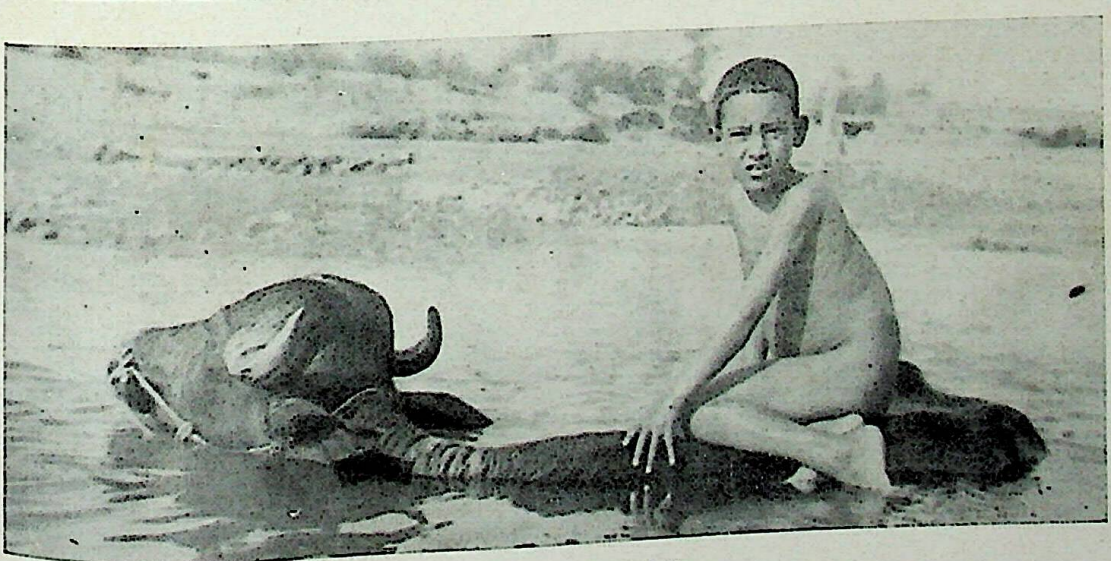

The Little Souls of India
How sweet looks Nature
Son of Adam. A Study of a Punjabi Child

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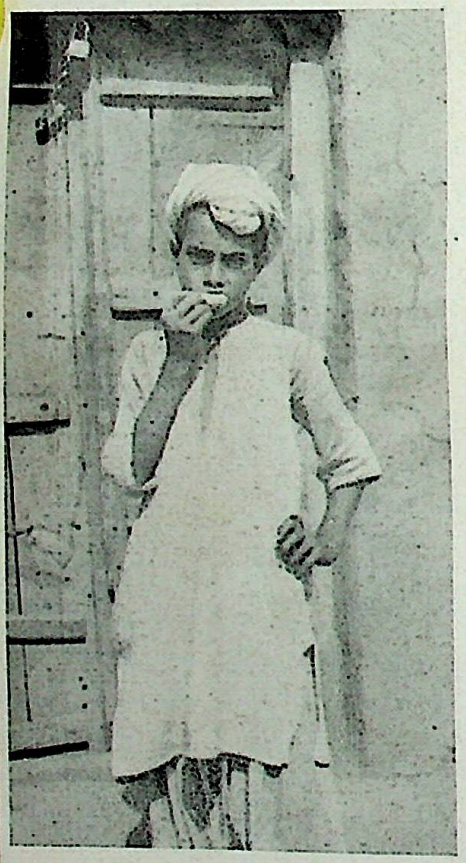
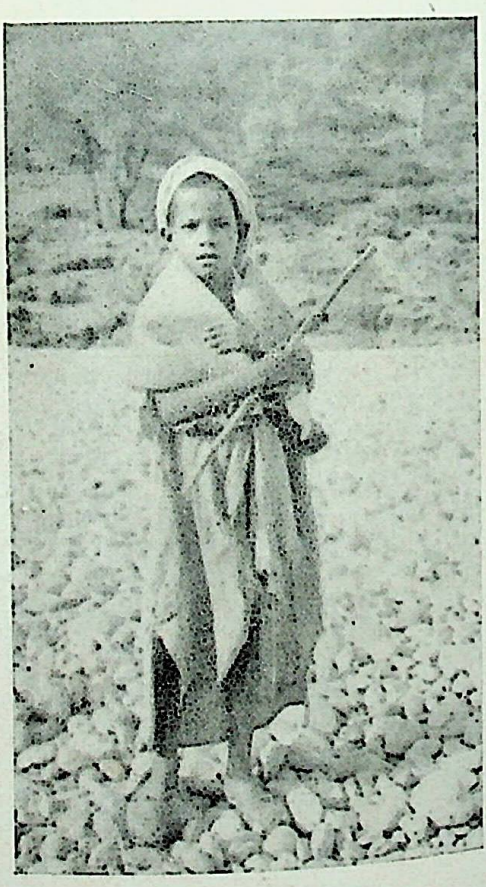


Luka-Churi Hide and seek
How sweet my maize-cone



Let us play and sing
The Little Shepherd

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My precious son,
O he is just a pigeon,
O who can get
Such a son?
In the Ghosh Para's temple
We prayed for him.
O it is then
That we got him.

The following rhyme, which comes from Assam, opens with a brilliant refrain, 'Make us warm, O Mother Sunshine!'

Make us warm, O Mother Sunshine,
Take off from us this sandal wood.*
Surely we'll entertain thee
With *Arua* rice and *Magar* fish.
Make us warm, O Mother Sunshine.
Take off from us this sandal wood.

The following song is one of the noteworthy specimens of the long list of the Punjabi childrens' songs. But much of its beauty lies in its original rhythm. The rough translation of such a song reflects the whole of the text except the music which charms the child's heart;

Call it not an humble ant,
O it is God's own creation.
The jackal swallowed all the onions,
From a field, seven *Ghumaons in* size.
Call it not an humble ant,
O it is God's own creation.
The mosquito swallowed all the water,
From forty streams and rivers.
Call it not an humble ant,
O God's own creation.

Then there are chants about the thief. Take, for example, one from Andhra Desa :

Come here, O thief, come here :
Come here, O robber, come here :
Come here and I'll close thy eyes.
The gems of this place lie here :
The gems of that place lie there :
Tarmar Tarmar;
Takkiri Bikkiri Tarmar.

Here is another specimen of this variety from the *Sora*-country (Parlakimedi Agency, Madras) :

Who has stolen my oil?
O who has stolen my oil?
Who has stolen my comb?
O who has stolen my comb?
Whither has run away the thief?
O whither has run away the thief?
All his blood I will squeeze—
Whither has run away the thief?
O whither has run away the thief?
The thief's blood will make my syrup—
Whither has run away the thief?
O whither has run away the thief?

During the Baisakhi* festival in the Punjab, the children have a new theme for their rhymes and chants. The holiday spirit turns itself into so many songs. Here are two :

(1) Come, Baisakhi festival, don't be late;
Make merry; all our joys revive.
Once in a year thou comest to us,
Fairs are held : all is joyous.
Come, Baisakhi festival, don't be late.
Here comes the Baisakhi festival.
A heep of joys, it brings :
With shouts it comes.
All are mad in the Gidha dance.
Here comes the Baisakhi festival.

(2) O a heap of joys, it brings.
In red are dressed the maidens,
Like the king Indra looks each youth.
Here comes the Baisakhi festival.
O a heep of joys it brings.
Let's invite all the maidens,
To go to the fair hand in hand.
Here comes the Baisakhi festival :
O a heap of joys, it brings.

Kilkili—a game of the Punjabi children

In Karnataka, the mothers' love for the child has its own charm :

Go out for sport and come back soon,
I will clean thy feet, my dearest moon :
No less than the gold shines thy face,
Cleaned with coconut-water, it'll have more grace.

The Bengali mother can very well make her child dance when she tells him that he will get his flute ornamented with gold :

Just dance once,
O my child—a piece of the moon.
However, a lump of gold is needed,
Dhin Dhin Dhin, I behold my child's dance
Tai Tai Tai, for my eyes, a sweet chance.

Here are two more rhymes from Bengal :

(1) *Ghu? Ghu? Ghu? Matishu?*
Ghu, Ghu, Ghu, Matishu,
Here is a *Sarlpindi fish*
How will you cook it?
I'll cook it with pepper and *Haldi.*
Who will eat it?
The bride will eat it.
O my friend, where is the axe?
Why do you ask for it?
The bamboo will be cut.

* Sandal-wood is the symbol of the cold winter.
* The first day of the year. Nanak, the great Sikh Guru, was born on this day. Baisakhi-fairs are held throughout the Punjab.

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What for?
The bride will sleep in it.
Where is she?
She is out to fetch water.
Tell me, my golden baby!
You will fall on the dust-bin or on a heap of ashes?
'No, mother, I'll fall on a heap of gold.'

(2) *Antul, Bantul, Shiamla Shantul*
O Shiamla has gone to the Bazar.
The girls of Shiamla's house are crying
Just by the road-side.
Weep no more, ye girls, weep no more.
I'll offer you fried rice.
But if you weep any more
I'll dash you down.

The following rhyme from Maharastra is a good representative of village-life :

O they have come to our door
To ask our daughter Sonu's hand :
O give them a good seat to sit.
Why should they so long stand?
It is right, the boy is a farmer's son.
What is his caste? O let us listen.
Our darling Sonu is a Brahman's daughter.
With a cloth on head, she fetches water.
Carrying a brass-pot so nice,
She went to the village-well.
Filling it with water she came homeword,
Looking stealthily around the well.
Near the well, O father dear,
I saw a holy swain of such a good cheer,
Handsome is he and possesses good land.
O to hiim I'll offer my daughter's hand.

Indian children's rhymes and chants are numerous. Let us have one more sporting chant from Assam :

'Whose palace is this?'
'O it is the King's palace.'
'Can I destroy it.'
'No : You cannot.'
'Come, O thou the black she-dog,
We'll destroy it.'

Indian children's rhymes and chants have survived many a national storm. The wealth of the country was plundered by invaders, but who could carry off these rhymes and chants from India's little sons and daughters? The people were the victims of great catastrophies, but none could kill the children's indigenous games and home-spun songs.

WHAT IS BEAUTY ?

By CYRIL MODAK, M.A.

The Question of the Critic

At the oracle of life the critic has asked since time immemorial : "What is Beauty?" Working on the hypothesis of what we know of the work of the artist, we can say with a measure of certainty that the poem or painting or sculpture or music, or whatever form the artist's creative activity may take, is a bodying forth of the vision of his imaginative reason. It is beautiful or not in so far as it succeeds or fails to suggest the artist's vision. But his powers are hampered by all the chafing limitations of finitude. He can only *reproduce*, sing about, even interpret and occasionally transform, but never *create* the glory of the sunset, the grandeur of a mountain, the delicate grace of a flower, the ravishing loveliness of the human form. Building on the analogy of normal human experience, just as it would be illogical to conceive of a poem without a poet so also does it seem unthinkable that the beauty of the total situation we call the universe should exist without referring to an Universal Imaginative Reason. The process of evolution in which unpredictable emergents mark so many stages is the unfolding of an immanent Reason, not exhausted by its immanence, which is not shackled with the logic of the causal concatenation, but inspired by the freedom of the creative imagination,

'The glad imagination of the Spirit.'

as Lascelles Abercrombie calls it. Temporal and spatial limitations are obliterated in an eternal here-and-now by the imaginative rather than the dialectical reason. The contingent imaginative reason which is the human interpreter of the ideationally beautiful refers to and presupposes the necessary Imaginative Reason which is the universal creator of the originally Beautiful. It gives profound significance to the intuition of the poet,

Poems are made by fools like me,
But only God can make a tree.

Under Platonic influence Shelley was expressing the same thought when he exclaimed,

Spirit of Beauty, that dost consecrate
With thine own hues all thou dost shine upon
Of human thought or form !

The Unmanifest is inferentially because the manifest is objectively. The "David" of

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Michelangelo presupposes the creative reason of the artist, his sacrificial love for his art, his recognition of the veracity and function of artistic creation. "The Beautiful," Goethe says, "is a manifestation of the secret laws of nature, which without it would never have been revealed." These secret purposes of the universe are revealed through the beautiful because when the highest thought utters itself in adequate form, when a true idea and form are fused towards the expression of a single end, beauty is present there. The self-revelation of the Universal Imaginative Reason, envisaging the purposiveness of Love and the validating coerciveness of Truth, is the Beautiful. When the creative pattern conceived by the universal Imaginative Reason, pregnant with the power of purpose which makes Love the benefactor of the race, veritably manifests itself through matter or impresses itself upon thought in harmony with the End inherent in the cosmic process, we call such a superb manifestation the Beautiful. The completer the revelation the higher the degree of the beautiful, until Beauty Absolute be revealed in the perfect manifestation of the Universal Imaginative Reason. Beauty is the unfoldment of the Infinite in and through the finite.

This is the redemption of the world, that through the world beauty may wed itself to utterance of itself. In Dante Gabriel Rossetti's words,

> Under the arch of Life, where love and death,
> Terror and mystery, guard her shrine, I saw
> Beauty enthroned; and though her gaze struck awe,
> I drew it in as simply as my breath.

When Rossetti's experience becomes the common property of all men the world shall be redeemed. The process of the universe predicts this end, so far as prediction through human insight is possible. In a deathless passage of the Symposium, Plato speaks of the lovers of beauty thus:

> They seek that Beauty which is not of time or place or circumstance, Beauty pure and unalloyed, Beauty Absolute, which if a man find he becomes immortal and a friend of God.

The Question of the Artist

Bewildered with the accumulation of the theory of centuries, the artist asks: "What is the highest manifestation of Beauty?" Though Beauty is absolute and transcendent there are degrees of beautiful in proportion to the adequacy of the manifestation. Under the spell of the Beautiful the individual finds himself transported beyond the discord of the not-beautiful to the contemplation of the motif of the symphony of the universe, and if he is an artist he cannot rest until he has captured a symbol, be it in colour or sound or stone or words, to suggest some phase of the Beauty he has experienced. Thomas Carlyle says,

> Let but the Godlike manifest itself to sense; let but Eternity look more or less visibly through the Time-Figure (Zeitbild)! then is it fit that men unite there; and worship together before such Symbol; and so from day to day and from age to age super-add to it new divineness. Of this latter sort are all true works of Art.

The inexpressible is the soul of art. A certain parabolical suggestiveness is its characteristic.

In a parable the call of beauty is made to answer demands humanly imperative. A parable lures forth a judgment in the realm of facts to transfer it to the realm of values. It manifests the subtle imagination of the artist, the sure insight of the philosopher, the glad courage of the mystic and the symbolical eloquence of the poet all at work in a world of handicap and struggle and strife. Works of art are like aesthetic parables pointing to a Beauty never to be captured because it is nearer to us than breathing. Have not painters and sculptors, musicians and poets, all through the ages, left a grand protest against human finitude in their monumental creations? Have they not recorded 'the agony of wishing' that their works of art might embody more perfectly the vision which inspired them? In works of art do we have complete and final utterance or only a symbol crowned with the lambent aura of emotional and intellectual intuition?

Hindu thinkers on aesthetics laid down the three principles of art as *rupa-bheda* or mystery of unity, *pramanani* or consistency of relationship, and *bhava* or nuance of expression. They held that good art did not consist in perfection of execution so much as in wealth of suggestiveness. For them a work of art so absorbed in its own perfection of form as to be incapacitated to fulfil its higher destiny of pointing to something vastly greater beyond itself was not as noble as that which reached out from its 'formal' imperfections like life itself to heights of symbolical eloquence. Western art after the Greek fashion generally aims at external perfection: and hence pleasure is considered the feeling that results from the beautiful. Indian art aims at parabolical suggestiveness: and thus the beautiful is held to produce a contemplative mood. Rodin seems to stand at the confluence of East and West, wedding the two ideals in his art. Going beyond the Hegelian tradition Rodin says,

> Art is contemplation. It is the pleasure of the

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mind which searches into nature and there divines a spirit by which nature herself is animated.

The words have a veritable Indian ring to those familiar with the thought of India. Art is indeed contemplation, the rapt contemplation wherein the artist seeks universal relationships and harmonies and finds a symbol to embody the discoveries he has made. The artist looks into the heart of nature and there sees the pulse of the Infinite; he looks into the eyes of humanity and beholds the dream of the Eternal. Thus says Gautier, the French poet,

Chisel and carve and file,
Till thy vague dream imprint
Its smile
On the unyielding flint.

In art the artist struggles to translate from the language of silence the song of the Infinite and makes his contemporaries and succeeding generations his debtors for all time.

But if Beauty is purposive it must find a consciously purposive agent to be its elected interpreter, manifesting itself more fully through what man is rather than through what he makes. The beautiful life reveals a higher degree of beauty than the graceful objects of nature or the magnificent creations of art.

Founded in granite, wrapped in serpentine,
Light of all life and heart of every storm,
Doth the uncarven image, the Divine,
Deep in the heart of man, wait for form.

In saying, "When nature begins to reveal her open secret to a man, he feels an irresistible longing for her worthiest interpreter, Art," Goethe was making a remarkable distinction, probably unwittingly. Art is the worthiest mouthpiece of nature. But Life is the worthiest spokesman of Beauty. Art comments on the Beautiful. Life proclaims and unfolds the Beautiful vitally, vividly, directly, dramatically, through and in itself. When the ideationally beautiful is interpreted visualizing the purposiveness of love and the authenticity of truth, a life is being made beautiful : it is creative morality.

Where'er a noble deed is wrought,
Whene'er is spoken a noble thought,
Our hearts in glad surprise
To higher levels rise.

It has all the exalting effect of the beautiful only intensified tenfold. It is no more reproducing merely, but creating a situation through life and conduct for the revelation of that *eclat* which, for Thomas Aquinas, is the essence of the Beautiful.

Because man lives in two realms at once morality becomes his highest means of self-expression being expressive of the physical as much as the intellectual side of his nature. As Browning proclaims,

The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard;
Enough that He heard it once.

Aesthetics and ethics must therefore be for him parts of one whole. Not that the beautiful in the domain of nature and art must be judged by ethical principles, but that the principles of aesthetics must find their counterparts in the moral world, symmetry in truth, proportion in balance, harmony in poise, and unity-in-diversity in purposive love. Life moves on a plane of greater freedom than art. Life, as we think of it (being the life of the intelligent being) is so far the highest manifestation of nature, and art either as imitation or as interpretation of nature is determined by life. Therefore must art seek its sublimation, its completion in the beautiful life. Symonds, true to the Greek tradition, says,

Beauty, Goodness, Truth,
These three are one; one life, one thought, one being;
One source of still rejuvenescent youth;
One light for endless and unclouded seeing.

The beautiful life, because of its finer potentialities, can envisage vividly phases of Beauty which a poem or statue or painting or symphony or an object of nature must leave unrealized, untouched. The artist in the human heart, though inarticulate, can carve into each moment of time some deed of deathless beauty; can embody in the epic of a lifetime some vision of immortal splendour. The beautiful life must be of greater significance to the universe than the burning sunrise or the mighty Himalayas or Dante's *Divine Comedy* or the Venus de Milo or Weber's *Elijah*. On this faith let them stake their lives who believe that

Tomorrow can only fulfil
Dreams which today have birth.

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THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN INSTITUTIONS IN MYSORE

By Sr. NIHAL SINGH

I

Mysore is, in one respect, unique among Indian States. It was under British administration almost as long as under Indian rule during the last century.

The British period began on October 19, 1831. His Highness Shri Krishna Raja Wodeyar Bahadur, who, at the age of six, had been installed upon the throne of his ancestors following the defeat and death of Tippu Sultan in 1799, was, on that day, called upon by the Governor-General (the Lord William Cavendish Bentinck) to surrender the administration. He, at the time, was engaged in religious-*cum*-regal ceremonies connected with the Dusara (Dusehra) but he promptly complied with the requisition.

Some three months earlier a Commission, consisting of Major-General Hawker, Colonel W. Morrison, Mr. J. M. McLeod and Lieutenant-Colonel (later General Sir) Mark Cubbon, had been appointed to enquire into the "origin, progress and suppression" of certain disturbances in the northwest corner of the State. They did not conclude their labours till towards the end of 1833, when they found serious fault with his Highness' administration. In their view every department of state had been mismanaged. Revenue had fallen in consequence and discontent was widespread.

Whether this condemnation was merited or otherwise falls outside the scope of this article. So does the issue as to whether the assumption of the Mysore administration by Lord William Bentinck's Government was in accord with the Treaty of 1599, under which the territory rescued from Tippu had been retroceded to the Maharaja.

II

The period of British administration lasted till March 25, 1882. During that half-century the sovereignty of his Highness the Maharaja of Mysore was preserved intact.

Shri Krishna Raja, from time to time, made representations, official and private, for the restoration to him of administrative competence. While they proved unavailing, he succeeded, in 1867, in securing from His Majesty's Government a declaration for the maintenance on the throne of the Maharaja's family in the person of his adopted son, the Prince Chama Rajendra, "upon terms corresponding with those made in 1799, so far as the altered circumstances" would allow.

The despatch sent out on April 16th of that year by the Secretary of State for India (Sir Stafford Northcote, afterwards the Earl of Salisbury), affirmed that "Her Majesty's Government" could not "but feel a peculiar interest in the welfare of those who have now for so long a period been subject to their direct administration." This being the case, they felt "it their duty; before replacing them under the rule of a native sovereign, to take all the pains they 'could' with the education of that sovereign, and also to enter into a distinct agreement with him as to the principles upon which he shall administer the country, and to take sufficient securities for the observance of the agreement."

The Governor-General was asked "to propose to the Maharaja that" his heir should "receive his education under the superintendence of" the Government of India. The despatch also stipulated that if, at the time of the Maharaja's death, his heir should not have attained the age fixed for his majority, the territory should "continue to be governed in his name upon the same principles and under the same regulations as at" that time. Before transferring the territory, it was stated, arrangements should be made "for the purpose of adequately providing for the maintenance of a system of government well adapted to the wants and the interests of the people."

The rights and interests of the British Government were also to be safeguarded by "some addition to the subsidy," fixed, in the original treaty at 700,000 Star Pagodas. This addition was to be made in view of the fact that the cost of the upkeep of troops had increased since the original settlement. Such enhancement could easily be borne by the State, it was thought, since during the period of British administration its reserves had expanded.

III

It is possible here to make only a rapid survey of this period. For a little more than

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half of it (1834 to 1860) the direction of affairs had been in the hands of a remarkable Manxman. The son of a clergyman, General Sir Mark Cubbon (as he was at the time of his retirement) had been brought up in a home which was pervaded by the Christian spirit. Withdrawn from that environment at the age of sixteen and sent to India, in 1801, to make his way in the world with such aid as his uncle (Major Wilks, then Resident at the Maharaja's Court) could give him, he remained true to the principles of strict rectitude taught him during his infancy and boyhood. That could not have been an easy task in the circumstances in which he was placed. He had to fight intrigue, then rampant in the State. This he did without soiling his soul.

Cubbon ruthlessly put down peculation wherever he found it. He scrupulously abstained from interfering with the course of justice and inspired respect for law and order.

He won the golden opinion of the tax-payers by a series of reforms he made. A number of imposts levied on various pretexts at various times, unequal in incidence, were wiped out. Assessment on land under cultivation was scaled down in cases where it pressed heavily; and cultivators were given the opportunity of paying the State demand in five instalments. He, on the other hand, permitted no nonsense in respect of the payment of the just demands or the misappropriation of funds. The revenue, therefore, rose, despite the clemency shown.

While he improved and extended communication, he did not launch out upon ambitious, costly schemes. He increased the efficiency of the services, without introducing a large non-Indian and, necessarily, much more expensive, element. Expenditure was thus kept down.

Savings were effected by extinguishing the debts inherited from the previous regime. Leakages were stopped. In these ways the finances were given stability.

IV

Mr. L. B. Bowring, who, after a short interval, followed General Sir Mark Cubbon and was for some seven years (1862 to 1866 and 1867 to 1870) at the helm of Mysore affairs, was cast in a different mould. A member of the Civil Service (Bengal Commission), his early experience was gained in the diplomatic (or "political," as it is called in Anglo-Indian parlance) field. In 1847—part of the period of turmoil in the Punjab—he served as Assistant Resident at Lahore. Following the suppression of the Mutiny, he was promoted to the highly responsible post of the Governor-General's Private Secretary and was in the closest association with the Viscount ("Clemency") Canning.

That statesman did not send the Maharaja of Mysore one of the *Sanads* he issued to the Rajas and Nawabs in general, recognizing and confirming their right of adopting an heir, in case of necessity, contenting himself with sending a circular letter to his agent at Bangalore. He entertained, as he himself acknowledged, the hope that his Highness lacking natural issue and even an adopted son, would bequeath the State to the British.

V

Almost immediately upon assuming charge, Bowring began to find fault with the administration and to employ measures to bring it in line with that of British India. To help him in this task, he employed a number of Britons and placed them in the positions created in consonance of that ideal.

The State was split into three divisions, after the fashion of Bengal or the Punjab. The official-in-charge was designated as the Superintendent—and not the Commissioner—Bowring himself being thus styled at the time.

Two of the divisions were parcelled out into three districts and the third into two. Over each of these districts Britons were placed as Assistant Superintendents, corresponding to a Deputy Commissioner or Collector.

To his credit be it said that Bowring placed Indians in charge of two of the districts. In doing so he set an example to British India, where, at that time, few Indians were deemed fit to the entrusted with such responsibility.

VI

Nearly every part of the administrative machinery was overhauled. The financial system was relegated to the scrap-heap in favour of the budgetary and audit system of the Government of India.

To expedite the rough and ready ways of assessing land revenue, survey and settlement were inaugurated. As was generally the case in British India, the period was fixed at thirty years, when, after a fresh examination, the rates were to be revised.

A commission was set up to look into alienations (*inams*). From ancient times the rulers had been making gifts of villages and plots of land to their collaterals and courtiers, persons who rendered them a service or pleased them in some way, pious men and heads of religious establishments, temples and the like. No one

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had troubled to examine the title of the successors of the original holders, and, as a consequence, abuses had crept into the system, and the State suffered. The alienees were, in many instances, influential men and only an administrator of a determined character could dare to interfere with them in the enjoyment of their "vested rights."

Bowring also improved the judicial establishment. He appointed a number of assistants and ordered changes to be made in the procedure calculated to expedite decisions.

The jails also received attention. The one at Bangalore—the largest in the State—was improved out of all recognition.

He infused energy into the Public Works Department, had plans for erecting public offices in Bangalore and buildings elsewhere in the State drawn up, and took in hand the work of adding to the communications, bridging rivers and streams and improving the existing irrigation channels.

The first railway line in the State opened a little more than two years after Bowring had taken up the duties of the Commissioner. It connected Bangalore with the main line of the Madras and Southern Marhatta Railway and thereby linked the territories with British India and the world.

Municipalities were established. Conducted through official agency, as they were also in British India at that time, they rendered valuable service in clearing up urban areas.

Nor was education forgotten. Many institutions were opened for boys and some for girls.

Measures were concerted to induce persons with capital to acquire land in the Malnad—hilly tract—and start coffee plantation upon a large scale. Leases were also given for the exploitation of the gold-fields near Kolar—the birthplace of Haidar, who rose from almost nothing to be the dictator of Mysore, his son Tipoo even excelling him.

The seven years or so that Bowring was in supreme command of the administrative machinery were, in short, marked with many-sided activity. A genuine reforming zeal appears to have impelled this administrator and not merely the desire for show.

VII

Before Bowring laid down the reins of Government, His Majesty's Government had decided, as noted earlier in this article, upon restoring, at a future date, the State to the Prince adopted by Shri Krishna Raja Wodeyar Bahadur. The Indian period did not commence, or rather recommence, with the death of that Maharaja, which took place on March 27, 1868, at the advanced age of seventy-four years. At that time his heir was only five years of age.

Evidently the conditions stipulated earlier had been fulfilled to the satisfaction of the Government of India and the Secreary of State for India, for upon reaching his eighteenth year Maharaja Chama Rajendra Wodeyar Bahadur was invested with ruling powers.

The Marquis of Ripon, who, at the time, was the Viceroy and Governor-General and who, shortly prior to assuming that office, had been received into the Roman Catholic Church, is believed to have had a hand in the drafting of the "Instrument of Transfer." It was, in any case, noteworthy in several respects.

(1) The Maharaja's civil list was fixed at thirteen lakhs of rupees. That sum was modest compared with the amounts appropriated by Rajas and Nawabs, some of whose territories yielded nothing like the revenues that Mysore did.

(2) A clause bound the Maharaja to maintain "all laws in force and rules having the force of law" and not to "repeal or modify such laws, or pass any laws or rules inconsistent therewith." All title deeds granted and all settlements of land revenues, made by the British during their administration of his territory, were to be maintained in accordance to the terms thereof and could be rescinded or modified only by a competent Court of Law, or with the consent of the Governor-General in Council.

(3) No material change in the system of administration as then established could be made without the consent of His Excellency and his Highness had to conform, at all times, to such advice as the Governor-General in Council might offer him with a view to the management of his finances, the settlement and collection of revenues, the imposition of taxes, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry, and any other objects connected with the advancement of his own interests and the happiness of his subjects and his relations to the British Government.

(4) The British Government gave an undertaking to defend and protect the State against all external enemies. To relieve him of the obligation to keep troops ready to serve with the British Army when required, there must, in consideration of such undertaking, be paid from the revenues of the State to the British Government an annual sum of (Government rupees) thirty-five lakhs annually in two half-yearly

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instalments, commencing from the 25th day of March, 1881. The British sovereignty in the island of Seringapatam, leased to the State at an annual rental of Rs. 50,000, ceased from the date of the Maharaja's taking possession of his territories and it became part of his territories to be held by him on the same conditions as he held the rest of the State lands.

(5) In the event of the breach or non-observance by his Highness of any of the conditions set down in the document, power was reserved to the Governor-General in Council to resume the territories constituting Mysore State and assume the direct administration of them, or to make such other arrangements as he might deem necessary to provide adequately for the good government of the people of Mysore or for the security of British rights and interests within the State.

VIII

HAD matters moved in the orbit ordered for them, the transfer would have been made in a favourable circumstance. The Britons who had been charged with Mysore's affairs during the half-century were, as a rule, shrewd and prudent administrators. Through careful husbanding of resources, the balances built up reached the peak-figure of Rs. 6,300,000 in 1875.

Then Indra became wroth. He withheld the showers upon which depended the second harvest that year. He continued to be angry the next year. Crops failed all over the State, as, indeed, they did in British India.

The stores of grain held in the villages, the pitifully small reserves and the borrowing capacity of the cultivators were soon exhausted. The neighbouring districts were themselves in distress. There was but one short railway line. Reliance had to be placed, therefore, largely upon the bullock cart to transport such supplies as could be secured. The officers detailed upon famine duty had to work under heavy odds.

In the spring of 1877, Indra seemed to relent. But the showers that fell proved to be utterly inadequate to the agricultural needs. Not until the autumn was *Prithvi Mata's* thirst assuaged and there was a prospect of a harvest.

Despite all efforts, the toll exacted by the famine upon life had been heavy. The human beings and cattle that weathered the storm were, moreover, terribly emaciated.

The famine depleted the treasury, and even necessitated the borrowing of Rs. 8,000,000 from the Government of India. The loan was obtained at five per cent, one per cent of which was to go towards amortization in twenty years.

The revenue had fallen from Rs. 10,900,000 the year before the famine to Rs. 6,900,000 in 1878-79. Expenditure was decreased all along the line, largely through the abolition of districts and *taluqs*, the reduction of establishment of all sorts and cuts in salaries. The services of some of the British officials had to be dispensed with by the outgoing administration and Indians entertained in their stead.

IX

COURAGE of the highest order was required of the men upon whom devolved the governmental responsibilities, after the "rendition" of the State to Shri Chama Rajendra Wodeyar Bahadur. They needed also great administrative gifts to manage affairs in such distressing circumstances. The expenditure, in fact, slightly exceeded the receipts, despite all economies.

The Government of India eased the situation by agreeing to forego the addition of Rs. 1,000,000 made in the amount of the subsidy. This relief was to extend to a period of five years, by when it was hoped conditions would again become normal.

In her hour of need, Mysore found the man. He was a Madrasi Brahman—C. Rangacharlu by name—whom Shri Chama Rajendra, upon coming into power, appointed as his Chief Minister. Though he had risen from humble beginnings to that exalted position, he had not developed an inflated opinion of himself. Instead of hatching plans in secret and ordering his subordinates to carry them out, whether they were enthusiastic about them or not, he threshed out the principles and details of every important policy with his lieutenants and carried them along with him. He was fortunate in the fact that these lieutenants were, as a rule, worthy in every respect of the trust placed in them. He was still more fortunate in enjoying the fullest confidence of the young Maharaja and in being given virtually *carte blanc*.

X

THE most noteworthy reform inaugurated by Rangacharlu marked an epoch in Indian State administration. He devised a Representative Assembly. So quickly did he act that the order convoking it was issued in four months of the inauguration of the new regime and the first session was actually held within seven months of the "rendition."

The inaugural meeting, held in October 7, 1881, during the Dusehra season, was attended by 144 members. They comprised representa-

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tives of landholders and merchants all over the State. The Dewan, who presided, told them about the policies that he and his colleagues had formulated and gave them a general indication as to the direction in which their minds were moving. He encouraged them to put to him any questions that occurred to them and to communicate any grievances they or the people in whose midst they lived and worked might have, promising to redress every wrong that he could and to give effect to every workable suggestion. Judging by statements made to me by men present during this session, a cordial spirit must have animated the proceeding.

Judged by the standards of our day, the Assembly left much to be desired. Every one of the non-officials was a nominee of the officials. The non-officials were, moreover, in the Assembly, not in a mandatory but in a purely advisory character.

It is, however, manifestly unfair to apply to 1881 the standards of 1936. The legislature in India, in those days, could not stand so severe a test. For its time the Mysore Representive Assembly convoked under Rangacharlu's inspiration was a remarkable institution and its creation reflects great credit upon his progressive spirit.

XI

After the deeply deplored death of that great Dewan in Madras on January 20, 1883, less than two years of his coming into office, the heavy responsibilities of piloting the State through waters still disturbed by the backwash of the famine fell upon Mr. (afterwards Sir) K. Sheshadri Iyer. So well did he rise to the occasion, however, that by 1888 the famine debt had been wiped out. By doing this he saved to the tax-payer lakhs of rupees annually that would have had to be paid in interest-*cum* sinking fund charges.

Nor was Sheshadri Iyer content to plod in the furrow made by his illustrious predecessor, as will be shown in the next article.

(*To be concluded*)

WHAT IS BEHIND BRITAIN'S POLICY IN PALESTINE ?

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS

Mr. Emile A. Ghory, Secretary of Palestine Arab Party, who is an Arab Christian and who has been in England for sometime to seek British support against Jewish immigration in Palestine gave an interview to the *Sunday Dispatch* of London. In it he made it clear that Britain to maintain her Empire in India and other parts of the East needed the support of the Arabs and the Moslem world and the Arabs demanded that Jewish immigration to Palestine be stopped as a price of their support to British Imperialism. Lest I be misunderstood I quote the following extracts from Mr. Ghory's interview :

"The Arabs have always been pro-British and despite all their disappointments they still hope that Britain will not destroy that friendship. They fought their co-religionists, the Turks, beside British troops. They have earned Britain's support. But there is an increasing feeling that the Arab is being betrayed by Britain.

"Britain has 100 million Arabs and Moslems (There are more than 65 millions of Moslems in India). They are being alienated by Zionism. Throughout the world there are 350 million Mohammedans. Palestine to them is a sacred land. It is important that British policy does not antagonise them.

"Since Italy is established in Abyssinia the route through the Suez is no longer permanently safe for British shipping. Britain must have an alternative route from the Mediterranean to India and her other eastern possessions and that route lies through Arab lands. Their friendship is essential for the solidarity of British imperialism. But at present there is an increasing hostility to Britain because of the administration in Palestine . . . The Arab aim, of course, is to stop it (Jewish Immigration) permanently . . . "

The present attitude of the British authorities is that to preserve their imperial interest, they cannot afford to antagonize the Moslem world (especially the Arabs and the Moslems of India and Egypt). At the same time they do not wish to break their pledge given to the Jews of the world, through the Balfour Declaration, because such a breach of faith will certainly hurt the British in the United States and other countries of the West where Jewish citizens have some influence. Under these circumstances, the new Commission to investigate the situation in Palestine, which has been decided upon by the British Cabinet, will have a very hard task to perform. They will try their best to please the Arabs and at the same

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time not to alienate the good will of the Jewish world. Unless the British authorities be convinced that Jewish support would be worth more than Arab opposition, they will not extend wholehearted support to Jewish immigration into Palestine. It seems that the British authorities are still seeking Arab support—Moslem support—to maintain the British Empire in India and other parts of the East and thus they have been overlooking Arab atrocities against the Jews. This policy has aided indirectly the policy of Arab terrorism. Now this terrorism has developed into a definite menace to British authority in Palestine and therefore the British authorities are contemplating to have a large scale military operation against Arab terrorists and insurrectionists. But, after the suppression of the insurrection it may happen that the British authorities to preserve British imperial interests in India and other parts of the East, would side with the Arabs against the Jews.

Every Zionist should carefully remember that Balfour Declaration, which is the legal foundation of an international agreement for the establishment of Jewish National Home in Palestine, was a by-product of a phase of British world politics during the World War, when Britain and her allies needed the support of the Jewish world in many ways. Whether the Jews will be able to establish their National State in Palestine will largely depend upon the developments of world politics. For instance, if Great Britain decides to seek support of the Arabs in the Near East and also agrees to form an alliance with Hitler's Germany, then the ideal or the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine would remain a dream.

Zionists of America Use International Pressure for the Protection of Jews in Palestine

Suddenly the British Government has decided to send General Dill to Palestine to replace Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope, the High Commissioner for Palestine. This act and sending some ten thousands or more British soldiers to Palestine and possible declaration of martial law must displease the Arabs and the Moslems of India. Yet the British Government had taken this decisive step for some particular reason. First of all, the British Government has assured its position by the recent Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, by which Egypt willingly becomes an ally of Great Britain. Therefore Britain feels sure that Egyptian nationalists will not be willing to aid the Arabs. Secondly, this measure of sending more soldiers to Palestine is consistent with the British policy of strengthening British hold in the region of the Suez Canal. Thirdly, Great Britain has complete understanding with the French authorities in Syria who will see to it that Syrian Arabs may not make a common cause with Palestine Arabs. In fact France has signed a treaty with the Syrians. This treaty is of similar nature to the Anglo-Egyptian treaty. However the most important reason for Britain's taking action against the Arabs in Palestine is the pressure (indirect, but substantial) from Washington. The following Washington dispatch will throw some interesting light on the pressure brought by the Zionists on the British Government, through American statesmen :

(Special to the New York Times)

Washington, Sept. 6.

The Zionist Organization of America made public here today messages from thirty United States Senators and Representatives expressing deep concern over the troubled situation in Palestine and expressing the hope and belief that Great Britain would not interfere with Jewish immigration or otherwise hinder the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Seventeen of the Senators joined in a telegram to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, asking him to address Great Britain on the subject, and the organization made public the text of the telegram, which read in part :

"The American people, through their President and through the houses of Congress, have on frequent occasions manifested their sympathy with the effort of the Jewish people to re-establish in Palestine a center of safety and security for great numbers of Jews who do not share the freedom and liberty of America but who live in lands of intolerable oppression.

"Having watched with sympathy and approval the steady progress in Palestine of benefit alike to Arabs and Jews, we are distressed at the continuation of rioting and destruction that can only bring harm to all inhabitants.

"We note with satisfaction the restraint and discipline displayed by the Jewish pioneers in the face of provocation, and we admire the spirit of courage and social idealism which gives them the strength to go forward with their tasks of peaceful reconstruction.

Oppose Immigration Suspension

"Will you be kind enough to convey for us to the representative of His Majestey's government in the United States our hope that the British Government, as mandatory for Palestine, will, undeterred by violence, fulfill the obligation assumed in letter and spirit in undertaking trusteeship for the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine and that nothing will be done at this time to penalize or to hinder the Jewish people, whose sole aim has been the reconstruction of a progressive, cultured land whose benefits would accrue to all its citizens.

"We join in expressing the hope that rumors of the suspension of Jewish immigration into Palestine are without foundation, and that no decision will be made that would serve as encouragement to the exponents of terrorism, and that would demoralize the men and women who in their daily lives exemplify the spirit of peace and good-will."

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Bankhead also Makes Plea

Speaker Bankhead of the House in a separate statement, said :

"Concerning the tragic situation in Palestine, I desire to express the earnest hope and confidence that Great Britain will carry out in good faith its pledge to observe the mandate guaranteeing the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine and the protection of Jewish interests there. To do otherwise would, in my opinion, be a grave breach of faith on the part of a great government which has a fine record of observing its inter-national obligations."

Other statements of the same kind were made by some other Congressmen.

Furthermore, the *New York Times* of September 12th gives the following interesting information regarding another item of American political pressure on the British Government and the reaction thereof :

The Pro-Palestine Federation of America sent a cablegram to Premier Baldwin on the 2nd of September :

"In the cable message a specially appointed delegation of the organization, consisting only of Christian members, had urged that the British Government adhere firmly to the terms of the Palestine mandate, entrusted to its care by the nations of the world acting through the League of Nations.

"It was pointed out that the Balfour Declaration, upon which the mandate is based, had received the endorsement of the people of the United States. The Prime Minister was asked to remain loyal to a sacred trust, and the message declared that 'Christian honour demands that the pledge of Great Britain to the Jews and nations be kept.'

"It is our conviction," the message declared, "that suspension of immigration or any lessening of terms of the mandate must lead to lessening of Britain's prestige in America and would regrettably encourage other elements in this country already unfriendly to Great Britain."

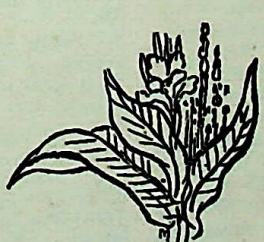
The answer to this message as received by the Pro-Palestine Federation at its office, 307, Fifth Avenue, through the British Embassy at Washington, was as follows :

"On behalf of the Prime Minister we assure you that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have every intention of carrying out the obligation accepted in the mandate to place Palestine under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment in Palestine of the Jewish National Home, while safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of the country irrespective of race and religion."

To understand the real significance of American pressure on the British Government, one should realise that the present British Government, specially such influential members of the British Cabinet as Premier Stanley Baldwin, Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Halifax, Hon. Anthony Eden, etc., regard Anglo-American co-operation as one of the cardinal principles of British diplomacy. To antagonize powerful American statemen—Senators and Congressmen—and leaders of American public opinion, who have close political connections with millions of Jews and pro-Jewish Christians in the United States, might result in the development of an anti-British foreign policy in the United States. If by adopting a strong measure against the Arabs in Palestine, the British authorities can secure more complete co-operation of the United States Government, then it would certainly be advisable for the preservation of real interests of the British Empire; because the support of the United States to the British Empire is worth more than that of the whole Moslem world.

Furthermore, the British authorities know that the Jews of the world cannot establish an absolutely independent Palestine in opposition to British control in that region of the world. In fact all that most of the responsible Zionist leaders want is to establish a "Jewish" homeland in Palestine in which the Jews will enjoy something of the status of the "Seventh Dominion" as explained by Col. Wedgewood in his book entitled *Seventh Dominion;* while the Arabs are thinking of using the British support to strengthen their position so that eventually they may be able to assert complete independence, which will be detrimental to British interests. It is certain that, for reasons of international politics and security of the British Empire, British statesmen will eventually support the Zionists against the Arabs.

Sept. 15, 1936.



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DR. PATTABHI SITARAMIYYA'S "HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS"

By SURESH CHANDRA DEB

I have known Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiyya these thirty years. I have watched with interest and admiration his growth from strength to strength as a publicist and a public man. I was a reader of his English weekly, *The Janmabhumi*, and came to know of his political sympathies and antipathies; his articles in the *Triveni* and other magazines never fail to interest me. It was, therefore, with eagerness that I waited for his "History of the Congress". But this eagerness had to hold itself in patience for more than three months; the peculiar arrangement adopted by the distributing agency of the book in its despatch to Calcutta being responsible for the delay. It was after the Lucknow Congress that the book reached the people who had registered their names previous to its publication.

Even before the Lucknow Congress I had heard talks that the book suffered from blemishes in mental equipose and detachment. I understand that the author was questioned at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee by Bengal delegates with regard to these blemishes. After the Congress I met friends who spoke strongly and bitterly on these lapses. I told these friends that it was too late complaining now, the mischief having been done. I told them also that a number of prominent Bengal Congressmen had had the opportunity of reading the typed manuscript; it was up to them to have pointed out the defects of omission and commission in the book, and Dr. Pattabhi would have gladly removed or rectified them. I speak from actual experience of his spirit of accommodation. In his Chapter on "Congress Patriarchs" he put an interpretation on the later developments in Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal's life which facts did not sustain. It was an accident, an accident of accidents, that placed in my hands for a few minutes only the typed pages containing this chapter. I wrote to Dr. Pattabhi pointing out the facts and placing an interpretation on them. I further remonstrated with him for doing less than justice to one who had helped to mould in the opening years of this century the life and thought of the Masulipattam group who have played such a notable part in shaping the Andhra-Desha as we know it today. By return of post I received a handsome acknowledgement, and the acceptance of my interpretation which finds its due place in the book. I told my angry friends that the same courtesy would have responded in the same hearty manner to the Bengal Congressmen who had typed manuscript with them for a longer period if they had pointed out what to them appeared to be defects. Evidently they did not feel that any injustice had been done to anybody. Why they felt like this, it is for them to explain.

This personal references I have felt it necessary to record to indicate the mind that I brought to the perusal of Dr. Pattabhi's book. I have read the book with care, and more than once. I have taken more than the necessary time to synthesize the mental reactions that its perusal gave rise to. This long incubation has not enabled me to change my opinion, feelings of pained surprise and disappointment with a book which goes out to the world with the seal and sanction of the Working Committee of the Congress, and secured the subsequent approval of the All-India Congress Committee and the Indian National Congress. There is a grudging spirit, a lack of charity in forming the book that ill accord with the dignity of the organization that is the organ-voice of the country. The author alone cannot be held responsible for the spirit of the book. The President of the Working Committee, Babu Rajendra Prasad, thrice revised the book; The General Secretary, Prof. Kripalani, and the Working Secretary, Babu Krishnadas, are said to have taken infinite pains in seeing the book through. These three good men and true found nothing objectionable in the book, and they passed it.

These are very harsh words to use and they have got to be justified. Take the chapter on "The Congress Patriarchs." What is it but a colourless catalogue of the names of men and institutions that have so worked that a New India has risen over the conscieousness of the people. The pathfinders who breached the rocks of social atrophy and intellectual torpidity and carved and laid out the roads on which the present generation walk more boldly and intrepidly, they find mention in the book, it is true, but is there any glow and vividness of life in these characterizations?

Take another instance, that with regard to the Rs. 36,000 said to have been spent by Mr. C. R. Das in taking delegates to the Nagpur Congress (December, 1920) to throw out the Non-co-operation programme passed by the Special Session at Calcutta in September, 1920. I wish Dr. Pattabhi or Babu Rajendra Prasad were put under cross-examination to elicit the mystic virtue of this particular number. Why should it not be Rs. 30,000 or 50,000? And what is the significance of this episode in the history of the Congress?

Thus far psychology—sympathies, antipathies, prepossessions, probing into which is not desirable for anybody's peace of mind. But of history—of the "thin" stream to which Dr. Pattabhi has compared the Congress of 1885 which today has broadened out into a mighty river by contributions from various movements of awakening and uplift—what have we? In tracing the course of a stream, one has to take account of the tributaries that fall into it, help to deepen and broaden it, make a river of it. The Congress stream of 1885 is what it is today by contributions from right and left. I am a Bengalee; I know what Bengal has contributed to the strength and volume of the Indian National Congress. What I wanted to know in Dr. Pattabhi's book is the contributions made by South India, the Maharashtra, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Behar, Assam to the national cause, of the "thin" streams arising in these provinces and swelling the main current of our national life.

South India stands today distinguished in Congress geography as the Tamil Nad, Kerala, Kannada, the Andhra-Desha, the homelands of distinct linguistic cultures. If I were to depend solely on Dr. Pattabhi's book for information on South Indian life and thought, I would have to be satisfied with almost a blank before Mrs. Besants' advent into politics. We hear so much today of "mass-contact". It was on the occasion of the Third Congress (1887) that the first prefatory step was taken to "educate our masters" in their "rights and duties" through public meetings and "the distribution

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of elementary tracts" drawn up in dialogue form; "Rambaksh" and "Moulvi Fariduddin" are the names of the imaginary participants in the dialogue, the former questioning, the latter replying and explaining. Dr. Pattabhi may not know what Aswini Kumar Datta did in Barisal through songs, lectures delivered in the local patois, and approaching people and getting their signatures to memorials embodying the Congress resolutions. But I find it difficult to explain why the pioneer attempts made in South India to get into touch with the masses find no mention in this History. Specially when these attempts turned the face of the bureaucracy smiling encouragement on the Congress into wrinkles of frowns, and created all the difficulties for Pandit Ajodhya Nath in his preparations for the 4th sessions of the Congress at Allahabad. These attempts brought Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces, as the United provinces were then known, into open opposition to the Congress, Sir Syed Ahmed and Shiva Prasad butting in inspired by gubernatorial nods. These attempts were responsible for Lord Dufferin's St. Andrews' Dinner speech of November 1888, with its purple patches of "a very big jump into the unknown", "microscopic minority" and "to tempt the fate of Phaeton and to sit in the chariot of the sun", and Eardley Norton's "open letter" to Lord Dufferin wherein he speaks of "the facile plasticity of official virtue", alluding, evidently, to Lord Dufferin's hand in the genesis of the Congress, and his changed attitude.

The Andhra movement, the Oriya movement had been stirring the waters of life of the people concerned long before Mrs. Besant plunged into Indian politics. There is no mention of the latter in the book, nor of Madhusudhan Das, one of the builders of our composite national life or Pandit Gopabandhu Das, one of the makers of modern Utkal. The Andhra movement is dismissed with a bare mention. The same economy has been observed in connection with the Non-Brahmin movement, which might have deflected and diverted the force of the main current of our national life into a new bed. It is no part of a map-maker to quarrel with the vagaries of a river-system and ignore developments therein. This is what Dr. Pattabhi has done. The result is that with all his troubles we are none the wiser with regard to many an event in South India, to the reactions of the Arya-Dravidian conflict of the Adi-Dravida movement on social and political life in Tamil Nad and the neighbouring provinces.

The same indifference characterises his delineations of developments in Maharashtra. Why was Poona chosen as the venue of the first session of the Congress? Not Madras, where, according to Mrs. Besant's book, the idea originated; not Bombay, the field made ready and fertile by the labours of Dadabhai Naoraji; not Calcutta, the then seat of the government, where Surendra Nath Banerjea had anticipated the Congress by two years by holding the National Conference wherein had foregathered men from provinces other than Bengal to discuss matters of common interest to the whole of India. Poona was chosen, Poona which might hark back in thought to the days of the Peshwas but lived and laboured and built itself anew under the eyes of Mahadeo Gobinda Ranade and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, the Poona where Bal Gangadhar Tilak had just started on his career of sacrifice and suffering, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale was on the eve of making the same choice. The significance of the time and of the place chosen for the first session of the Congress receive no recognition at the hands of its official historian, Maharashtra has initiated many a ministrant activity for the relief of people suffering from floods, famines and epidemics which today are common-place duties of Congress men. The History of the Congress can find no family likeness between these two.

I know how wide-awake a publicist Dr. Pattabhi generally is, and I have not been able to explain to myself the reasons which led him to ignore or slur over the activities without a knowledge of which we cannot understand the trends and tendencies of our present-day life. And in these omissions of his the most surprising and inexplicable is the absence of due reference to the great awakening that has taken place in the lives of the Moslems in India. Sir Syed Ahmed stands as the lighthouse on the rocks. He had been anticipated by almost fifty years by Rammohun Roy by the acceptance of the new illumination introduced into the country by the British rulers for purposes of consolidation and enlightenment. The particular time at which Sir Syed Ahmed made this "new departure" on behalf of his community was historically significant. The revolt of 1857-58 had failed; ten years after the smaller efforts organized by the Wahabis towards the same end failed as well. And the Moslems in India capitulated to the force of circumstances. The Anglo-Oriental College which has developed into the Muslim University was the first mile-stone in the journey forward. The heart of the community has been stirring with hopes and fears, face to face with new difficulties and new experiences, and the call for new accommodations to new environments. In the life of every community this testing time comes; hesitating, uncertain and false steps are made; crudities and immaturities appear; misunderstandings thrown up by the unconscious soul of people test their soul and the patience as well of their neighbours. The mix-up of theology and politics, the tug of war between priests and politicians have twisted the life of every nation. But these are short-lived; for the soul of goodness asserts itself in time.

For these developments a re-examination and re-interpretation of Islam in the light of universal human experience and in response to the needs of modern life had begun in India, the earliest and most well-known protagonist of which among modern-educated Muslims was the late Syed Amir Ali, a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the latest is a former president of the Congress, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad. Syed Amir Ali's books on Moslem history and culture opened the eyes of his community to the glories of their heritage; Moulana Abul Kalam has sought in his latest book *Tarazman-i-Koran* to cure his community of bigotry and narrow-mindedness by a liberal interpretation of Islam. Sir Mohammed Iqbal is the minstrel of the Muslim resurgence, fallen from the grace of the days when he sang of *Hindusthan Hamara*.

The British occupation of Egypt and the Sudan, the Graeco-Turkish war, Italy's occupation of Tripoli, the Balkan war, all these have played their part in evolving a Pan-Islamic mentality among Indian Moslems, thus giving a twist to the evolution of a composite nationality in India. The Great War (1914-18) has precipitated a settlement in the Moslem countries which seems to have robbed Pan-Islamism of something of its glamour and appeal. Thus freed from extra-territorial sentimentalities and thrown back on themselves, Indian Muslims are face to face with a situation in India the full bearings of which it will take them sometime to fully realise. They will, as others in India have done before, allow themselves to be used in furtherance of the game of British diplomacy. But this cannot but be temporary, a development to be thrown off as a bad dream.

The account given above is incomplete and unsatisfactory as a history of the awakening of Moslems in India. But in Dr. Pattabhi's book we have not even this little. Why? The Indian world has yet to know.

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I have tried to show how unsatisfactory even as a history Dr. Pattabhi's book is. The only reason that I can think of as an explanation is that Dr. Pattabhi was burdened with a task beyond the powers of a single individual. No publicist could be expected to know the history of every province in this continental country. A representative committee manned by publicists from every provincial unit of the Congress with Dr. Pattabhi as editor-in-chief to co-ordinate and reconcile all these assembled reports would have been an arrangement giving better results. Why this was not thought of or adopted, we do not know. Our ignorance does not save us from the consequences of the arrangement made by the Working Committee of the Congress, and they must share a part of the criticism levelled at Dr. Pattabhi's "History of the Congress." The weakness inherent in centralization may be pratly responsible for the arrangement.

ARAB-ZIONIST STRUGGLE AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(Comment & Criticism)

By TARAKNATH DAS

In an issue of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of recent date I read a communication from Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, urging the Indian people to support the cause of the Arab Nationalists against the Zionists. There is no doubt that Mr. Nehru sincerely believes that the Arab Nationalist cause is more laudable than the cause of the Zionist. Furthermore he may have the conviction that, by aiding the Arab Nationalist cause, he will be aiding the cause of Hindu-Moslem unity in India and also opposing British imperialism in Arabia.

First of all, let us make it clear that the Arabs have the right to establish an Arab Kingdom; but the Jews have the similar right to establish their own homeland, which has been internationally guaranteed by the League of Nations and the United States of America. The cause of Arab Nationalism is not more sacred than the Jewish cause. In fact when the Jews are being persecuted all over the world, it is desirable that they should have their own National Home. Aiding the cause of establishment of Jewish home in their ancient homeland is to my mind supporting the cause of humanity and freedom.

It is absolutely wrong to think that the so-called Arab Nationalists are fighting the British. On the contrary, the Arab leaders are pro-British and they are seeking British support against the Jews. The Zionists are not anti-British. In fact most of the Zionist leaders are for transforming Palestine as the "Seventh Dominion" within the British Commonwealth of Nations, as advocated by Col. Wedgewood, M.P. Others think of an independent Jewish State in Palestine as an ally of the British Empire. The present leaders of Arab Nationalism during the world war supported the British Government against the Turks; and what little Arab freedom is in existence in Iraq or Trans-jordania is due to British-Arab Alliance. No Arab Nationalist will be willing to aid Indian Nationalists against Britain. In fact Britain can expect the Arabs to aid her in keeping India in subjection This is manifest from the terms of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty and other understandings between Great Britain and Arab leaders.

Mr. Nehru is following the foot-steps of his friend and guide Mahatma Gandhi, who thought that, by championing the cause of Khalifatism, he would be able to bring about Hindu-Moslem unity. But the Mahatma and his disciple Mr. Nehru do not understand the fact that the majority of the Moslem leaders of India, including such Moslem politicians as Mr. Jinnah, thought of using the support of the Hindus to secure concession for the Turks (Moslems) and thus strengthening the position of Moslem Indians in bargaining with the British to secure greater concessions for the Moslem community of India. Just as soon as the British Government, with the advice of the great Zionist Earl Reading and the late Mr. Montagu (a Jew) who were ardent supporters of the British Empire, made concessions to Turkey, and Lord Curzon signed the Treaty of Laussane, Indian Moslem leaders with the exception of a very few, left Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian Nationalist cause and devoted their energy to promoting the communal interest of the Moslems of India at the cost of the Indian National cause. To be sure, by supporting Khalifatism, Indian Nationalists supported Turkey and unfortunately encouraged "extra-territorial patriotism" and "communalism" of Moslem Indians. Some Indian Nationalists realised the unfortunate possibility and thus the far-sighted Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, one of the spiritual fathers of true Indian nationalism, was not a supporter of Mahatma's Khalifatist experiment. Mahatmaji was playing the opportunistic game. He was thinking that by catering to "extra-territorial patriotism" of Moslem Indians, he was solidifying national unity, but the result was nothing less bitter than strengthening "anti-national communalism of Indian Moslems". Mr. Nehru and other followers of Mahatma should learn from their past experience that by catering to extra-territorial patriotism of Moslem Indians, they will be doing a distinct disservice to the cause of Indian nationalism.

The majority of the Zionists are pro-British; and the majority of the Arab leaders are pro-British. If Mr. Nehru is thinking of undermining British imperialism in India through Arab aid, he will be sadly disappointed, as was the case with Mahatma Gandhi in his Khalifatist experiment. The majority of Indian Moslem leaders are with the British Government, because through British support they want to strengthen their position against the Hindus of India. There may be some exceptions to the general attitude of Moslem leaders of India. Instead of wasting time and energy in spreading pro-Arab propaganda in India, Mr. Nehru and the Indian National Congress should show their courage of conviction in favour of Indian nationalism and work against all

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forms of communalism in India. Indian freedom is not dependent upon Arab support; because the Arabs and even the existing Arab States are supporters of British imperialism; similarly the Zionists are bound to support British imperialism, because they expect to establish a National Home through British support. British statesmen are working to use both the Jews and Arabs to their advantage and to keep India in subjection. Indian Nationalist leaders, thinking in terms of world politics, will have to weigh carefully all the forces operating in the field of international politics, to find India's real ally. *In fact a situation may arise which will force Great Britain to seek India as an ally and more desirable ally than the Arabs or the Zionists, provided Indian statesmen can prove themselves masters of the Indian internal situation and at the same time can establish international relations with the great Powers of the world.*

New York City
Sept. 14. 1936

A LESSON FROM DR. MOONJE'S ACTIVITIES

(Comment & Criticism)

By TARAKNATH DAS

From the August issue of *The Modern Review*, I have the great pleasure to learn that Dr. Moonje's efforts to establish a model Military School, as a private enterprise, is about to be crowned with success. This institution will have room for fifty students from Bengal and therefore the people of Bengal should aid Dr. Moonje's realistic enterprise of training men who will be able to participate effectively in Indian national defence.

The people of Bengal should not remain content with helping Dr. Moonje; but they should establish a Military College in Bengal. During the last ten years at least, I have been advocating this. I have repeatedly suggested through my articles and private correspondence that, with the expenditure of a few lakhs of rupees, the College of Engineering and Technology at Jadavpur, should be transformed into *Bengal National Military Engineering College and Technology*. If I am not mistaken, Dr. Moonje, a few years ago, soon after his return from Europe, visited the College of Engineering and Technology at Jadavpur and in an address to the members of the Faculty and the student-body expressed his views regarding the possibility of transforming the institution into a military college, without impairing but raising the standard of its educational efficiency. But this wise counsel did not receive very favourable consideration possibly because of the unfounded reason that such a course will displese the Government authorities. Dr. Moonje has shown the way for Bengal politicians and educational leaders with vision to follow the example. Let us hope that Bengal will disprove the allegation that the people of that province have no desire to learn military science and face the responsibilities of national defence, by taking some steps for establishing a National Military Engineering College.

Sept. 15. 1936.

THE ROERICH PEACE MOVEMENT

Last year twenty-two governments of North, South and Central America unanimously signed the Roerich Pact for protection of cultural treasures. Whilst they are now ratifying this Pact, in Europe the Roerich Peace movement is being actively promulgated in various countries..

In France, on behalf of the Roerich Pact Committee, the Secretary General, Dr. Georges Chklaver appealed to the Spanish Embassy, stressing the urgent necessity of the preservation of cultural treasures in Spain. South American Roerich Societies cabled about the same subject to the Roerich Pact Committee, which is calling an extraordinary meeting for this purpose.

The Lithuanian magazine "Naujoji Samone" sends out an appeal for the protection of cultural treasures by means of the Roerich Pact. In Poland a booklet is being circulated in many thousand copies, advocating the same movement. About the same various newspapers and journals are writing in Yugoslavia, Latvia, etc.

In Bruges, this October, the "Roerich Foundation pro Pace, Arte, Scientiae et Labore (in Memoriam Alberti Regis Belgarum)", which is under the presidentship of Mr. C. Tulpinck, arranges an "International Day of Art" to promulgate the Roerich Pact. The Belgian newspaper "La Nation Belge" writes in this connection under the title "A Happy Initiative—for the protection in time of war and troubles of treasures of art and monuments": Upon the initiative of the Governor of Flandres an "International Day of Art" is to be held at Bruges in October. The municipality, Belgian and foreign officials, scientists. University delegates, artists, donators and collaborators of the "Museum pro Pace, Arte, Scientiae et Labore" and the international press will take part in this day of art. This manifestation will include academic sessions for the development of the activity for the protection of art treasures and monuments. This day of art, as well as the inauguration of the Museum pro Pace, Arte, Scientiae et Labore" enters into the movement, which is supported by the intelligentsia and men of science of all countries for promulgation of the "Roerich Pact".

Prof. Nicholas Roerich, the inaugurator of the Pact, who is also Honorary President of this movement in Belgium, has sent from his Himalayan residence, an ardent appeal and wishes of success for this most urgent cause.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA IN THREE PARTS :

By S. R. Sharma, M.A., Fergusson College, Poona; Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay, 1934.

The author's object in writing the book is "to bridge the gulf between 'the *jejune and contemptible*' text-book, and the forest of *original sources* which are inaccessible to the ordinary student." In reviewing this book we are perhaps last in the field, and have therefore, the disadvantage of having all good things about the present work pointed out by previous reviewers. The reader will find a summary of such views in the Preface to Part II of the work. We congratulate the author on his considerable success in the experiment of writing a newer type of text-book on the history of the Mughal Empire. Beneath the current of a readable historical narrative, Prof. Sharma keeps concealed his fleet of authorities with only inverted commas floating on the surface like air-pipes of submarines. So the reviewer who also happens to be an author confronts either himself or equally and sometimes more illustrious authorities if he would proceed to comments on facts of history.

So we propose to confine ourselves to a detailed examination of the last and the only chapter of originality for which the author of the work under review is responsible. With all our friendship and sympathy with the author we are forced to remark that all errors of fact and judgment are found piled up in this single chapter. To begin with :

1. Babur's contemporaries on the thrones of Bengal, Gujrat were not *Afghan* dynasties (p. 834), but Sayyid and Hindustani Muslim respectively.

2. Among the manifold services of the Rajputs, Prof. Sharma requisitions Todarmal's *Bandobast*, and Rajah Birbar's wisdom —if he had any—to prove that Rajputs not only contributed valour but also products of intellect to build up the glory of the Mughal Empire. Unfortunately, Todarmal was a Khatri and Birbar a Brahmin.

3. Prof. Sharma tries to sum up *lessons* of Mughal history, which are, according to him, usefulness of Mughal autocracy, self-sufficiency of India in resources diplomatic, military and administrative to manage her own affairs if given an opportunity only, substitution of a communal basis of life for a national basis and the importance of cultivation of up-to-date science of war. We are afraid here we find not the disillusioned historian but an imaginative politician innocent of historical insight.

4. Some of the so-called *generalisations* of Prof. Sharma are not only hollow but positively demoralising and insulting to the Rajput character which he attempts to extol. He seems to maintain that Akbar's marriage policy was the cement of the Mughal Empire. To yeild up daughters to the Mughal, says the author, was "no meek or abject surrender but honourable co-operation that lent dignity to him that gave and him that took, and blessed both." (p. 840). Was there ever anything honourable in seeking co-operation—in fact a lease of ignoble existance by giving away daughters and sisters? Did even the Kachchwa and the Rathor think it so? One can read the genuine sentiment of the Rajput society on such connections in the poem of *Rajvilas*:

Tum Asura adhin dhiya de dharani su rakhiya i.e. You are subject of the Asuna and you have saved your territory by giving daugters.

Maharajah Sawai Jai Singh raised himself to caste as it were by securing for himself for the first time a Sisodia princess. If the Rajputs considered such marriages at all honourable how was it that the very first condition of the Triple Alliance of Mewar, Marwar and Amber in the reign of Maharana Umra II was the *abjuration of such matrimonial alliance?* (Tod ii. 386). The Sayyid brothers compelled Ajit to give his daughter to Farukhsiyar as a condition of peace and thereby dissolve the Triple Alliance. But Ajit afterwards joined the Sayyid brothers, became a *Damad-kush* (son-in-law slayer, brought back his widowed daughter from the Mughal harem, performed her *shuddhi* (purification) and revived the Triple Alliance with Maharana Jagat Singh II and the ruler of Amber. Since then no Rajput princess was married to the Mughal.

Nor did such alliance exalt the Great Mughal. When the orthodox reaction began after the death of Akbar, Rajput princesses were first converted and then married in *Nika* form. On grounds of perhaps religious scruple unconverted mothers of Jahangir, Khusru and Shahjahan were denied even a burial under same tombs with their husbands. Aurangzib felt the humiliation of such marriages though he is said to have sought the hand of Rupkumari. He is said to have told a deputation of Rajput chiefs : "You give your daughters to us when necessary and yet keep them away from you at meals and in social intercourse. Without doing so you better enter our *pankti*." (*Vamsabhaskar*, p. 2797). This will, we hope, remove a wrong idea about the policy of matrimonial alliance intiated by the astute diplomat and politician Akbar, whose underlying motive was anything but altruistic.

With the exception of the last chapter the main body of the book may be recommended to our undergraduates for forming a preliminary acquaintance with original authorities and the modern historical literature on the

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Mughal Empire. We hope the author would not take amiss our remarks which a sense of public duty dictates.

MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET: *By F. K. Khan Durrani, B.A., Ripon Printing Press, Lahore. Pp. 160.*

This book is described by the author as an essay with only one defect, namely its brevity. A close perusal of the book however reveals that it is anything but an essay and that with more than one defect which is not its brevity but verbosity. It reads like a half political, half religious open-air declamation and not a calm, well-reasoned review of the life of Muhammad the Prophet.

The author's object as revealed in Preface is to reach out the message of Islam to the non-Muslim as well as the Muslim who has had the modern education, and the method to be followed is to convince their reason before asking them to believe that the Prophet was the greatest of men. But his so-called essay belies his object, because his argument is too weighty for his audience whom he overwhelms with censure, strictures and fearful gestures. But in all fairness it must be admitted that the book is original and refreshing to a certain extent. It is neither a weeping sermon of the *Milad*, nor the stereotyped summary meant for a school-boy.

Mr. Durrani appears to be right in holding that the Prophet's greatest work was not the extinction of polytheism, nor his social and moral reforms of the Arab people but the creation of the great Arab Nation out of a mass of warring tribes, and identification of Islam with Arabicism. What the author seems to drive at is that all the manly virtues of the Arabs before Islam were of no avail on account of the *absence of a national purpose* (p. 118). At this point he comes down upon the Indian Musalmans.

"The Indian Musalman has no national ideal. The attainment of dominion status by entering into a pact with the Hindus is not what one might call a national ideal. It only means a perpetuation of slavery. Also the ideal is not ours; it is a Hindu ideal. A pact with the Hindus is no national ideal. . . . And because the Indian Musalmans have no national ideal, what have they come to? There are men among us who are willing to sell the whole community for posts and titles, and they are doing it everyday. . . . Some of them, by riding upon the shoulders of the community get into Government employment and become political turncoats" (pp. 118-119). Naturally nothing less than a Durrani Empire ought to be the ideal of a Durrani, though not of every Hindustani Musalman.

As regards the Prophet's place in world history, Mr. Durrani says, "He is the Father of the Modern Age, the Founder of the New world, the Second Adam from whom mankind had its spiritual birth." Mr. Durrani is a missionary as well as an advocate, though the Prophet's greatness is an acccpted fact even without advocacy. It will be futile for any serious student of history to break lance with a missionary for his un-called-for remarks on Hinduism and Christianity about which he knows just as much as a hostile missionary cares to learn.

We congratulate Mr. Durrani on the publication of this essay, which as we understand, is only the *Prolegomenon* to his grand study of the Quran and the Hadis in the light of Modern Sciences.

K. R. QANUNGO

MESSAGE OF SHRIMAD-BHAGVAD GITA: *By Mr. R. V. Shah, published by Ramanlal Vadilal Shah, Kapasia Bazar, Dalal Building, Ahmedabad.*

This booklet is an exposition of the ideal of Gita in English, intended for the English-knowing public. The author is a Jain, still his admiration for the sacred Gita tops all the sacred books found in the East and West.

The book is interesting throughout and written with devotion. The book does not contain the original Sanskrit verses.

THE LIGHTS OF BHAGAWAD GITA: *By Mr. Biaj Nath Khanna, M.A.*

The author has selected only 150 verses from Bhagawad Gita and has furnished parallel passages and quotations from other thinkers and philosophers, conveying similar ideas. Those who have occasion to read the book will be much benefited by the wide and extensive knowledge displayed by the author in compiling the book.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE BEGGARS BROTHERHOOD: *Ronald Fuller. Publishers Allen and Uuwin. Pp. 235. Price 10s. 6.*

That "distance lends enchantment" is an old saying, and it is also true of historical matters. Those living during a given period are only too well aware of the discomforts, troubles, and disadvantages of the times, but those who come after look at such matters through coloured spectacles. "The good old days" can be believed in, only on condition that one knows nothing about them. In modern times the increased use of machinery, the growth of a more regulated and settled existence, have forced people to seek for an escape. The cinema provides many with an outlet for their suppressed desires, and it is interesting to note that whereas the majority of people in this world are poor, the films which are most popular are those which deal with the lives and the way of living of the rich. In the same way, since so few people nowadays walk any long distance, a cult has grown up of glorifying the earlier periods when walking was the rule and not the exception. It is all part of the "Escape" complex. This is the real reason for the present sentimentalising about pirates, and highwaymen. The pirate and the highwayman in actual life were usually, brutal, vicious, and sordid, and the more one learns about them the fewer illusions one has about them.

Any change in the economic structure of society is always likely to create a certain amount of unemployment, and those unemployments, finding that society has no use for them, are likely soon to take up the attitude that they have no use for society. This is more or less what happened in England during the sixteenth century. The breakdown of the feudal system, the opening up of trade through the discovery of America, resulted in a large number of persons finding themselves without means of subsistence. Such persons gradually came to be drawn together by common interests, and during the time of their greatest power evolved their own rules and regulations. There was nothing constructive about the Beggars, they were merely an anti-social body of people, created by the society. As the new social system came to be more firmly established, so did the causes which brought the Beggars into being, disappear. One might have individuals attempting to ape the past, but the Beggars as a power disappeared in the seventeenth century.

The book itself is fairly well written, though rather sketchy. In short it is an interesting book, suitable for a railway journey though, rather than for serious study.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

THE LEPROSY PROBLEM: *By A. Donald Miller. Annas three (including postage). Harijan Office, Poona 4.*

Rev. Miller has been connected with the Purulia Leper Asylum for years. At the request of Mahatma

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Gandhi, he wrote out some simple directions for village workers in connection with the leprosy problem. The present pamphlet is a reprint of those articles from the *Harijan*.

Everyone who has the welfare of the lepers at heart, or who is interested in the work of village sanitation and hygiene, ought to read this valuable book.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

BHOWAL SANNYASI CASE: *Published by Bosen and Co., Dacca. Pages 413. Price Rupee One and annas eight.*

The book contains the full text of the judgment in that famous trial the progress of which was so eagerly watched by people of all ranks in Bengal and even outside. A complete record of the details of the sensational story of the Bhowal Kumar, and a brilliant treatment of the bewildering amount of evidence tendered during this protracted proceeding, one of the longest on record, the book will be of engaging interest to lawyers and laymen alike.

The book is a handsome production, and, considering the bulk of the book, its price is moderate.

P. B. S.

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM! *By V. Adoratsky. Published by International Publishers, 381, Fourth Avenue, New York, U. S. A. Pp. 96.*

'This book', we are told, 'is composed and printed by union labour.' It is intended to be an exposition of the theoretical foundation of Marxism and Leninism. It is loaded, perhaps overloaded, with quotations from the writings of Lenin and a few other, and thus lacks vigour and originality as an exposition.

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement," Lenin said, (p 6). Our author adds that "if the working class is guided in its struggles by the theory of Marxism and Leninism, it will defeat the bourgeoisie all over the world," (p 7). Now, what is this Marxism?

"The essence of Marxism," we are informed, 'is materialist dialectics' (p. 22). The dialectics of Hegel, we are reminded, are idealistic, "Marx, on the contrary, employed dialectics materialistically. He created dialectic materialism," (p. 23).

How was this achieved? By a thorough overhauling of Hegelian dialectics. That is, first by accepting materialism and then applying dialectics to it. "In all the phenomena and processes of nature and society there are contradictory, opposite, mutually exclusive, and at the same time associated, tendencies," (p. 27). This is the resulting theory of diailectic materialism.

"In human society the driving force of development is the class struggle" (p. 27). In this process of development all things give way to others, all things are negated. The bourgeoisie also must be negated; and this can be accomplished only by the proletariat, (p. 32). And the ultimate result of this development will be a 'classless society' (p. 45).

So far dialectic materialism is more or less on safe ground. But it crosses swords with philosophy by asserting that mind is but a quality of matter, (p. 49).

The philosophy here adumbrated is materialism but is not mechanistic. 'The mechanistic philosophy is essentially bourgeois and anti-proletarian.' It is impotent against idealism and, in fact, assists it. Mechanistic materialism must, therefore, be discarded in favour of the correct philosophy, which is dialectic materialism, (p. 54).

Teachers of philosophy may note that "Hegel is extremely difficult to study. Those who undertake to study him require assistance and this assistance is given by Marx, Engles and Lenin" (p. 56). We are also told that 'the world is unitary, and its unity lies, as Engles says, in its materialness' (p. 65). As to the dialectical method, neither the old metaphysical materialists nor Hegel were able to apply it. This was done by Marx, Engels and Lenin, (p. 67).

The last chapter of the hook is on 'How to Study Lenin' and gives references to Lenin's writings and the literature on him. The book throws interesting sidelights on the theoretical basis of the Russian movement but can hardly claim to be a comprehensive exposition of it.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

MOHAMMAD, THE MAN AND HIS FAITH: *By Tor Andrae; translated into English by Theophil Menzel (George Allen & Unwin, 8s. 6d.).*

Tor Andrae, a disciple of that renowned scholar in history and religion, Archbishop Nathan Soederbohm of Upsala, was appointed professor in the history of religion in Stockholm in 1927, and professor in the history and psychology of religion at the University of Upsala in 1929. He was a member of the Swedish Academy in 1932; and has obtained doctor's degrees in several other continental universities. His first work on Mohammad appeeared in 1918; and he later published books on *The Origin of Islam and of Christianity* and *the Psychology of Mysticism*. The book under notice is a translation from the German of his *Mohammad: Sein Leben und Sein Glaube*, published in 1932.

The author's immense research, remarkable familiarity with the religious development of Arabia at the time of Mohammad, wide reading of the Islamic holy scriptures and of the works of contemporary writers, together with the vast equipment of the student of comparative religion enables him to show the Islamic faith in the perspective of the ancient Arabian monotheism and of its similarities with Christianity and Judaism. An interesting chapter is that in which he brings out the similarities, not only in dogma, but also in ritual with Nestorian Christianity.

This vast knowledge of the background enables him to give an interpretation of Mohammad's religious personality, and life and character. Like a true scholar he maintains an impartial attitude; and his conclusions and findings are on the whole free from that Christian bias from which some other well-known Lives of Mohammad are not free.

Andrae tries to comprehend Mohammad from the psychological standpoint of religion. The query how Mohammad obtained his Revelations cannot be answered by ascribing them to some sort of epilepsy. Some Islamic authorities tell us of the Prophet's very intense sufferings and purely physical pains at the time of an inspiration. "When the Revelations came to the Prophet they pressed hard upon him, and his countenance darkened." It even happened "that he fall to the ground as if intoxicated," and that he "groaned like a camels' colt." Ayesha says: "Then Allah's Apostle had his customary attack, so that even though it was very cold day, beads of perspiration rolled from his face." On the basis of this statement it has long been thought that Mohammad was an epileptic. For a long time past Western writers have edified their readers with this compromising fact about the arch-enemy of Christianity. Even in recent times some authors have held fast to this idea, influenced by the scientifically superficial and hasty theory which the medical psychology of the 19th century made fashionable for a while, that the inspired state is "pathological."

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Here we are reminded that there are two clearly differentiated types of inspiration : the auditory and the visual; and the auditions and visions which Mohammad asserted he had had, *e.g.*, in Sura 53, have been observed in other religions with regard to inspired persons, seers, and prophets. And we as Hindus need not doubt the truth of them ; or the sincerity of the man receiving them.

Was Mohammad's inspiration genuine? Did he speak in entire good faith? The author's answer is :— "That Mohammad acted in good faith can hardly be disputed by anyone who knows the psychology of inspiration. That the message which he proclaimed did not come from himself, from his own ideas and opinions, is not only a tenet of his faith, but also an experience whose reality he never questioned."

He discusses the extent of the Christian or Jewish influences upon the Prophet, and shows that a clear severance of them in the Koran is impossible.

Andrae nobly takes pains to give prominence to everything favourable in the character of the Prophet. "Even in Medina Mohammad lived on the whole in rather modest circumstances, and adhered to the moderately ascetic ideal which he defends in the Koran. According to the tradition of Islam, the Prophet's personality was characterized by unique kindliness, amiability and friendliness. He was never the first to withdraw his hand when he greeted anyone, and he was never the first to turn his face away when conversing with another." But the author is not partial to his faults.

No student of Islam should pass by this notable work. The author gives a scholarly and sympathetic account of the enviroment and religious experience of the Prophet, and tries to explain the success of Islam in terms of these. But the book is more of a recital than a philosophical explanation. It deserves study, and the translator has done a real service to the English-speaking public by placing it before them.

J. M. D.

VIVIANS : *By Vivian Hughes. Oxford University Press. Pp. 239 1935. 7s. 6d.*

It is a story of real life and contains no astounding or sensational incidents such as are to be met with in the most realistic of novels; but the narrative is so lively and vivid all through that this simple tale of the not very exceptional fortunes of a real family reads like a romance and grips the attention from beginning to end. The life-story of a pair of remarkable sisters, each with a striking individuality of her own, is related in a charming manner and the pathos of their chequered loveing experiences is brought out with a keen introspection and delicacy of touch that give the work a high artistic value.

The authoress, Mrs. Hughes, has been obviously infected by the spirit of Jane Austen and has succeeded, like her, in transmuting into romance the common excitements and joys, the normal sorrows and disappointments of domestic life. She presents us here with a book which is genuine art although it is a transcript of real life and not an imaginative imitation of it. The tale gains in the impression of reality by the insertion of sketches of some places mentioned in the book actually drawn by characters in the story, and a remarkable portrait, by a contemporary artist, of Mary, the handsome elder sister.

P. K. GUHA

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IN SOUTH INDIA : *By T. Adinarayana Chetty. Published by the Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd., Madras. Price not mentioned.*

The author who is a prominent co-operator of South India has in this monograph given a detailed account of the present condition of cooperative marketing of agricultural produce in South India. At the outset he has dwelt upon the advantages of organized marketing and has shown how marketing can be successfully attempted on strictly cooperative lines, on a scale that effects market conditions. He has then described the working of some of the cooperative marketing societies in South India, specially the success achieved by them in the marketing of "kapas," ground-nuts, cotton and paddy. The author has, also, dealt with some of the marketing problems which a marketing society must tackle for its successful working. In conclusion he has given good many suggestions for the solution of these problems and for the proper working of marketing societies. These suggestions coming from a prominent cooperator are worth careful consideration. The cooperative movement in India is uncertain as to its future procedure with regard to marketing and cooperative marketing as obtaining in India is not worth doing, if existing methods cannot be improved upon. For such an attempt this monograph deserves a careful study by all those interested in the problem of cooperative marketing.

TILAK AND GANDHI : *By M. J. Kanetkar. Published by the author from Nagpur. Price annas twelve.*

This work is a short comparative character sketch of two great personalities of India. The author has compared the methods and achievements of these two great men both of whom stand for Indian nationalism. The author is of opinion that Gandhi is precisely fighting towards the same goal for which Tilak fought to the end of his life and that Gandhi is actually complementing and trying to complete Tilak's unfinished job. Changed conditions and circumstances, according to the author, are some of the reasons why Gandhi's work has been attracting more public gaze. The author points out that the idea of non-violence and truthfulness in politics has been introduced in Indian politics by Gandhiji who has, therefore, while rearing up a structure on the foundations laid by Tilak, also laid in fresh foundations himself. This short comparative study is interesting from many points of view and tnough the subject cannot be discussed exhaustively in a few pages, the publication will prove a couple of hours' refreshing reading.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

SANSKRIT

KADAMBARIKALYANAM : *A drama by Narasimha Kavi. Edited by Vyanaranasiromani V. Krishnamacharya, Senior Pandit, Govt., Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. The Educational Publishing Company, 12, Second Line Beach, Madras.*

The *Kadambari* of Bana Bhatta is the most important prose romance in Sanskrit. The esteem in which the poet and the work are held is reflected in the numerous commendable references made to them by various later poets, as also in the very many abstracts of the story of the work that came to be compiled from time to time in the form of poems, dramas or prose abridgements. The earliest of these works is perhaps the *Kadambaryarthasara* in eight cantos by Abhinanda (circa 8th century) who flourished not long after the time of Bana. Of later works, some of which are quite modern, mention may be made of *Abhinavakadambari* in 279 verses by Dhundiraja (circa 18th century), *Samksiptakadambari* by Kasinath, *Kadmbaryarthasara* by Maniram who wrote for the great orientalist Colebrooke, *Kadmabarisara* by

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M. S. Apte (Poona, 1885), *Kadambarisamgraha* by R. V. Krishnamachariar (Srirangam, 1906), *Saralakadambari* by Syamacharan Kaviratna (Calcutta, 1910) and *Kadambarinataka* in ten acts by Vinoda Vihari Bhattacharya (Bhatpara, 1334 B. S.).

The work under review is a little-known, and possibly the earliest, drama based on the story of the *Kadambari*. It is a drama in eight acts by Narasimha who is supposed to have flourished sometime about the 14th century. Students of Sanskrit will be grateful to the learned editor as well as to the enterprising publishers for having unearthed and published this interesting drama, the publication of which brings to light one more instance—and a fairly old one—of the attempts at popular adaptations of the story in question of which early dramatic versions, in particular, are unkonwn.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

HINDI-GADYA-GATHA: *By Sadgur Sharan Avasthi, M.A. Published by Saraswati Publishing House, Allahabad. Pp. 280. Cloth-bound, Price Rs. 1/8/-.*

It is a history of Hindi prose literature. The author was commissioned by some publishers to compile a Hindi Prose-selection for the Intermediate classes of U. P. for which he wrote a disproportionately long introduction which was rejected by the publishers. Now Mr. Avasthi has brought out that introduction with some additions and alterations in the form of the present book. Consequently the book has all the drawbacks and shortcomings of an introduction with few of the merits of an independent work. The advent of printing press has played the most important part in the development of our prose but no attempt has been made to study and to give a well connected account of the early history of Hindi press and printed books. In fact the author betrays a lamentable ignorance about the early Hindi press. He seems unaware of the fact that Hindi had a weekly paper as early as in 1826 and that it could boast of a daily paper even before the mutiny, which continued publication for more than fourteen years. The result is that some of the conclusions drawn by him are not only wrong but misleading also. His treatment of contemporary writers and their works also shows a lack of sound judgment and sense of proper discrimination. The whole work seems to have a strong Text-Book-Committee-smell.

BHARAT KA KAHANI SAHITYA: *Dr. Dhani Ram Prem. Published by Ratan Publishing House, Hindu Colony; Bombay. 14. Pp. 174, Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 1/8/-.*

It was a bright idea of Dr. Prem to collect the best specimen of modern short stories of different Indian languages and publish their Hindi translations in one volume. The book under review is the result. It contains five stories from Hindi, two each from Bengali, Marathi. Gujrati and Urdu and one each from Kannad, Telugu, Tamil and Malyalam. But the author has not succeeded in carrying out his original idea satisfactorily. The specimens that he has chosen are neither the best nor the most representative ones of their respective languages and fail to do justice to them.

B. M. VARMA

MARATHI

ASPRSYATECYA SASTRARTHATEL PARCASTHALE: *By Pandit Purushottam Narayansastri Kashikar. Vedantatirtha. Printed at the Sahakari Press, Indore. Pages 8+4+4+76, with one photograph of the late Bhalacandrabhatta Apte, to whose memory the book is dedicated. Price 12 annas.*

This booklet contains obviously a refutation of some work. favouring the removal of untouchability, the name and the 'learned' author of which, however, there is no means of knowing, as they have been nowhere mentioned in the present publication. In five essential chapters of this book the author endeavours to show the inconsistencies in the arguments of his opponent, whose method of interpreting the holy scriptures is ridiculed as being 'historical', in contrast to his own, which is claimed to be the traditional and truly synthetic method of theological interpretation. The five chapters deal with: (1) The true nature of *dharma*, (2) the inconsistencies of the authors of the Codes (*smrti*) and the institution of the four classes, (3) scriptural untouchability, (4) examination of the scriptural evidence in favour of untonchability, and (5) the meaning of "There exists no *sprstasprsti* ('touch-no-touch')". Such theological disputations, in my opinion, are best carried in a purely academic spirit, because they are not likely to affect very much, one way or the other, the living issues, facing the present Indian society. Nobody is inclined to question in all seriousness the necessity of removing untouchability as a religious practice. For over-enthusiastic theologicians it is high time to realise that scriptures can but relate to us the experiences and ideals of the past. Who is prepared to say, that we have in our own past completely exhausted the field of human experience and are rendered incapable of new idealism? If we must attribute a perfected sense of providence to the great men of yore, it were better for us to interpret their words, if we can, as being in accordance with our own honest and sincere convictions, than to allow the letter, attributed to their wisdom, to kill the spirit in us.

V. V. GOKHALE

GUJARATI

MUSALMANO ANE GURJAR SAHITYA: *By "Nashad," Bombay. Published by the Muslim Gujarat Sahitya Mandal, Rander (Surat): Paper cover. Pp. 105. Price annas twelve (1935).*

The present generation of the Musalmans of Gujarat feel that they are backward in education and in consequence unable to do what they should do for their mother-tongue—the Gujarati language. A band of young men therefore have girded up their loins to do the right thing, and the present compilation sets out the services rendered by about eighty-four Muslim writers; a list of their books is given also. This should be considered encouraging enough.

BHARATIYA JAIN SHRAMAN SANSKRIT ANE LEKHAN KALA; LEKHAN KALA VIBHOG: *By Muni Shri Punya Vijayji, printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pages 137. Price Rs. 8*

Thus is a most interesting and comparatively exhaustive research work, so far as the origin and development of the art of writing in India is concerned. Though the research was made particularly through the medium of Jaina Bhandaro, the results are such as can also be accepted. Commonly for the art of writings of the other communities. Palmyra leaf, birch bark, and other materials used in the writing and binding of books in the dim old ages of the past all find their place here. The illustrations make the work most informing and instructive and the three schedules at the end add to its value.

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MRANALINI : *By Chandulal M. Shah. Printed at the New Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pages 208. Price Rs. 2 (1935).*

The author who is an Insurance agent by profession has cultivated an interest in literature and written his first book as a novel, in which he expounds the doctrine approved of by Gandhiji that it is not advisable for a young woman to be closeted alone with a young man. The writer has tried to show the moral evils resulting from the present unrestrained life of the Youths of India, and he has been able to present a very good picture of the same.

AMI : *By Javendraray B. Durkal, M.A. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pages 246. Price Re. 1-8 (1935).*

Thirty-four essays in pleasant and understandable language. The result of study and cogitation with the inclination of a scholar on such varied subjects, as the history of words, the contentions of a clock, vegetables like the Lady's finger, salads, cloudlets and many others are found in this book.

PALANGIYAN : *By Jamu Dani. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Printing Press, Baroda. Paper cover. Pages 48. Price annas three (1936).*

This third and very cheap edition of "Butterflies" which contains songs for little children, almost in the nature of nursery songs is a welcome addition to this branch of Gujarati Literature.

SANGIT MANJARI, Parts, I & II : *By B. D. Kulkarni. Published by Jamu Dani. New Era school, Bombay. Paper cover. Pages 92. Price annas twelve (1936).*

This book contains songs adapted to music, such as would interest school children. The technique is given by one who knows his subject well and teaches it in schools.

RAGASHIYUN GADUN : *By Manilal Jhaveri. Printed at the Joya Swadeshi Printing Press, Ranpur. Paper cover. Pages 92. Price Re. 1 (1935).*

The thirteen sections into which the book is divided treat of the various domestic and social practices, prevalent amongst the orthodox Hindus which keep them down so far as civilized life is concerned. The writer has laid his finger on real plague spots of our current life at home. The sooner they go the better.

ADYA ANTYAJUDDHARAK RAJAVI : *By Nagjibhai Arya. Printed at the Indira Printing Press, Baroda. Thick card board. Pages 144. Price Re. 1-8 (1935).*

This illustrated book contains a vivid picture of the steps taken by H. H. The Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda for the uplift of the depressed classes amongst his subjects. H. H. had to contend against many difficulties and old, orthodox prejudices, but he slowly overcame them all, and the result is that men like the writer a man belonging to such classes are able to look up and write books.

KATHIAWAD KAMLA : *By Pinak. Printed at the Bhagvat Sinhji Electric Press, Gondal. Cloth cover. Pages 24. Price Re. 1-4 (1935).*

A collection of poems on different subjects and of ordinary type; the price far outweighs the worth of the poems.

SHRIKRISHNA MAUJAN, Part I : *By Mrs. Indumati Desai of Broach. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. Card board cover. Pages 108. Price Re. 1-4 (1935).*

Seventy-eight hymns—all devoted to Lord Shrikrishna, in the old style and in Vraj, do great credit to the composer Mrs. Indumati Desai, who for the nonce turns herself into a devotee reminding one of Mira Bai.

SANKSHIPT-SAMIKSHA : *By Hiralal M. Desai. (B.A.). Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Thick card board. Pages 11+41+66. Price annas eight (1935).*

A brief literary appreciation of Gandhiji, Kalapi, Shelley and Wordsworth both in Gujarati and English. This is how the writer describes his book. There is a background both of study and thought to the work.

VERANMAN : *By Jhaverchand Meghani. Published by K. M. Dave, Denso Hall, Karachi. Paper cover. Pages 176. Price annas twelve (1935).*

"In the Desert" consists of about thirty-two short stories from the able pen of Mr. Meghani, treating of the various present problems in politics, economics etc.

SHIKSHAN SANSTHAS : *Published by D. B. Shukla of the Surat Zilla Vidyarthi Sahayak Sahakari Mandal Ltd. Paper cover. Pages 204. Price Re. 1 (1935).*

We wonder if there was any such guide book in Gujarati before this Co-operative Society of Surat undertook to publish it. It is a Directory in miniature form of all important Educational Institutions in India and gives all the necessary information up-to-date corrected with them. It is sure to prove useful.

1. SHRI RAJCHANDRANAN VICHAR RATNO : *By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pages 207. Price annas twelve (1935).*

2. SHRIMAD NI JIWAN YATRA : *By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pages 182. Price annas eight (1935).*

The first book gives selections from the thoughtful writings of Shrimad Raychandra, a Jain thinker, whom Gandhiji considers his guru in matters spiritual, and the second incidents in his life. Both are well executed.

VIMA NO SANDESH : *By Manibhai Desai with a Foreward by Bhulabhai J. Desai. Printed at the Advocate of India Press, Bombay. Paper cover. Pages 60. Price annas six (1935) Second Edition.*

Everything relating to Life Insurance would be found in this little book including the disabilities under which Indian Insurance Companies labour.

PREMA SWARUP SHRIKRISHNA, Part II : *By Mohanlal V. Gandhi. Printed at the Gayatri Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. Pages 209. Price Re. 1-4 (1936).*

This book is the translation of Swami Baba Premanand Bharati's "Shree Krishna, the Lord of Love." Part II. The translation keeps up all the characteristics of Part I and is very well rendered and would doubtlessly interest all devotees of Shrikrishna who are found in large numbers in Gujarat.

K. M. J.

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SARODA—AN OBSCURE SHRINE

By NITYANARAYAN BANERJEE

Saroda is one of the fifty-one *Mahapiths* (Great Shrines) of the Hindus. It is situated in a rather obscure valley on the border line of Tibet and Kashmere. It is not so much frequented by pilgrims and tourists as Kedar Badri or Pashupatinath. We were told that we are the first Bengalees to see the place with our ladies. So it is easy to understand its obscurity.

A Dancing Girl

From Srinagar, the capital of Kashmere, we started by boat for Sopur, from where we were to take either 'tonga' or bus to Tregam. It may be mentioned here that Sopur can also be reached direct by bus from Srinagar, but we preferred a river trip, for the pleasure of it and to see Khir Bhabani, another sacred place, on the way.

Our *kisti* was quite a big boat, having six chambers. These boats are generally used as kitchen boats of the houseboats; on these boats the boatmen pass their daily life. They are born and brought up here and live and die in them. We occupied three of the big compartments, and the boatman, with his wife, brother and two young daughters, occupied the smaller ones. We used the bigger compartment as our common bedroom and, the other as kitchen, where there were shelves, fire-places etc., and the smallest one was used as store-room. In our party we were seven; myself, my mother with her two lady companions and three sannyasis, of whom two had accompanied us before to Kailash and Manas-sarowar.

We were sailing slowly on the Jhelum, a quiet river in the plains of Kashmere. Excellent is a boat voyage on a quiet river—no jerk, no nervous strain, no noise, only the monotonous mild splash of the oars continued; every time I cast a look through the window, raising my eyes, from the face of the book, I saw the scenery changed. There was a village, then came a green field, the field disappeared, followed by a garden, and so on. That dull monotony in beautiful surroundings, away from the hum of the strenuous civilized life, is a delightful experience.

Towards the evening the weather became a bit stormy. The boatmen grew alarmed and took shelter under a tree. The bottom of all the boats in Kashmere is flat, so they capsize more easily than those of the plains of India. It was just a bit rough weather and not actually stormy; the boatmen of the lower plains would not have cared for it at all, but until the weather grew quiet our boatmen did not move. Soon we entered the Sind on our right from the Jhelum. It was in flood. There were rains on the upper hills and owing to the extreme heat of last few days the snow on the northern ranges melted and thus caused the flood. Many riverside villages were surrounded by flood water, many

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houses collapsed. cornfields were flooded, in some places patches of green paddy were thrilling with joy for their safe position; many snakes were seen floating on the river. At dusk, we cast anchor at Sadipur, a small village near the confluence of the Sind and Jhelum. This village, named Paritranpur in days gone by, was once the capital of Lalitaditya, the famous king of Kashmere. Shankar Barman shifted his capital from here in 900 A.D. to Pattan.

Early in the morning we started for Khir Bhabani and reached there at about 8 a.m. The temple is just beside the river. The yard is paved with stone and the temple is in the midst of a big *kund* (cistern), which was full of milk, water, flowers and other offerings offered by the devotees. The temple could not be reached from the banks of the *kunda*. So all offerings were thrown into the *kunda*. The idol was that of Vishnu and Laksmi. The place itself spoke of its old age. Once a year a big fair takes place here, when the Maharaja with the ladies of the royal family visits this place. A stream, named *Khirsagar* flows beside the temple boundary. Others went to bathe in it in that terrible cold to increase the credit balance of their piety, but I could not. I preferred to sit in a shop with a *kangri* in my shawl. Very comfortable and cosy things are these kangris ; —an earthen pot, set amidst bamboo frame in such a way that when taken in the long gown-like shirts of the Kashmiris or under wrappers, the fire within it gives heat, without catching the clothes. All Kashmiris are fond of it and use it as a necessity; generally they hang the kangris on their breast and that is why their breast is tanned red, while the rest of the body is of fair complexion.

We returned by the same route. On the way we saw many houseboats under a *chinar bag* (garden), which was Gandharbabal. Many health-seekers stay here in the houseboats from June to September. This is 12½ miles north of Srinagar. It can be reached by road also ; the climate is moderate, the temperature never rises here above 80 degree (F). Gandharbabal is surrounded by mountains on three sides and by the Sind on one side. From here a way leads to Tibet. Again, we were sailing on the Jhelum, the water of which was dirtier. The water rose higher than yesterday. Very cautiously the boatmen sailed on with the help of their oar, a peculiar type, not found on the plains below the Himalayas. After taking our lunch, while we were enjoying a siesta, the boatman exclaimed, " the boat won't go further". In surprise we jumped up—" why not? "—" The water level has risen very high, the boat won't pass under the *kada*."

We came out and saw a wooden *kada* or bridge on the Jhelum before us. We were disappointed, many onlookers came to see the *tamasha* and some suggested that, on getting *bakshish*, they could pass our boat through; but the boatman vehemently opposed the suggestion. On hearing what the tactics would be, we too did not dare support it. The trick was simple;—they would load the boat with 15 or 20 persons and thus sink the boat about a foot below the water, to get a clearance under the bridge.

Mukund Bayuji and family

This place is called Sambal, quite a big village.

We had to change our boat and took a new one. After a short while we anchored at a place to see *Manasbal* lake. This lake is connected with the Jhelum by a narrow canal. Manasbal is about two miles in length and is very deep. It is placed at the foot of Ahatang mountain, which is full of limestone. A branch of the Sind falls into the lake. A peak of a sunken temple was seen in its waters. The ruins of Darogabag, a pleasure spot of Jehangir, the Mogul Emperor, could be seen nearby.

In the evening we halted at Naidkhai. The ladies engaged themselves in cooking. Sankarnath Swami asked me to accompany him to the village in search of tea. I said jokingly, " Who may be waiting for you with tea ready this evening? "

" Come on, buck up, every door is open to the Sannyasis."

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"Well, but this fellow?" said I, pointing to myself. "Never mind; by keeping constant company with us, you are also transformed." Sankarnathji, Biswanathji and myself alighted. On our ascending the bank, a good house came to our sight. One pandit (all brahmins are termed pandits here) came forward and bowed to the Sannyasis. He enquired of our mission and most respectfully invited us to his house. Catching the first opportunity, Sankarnathji asked for tea. Soon many villagers came to have a *darshan* of the Sadhus and pilgrims. They were very dirty, poor and illiterate. Most of them were Mohamedans, who form about 97 per cent of the population. Agriculture is the main-stay of the villagers. Trade has been captured mostly by the Punjabis and Government and other offices are mostly held by the Hindus, most of whom are literate. The villagers of Kashmere are very poor. They wear just a strip of cloth to hide their shame, and dirty cap on their head. In winter they wrap the body with a 'lui,' a thick woollen rug, generally woven by their women folk. Women wear a long gown only and scarcely can afford to pay for underwear. We learnt later on that the villagers came to see the Sadhus more for medicine than for any pious desire to see them. They were greatly disappointed to hear that we did not know any herbal medicines for their diseases.

Kashmere has no newspaper of its own: only the *Tribune* and a few more papers had some circulation there. All political movements of British India were prohibited. Still the villagers of interior villages knew more or less about the movements of the plains below and about the great man, the Mahatma.

Tea was served on small bell-metal pots. We had to place the pots on our woollen wrappers, otherwise our hands would have been considered polluted and we had to wash them. The preparation of tea was not the same as that of the plains below the Himalayas. The green leaves of tea are boiled in water for a long time, along with cardamom, cinnamon and other spices; then milk and sugar is added. The tea-pot was a big jug-like thing within which fire always burns. These things are sold in the market with different marks for the Hindus and Mohamedans. Bedolna Pandit, our kind host and 'patoari' of the locality, very kindly gave us some *karamka shak* a sort of vegetable, and some condiments for our dinner.

Early in the morning we left Naidkhai. A vast sheet of water extended almost up to the horizon. Only the willow and other trees on the banks of the river demarcated the river bed, where the current was very strong. Very cautiously the boatman and his wife piloted the boat. As we proceeded, the river grew wider, until it lost itself in the vast water sheet of the Wular Lake, the largest sweet water lake of Kashmere. Near the confluence stands an island 'Sonalanka,' on which there are a mosque and a temple.

North-west of the Wular stands majestically eight snow-capped peaks of Harmukh (16,900 ft.). Below Harmukh is Bandipur, a small town. For its natural beauty, many spend here their holidays. A number of house-boats were seen on the water of Wulaer, near Bandipur. Gilgit, the lowest pass of the north-west frontier, can be reached from Bandipur, from where it is 193½ miles. The vast sheet of still water becomes covered with lotus during September and October. One can only imagine the beauty of the lotus-covered lake in the 'garden of the world.'

We reached Sopur at about 10-30 A.M. Sopur is the headquarters of the locality. There are post and telegraph offices. It is a big trading centre, having direct communications with Baramula and Srinagar; but the place was very dirty.

We took a motor bus to Handowara, only 16 miles from Sopur. But this was rather a mistake on our part. It would have been better, had we taken a 'tonga' and gone straight to Tregam. This would have saved a day. The bus ran through fields and gardens. The valley of Kashmere is wonderfully plain in the lap of the surrounding mountains at an altitude of more than 5000 ft.

We reached Handowara in the afternoon. We found out a dirty 'dharamsala' in a tottering condition. The floor of the first floor was full of holes, a slip through which meant a fall into the ground floor; the thatched roof was unrepaired. We tried to clean the place, but soon Nature began to cut practical jokes with us by pouring rains. A pandit, seeing the pitiable plight of the pilgrims, kindly invited us to his house. He was a middle class gentleman, aged about 30. The ladies of his family came to speak to ours; but none of them knew Hindi. So their attempt ended in soundless gestures only. Both the parties began to laugh owing to their silent movements and inability to express themselves. Generally men learn here three languages—Saroda, the mother-tongue, Persian, the court language, and Hindi, the trading medium. But women know only Saroda. Here we could come in close contact

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with a Hindu rustic family. They were very hospitable, amiable and frank. The women are most beautiful—both in complexion and cut of features. Fine prominent nose, their red lips, bright wide eyes, the heart-shaped countenance and the rosy complexion make them one of the most beautiful races of the world. Specially on the mountains, such a fine looking race is a wonder. Though they do not observe 'purdah,' every one was modest enough —'purdah'-ridden provinces should note. Child marriage was in vogue, but after the passing of the Kashmiri Sarda Act the marriageable age has gone up. The coiffure of the ladies is a wonderful art here. The hairs are interlaced into many fine plaits which are collected together and made into two plaits only, which hang on either side of the head. Probably owing to the trouble and time required they dress the hair at long intervals.

Married women wear a peculiar celluloid head-dress, about an inch wide ; it rests just over the forehead, two tapes hanging on both sides of it, with which gold and silver ornaments are tied. The maids do not wear this. Kashmiri Hindus are very orthodox. When they are in the kitchen, the males wear just a strip of cloth and remain bare-bodied even in cold weather, None of the family even is allowed to enter into the kitchen, excepting those who have bathed or have a washed cloth on. Those who have not got a separate kitchen, demarcate part of a room with a line and that part is considered a kitchen. The Brahmins (all the Hindus are Brahmin here) do not object to taking meals carried and touched by the Mohamedans. Hindu servants are seldom available. So Mohamedan servants carry tiffins and meals of the Hindu masters. But if they untie the cloth in which meals are kept, they are polluted ! In Kashmere wives of younger brothers call the elder brother of their husbands, brother and talk with them freely unlike those of Bengal.

Mukunda Bayu, our host, invited us to dinner. Rice, soup of 'Karam Shak' and its boiled stem were the only courses; but the sincere hospitality was the best sauce. Before we started eating, a young boy came with a jug of water and a pot and went from one to the other for a wash.

Next day we got a bus to Tregam. The bus was occupied by a scout troop. It seemed this movement was gradually spreading there. Handowara is probably a district town, having post office, jail, hospital and a good bazar. From the 'tahasildar' of Handowara, we got an order on the 'numberdar' of Tregam to help us as far as possible. Reaching Tregam, we found out the 'numberdar', who is a village 'Choukidar' and asked him to arrange for some porters to carry our luggage to Lodrowana, only 2½ miles from Tregam. From Tregam we had to commence our real mountain journey. Post Office, hospital, shops and conveyances are left behind here. Tregam is a good trading centre. The traders generally import their goods by boat from Baramula instead through Srinagar—this is cheaper. There were many shops, a mosque and a temple. The 'numberdar' soon brought the coolies. They charged three annas for that two and a half mile trip; each carrying one and a half maund of luggage. Cheap indeed!

The Temple

The way from Tregam to Lodrowana is rather plain, but grey and green mountains peeped in at the horizon. Sankarnathji had come to Saroda about twelve years ago and at that time he enjoyed the respectful hospitality of Tikaram and his brother Nandaram of Lodrowana and he was confident about their help, if they were alive. Fortunately both Nandaram and Tikaram were alive and they received us very cordially. They are prominent men of the locality and the coolies easily found out their house. They carry on trade and banking business and were said to be very rich but their style of living was very simple and unassuming. Luxury had not penetrated into the interior of these hills. For the night we were their guests. One woollen rug was spread for our seat and another rug was spread before us, on which dishes were to be served. Woollen rugs are deemed unpollutable and when meals are finished, dishes and the rug are removed. The

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place is not required to be washed. The grand old mother of our hosts sat nearby and was looking at us with great curiosity, while dexterously spinning wool with a charka. Their wives served us. The food was of better type than that of Mukunda Bayu's, still not very rich or in great variety, but was most palatable for the cordiality behind it.

Tikaramji arranged for ponies to carry our luggage. For the ladies, no other conveyance than ponies were available here. Dundee, Kandee or any other conveyance could not be had. So the ladies would have either to walk or ride. They preferred walking, and next morning along with some of the Swamijis started early in the morning. We started later on after placing our luggage on the back of the ponies. From here gradually the ascent begins. For two or three miles the road runs beside or on the bed of a stream. From Tregam we have left mile stones behind. So now I have to give the mileage by guessing or hearsay. After about 3 miles, we found a huge mountain obstructing our way. It was a massive monumental mountain shooting forth its head into the clouds. A short cut of a footpath runs on it almost straight from top to bottom; there was another better road made by the Kashmere Government, which runs on a zig-zag course and so has a greater length. We were at the foot of the 'Pakdandi' or foot track, and so preferred it. After a short while, commencing the ascent, we realised our foolishness and foolhardiness in choosing that risky way. The path was about a cubit or so wide and has a terribly steep gradient. Owing to heavy showers, some days ago, the road had been damaged and in many places had disappeared. In some place a huge block of stone, block about breasthigh, obstructed the way, elsewhere one had to depend entirely on the strength of a projecting piece of slate, used as a footstone, which if it gives way or from which if anybody slips, a drop of hundreds of feet awaits him, like the jaws of death. I must confess, we took a very great risk in coming by that way, and the other road, by which we returned, was far better and much less risky. One thing more. We could not gain much time by that steep dangerous road, or even if we could gain any, it was not worth the risk. Our horses went by the better road and reached the top almost at the same time as we did. The ascent is about 4½ to 5 miles and with much strain we could cover a mile per hour. When we reached the top of the mountain, a cold gentle breeze welcomed us and relieved us of all strain and exhaustion. After a rest of a few minutes, we commenced the descent. Descent is easy but to us it became difficult. The ladies wore shoes after a long time and the new shoes caused trouble. They could not keep pace with others. Naturally we had to slacken our pace while the declivity was pushing us from behind, as it were. Completing the descent, we got to the level path amdist the 'chir' (pine) forest. We walked and walked but without any sign of human habitation. Whenever we met a passerby or a cow-boy, with a herd of buffaloes, we enquired of him, "How far is Jumagand, please". "Well nearby, some two or three miles," answered he gravely, as if the distance was nothing. But alas! those two or three miles were never-ending; we walked and walked and asked everybody we came across about the distance and they were all unanimous, "Well Jumagand is just ahead, some two or three miles." Later on we realised, they have no idea of a mile, they just have heard of it and use it to indicate nearness. Their unit of length of a road is "parao," about 8 miles.

When we were dog-tired, we found a forest bungalow beside a stream. We thought of halting there for the day, but the horsemen vehemently objected to it. That was to them not a full 'parao' and they could not halt there. It was physically impossible for us to move ahead. So, while I began to show my hot temper, the Swamijis tempted them with extra 'bakshis', thus negotiating an honorary truce; and they agreed to stay, on payment of half a seer of 'ata' (wheat flour) and two annas extra per head.

At about three in the afternoon, we finished our meal beside the stream and enquired about the keeper of the bungalow. After much search, the horsemen brought a woman, who introduced herself as wife of the keeper, who was not at home. The Swamijis requested her to open the bungalow, but she stoutly refused. "Well I can't do it, that's a forest bungalow and not meant for passers-by; if I allow you, my husband's services will be at stake." But our lives were at stake in that lonely valley; there was not a single house, a shop or a hut, excepting that of the bungalow keeper at a distance. Where could we pass the night? Were we to die in that jungle without any shelter? I had to take the help of falsehood for the protection of so many lives. "Well, we have got orders from the Ranger Sahib to stay here," said I. "Please show me the order," demanded she. I was perplexed by the demand and showed her the letter of the Tahsildar of Handowara to the 'numberdar' of Tregam. She took it foom me and gravely gazed at it. I got nervous—now I

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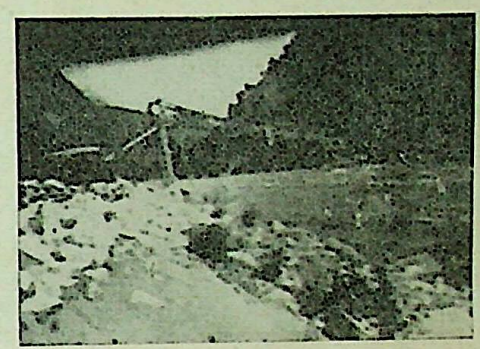
am caught! Soon she threw that letter, bursting into laughter. The earth was quaking under my feet—the insult was unbearable. A horseman said laughing, "She does not know how to read or write; she was pretending to read." I pooled on all my wits again and realising that the weak points was on her side, scolded her and sternly ordered her to follow me. We went up to the bungalow on the top of a hillock and it was opened. It was a nice clean bungalow almost entirely made of wood, having two rooms. The situation of the bungalow was rather romantic. We passed a comfortable night there, though it was quite chilly outside.

Early next morning we left the place, tipping the bungalow keeper to his satisfaction. The road was almost level but very slippery and muddy and ran through deeper forest. There were some small rivers and streams on the way; all were bridged by wooden suspension bridges or logs. The weather was cloudy. So we reached Dudhnial (10 miles) after an easy walk before noon. Tikaram's son has a grocery shop here and we had an introduction letter to him. He very gladly allowed us to stay in a verandah of his one-storied house. The climate was pleasant and moderate. Dudhnial is a very small place, with only Tikaram's son's shop and a 'habildar's' small house. This is the frontier village of Kashmere. Tibet is about 20 or 25 miles from this place. The 'havildar' is practically a customs officer here, who searches everybody crossing the Kisanganga river, which flows just at the feet of Dudhnial. The 'habildar' we met was very polite and behaved with us in a gentlemanly manner—nay, kindly. He voluntered to recruit for us some coolies, as we had to dismiss the horses from here. There was only a suspension bridge made of creepers, which was impassable by the horses. The bridge, about 300 cubits long, was terrible; on either side of the river two strong trunks of trees were posted; four strings of creepers were tied from one to the other, two to every post. The lower strings were then covered crosswise with thinner creepers and thus the base of the bridge was formed. Creepers were also woven side-wise, thus a busket-like suspension bridge was made. The creepers of the base were placed at an interval of half to one cubit and of the sides from one and one and a half cubits. To ride on the bridge, there was another trunk, with some cuts on it to be used as steps, leaning against the main posts. One has to ride on the stepping-trunk, balancing with much difficulty. The violent Kisanganga roars below the bridge. In case of a slip from the bridge, or if the bridge gives way by chance, the water of Kisanganga will no doubt lead the passerby to 'Kisanji'. But if the rider uses the belt attached by rings to the iron wires which were fixed with the posts on both sides, he may hang in the air in the middle of the bridge. But generally the local people do not use the belt, as they are accustomed to the bridge and the risk. Saroda, our destination, is said to be only 8 miles from Dudhnial. So we had enough time to go there the same day, had we taken coolies with us from Lodrowana,



The Suspension Bridge over the Kishanganga

instead of horses. We passed practically the whole day and night in Dudhnial. Cigarettes, 'ata', kerosene oil and other things which are brought from the plains, were dear here, but butter, ghee, etc., were cheaper. The place was very much infested with flies. Mohamedans shake hands here and the Hindus nod with a muttering "Namaste", when they meet each other.

Next morning we crossed the river with much difficulty. The ladies dared not cross the bridge on foot and had to cross it on the backs of porters. Crossing the river, we got to the plain road again. In some places the road crossed sandy mountains, and was in many places breached for the rains. It runs parallel to the Kisanganga. At about 11-30 A.M., we came near another bridge. Just opposite to it was the temple of Saroda. Many labourers were employed near the bridge for the construction of a new modern suspension bridge in the place of the old creeper bridge. Sarbadanandaji, one of the Sannyasis, first went over the bridge when the coolies cried out, "It is torn, don't walk on it." We were disappointed and grew nervous. Torn! What to do now? Just before us stood the temple, we could see it vividly on the other bank of the river. Had there been a boat on the river, the problem could have been easily solved, but those who have some acquaintance with the spirited inde-

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pendent rough rivers of the mountains, know very well how difficult it is to put the bondage of dependence on them. A permanent bridge with pillars in their beds is almost impossible and a boat on them will float like a piece of straw. But what to do? Have we to return broken-hearted! The coolies there suggested going ahead and crossing the river by another bridge 12 miles from that place and then again coming to Saroda. A solution indeed! but what an unpleasant one; to cover 24 miles more to come to the same place. And heaven knew what those 24 miles were; 24 or 48. I asked the coolies? where it was torn? It seemed to me quite in order, save that it was inclined at one side. They said: "Only a few days ago, while the 'tahasildar' was crossing it, it tore on one side. Luckily he was saved by his fellows, as he could hold the torn bridge which was tied at one side with the poles. Now it has been temporarily repaired but is not quite safe." There were no belts on this bridge, so the risk was greater. But our anxiety was still greater. I saw a local man crossing the bridge, and taking that to be an omen, I put my feet on it. Everybody of the party and the coolies cried aloud and forbade me not to be fool-hardy, but on my success lay the saving of the strain of 24 miles of the rest of the party. Cautiously I proceeded but when I reached the middle of the bridge, I was losing my balance. The side strings were not on the same level, the torn one was below the other, naturally I had to lean on one side and lose balance; at the same time the water, about a few cubits below, was foaming and roaring. I had to look downwards and it seemed the mad river was carrying me with its violent current; my head reeled, all the known faces flashed before my eyes in a moment; I left myself entirely at the mercy of the Almighty. I succeeded in my attempt and the others followed one by one. Excepting one, all the ladies crossed the bridge on the back of the coolies. While the last batch (Sankarnath and one of the ladies) was on the bridge, rains poured in, heavy clouds roared above and the weather grew stormy. This caused anxiety but cautiously and steadily the party crossed the bridge. Future pilgrims will be much relieved to know that the new bridge has been completed now and has replaced the old dangerous one.

Saroda is a small place, having only two or three grocer's shops, a silver-smith and a few families of pandits. The temple is on the top of a small mountain, on which flights of steps went up. Entering the temple gate we all shouted in joy, "Saroda Devi-Ki-Jai". The old temple is on a spacious yard. It seemed quite old, the upper portion was very badly damaged; the huge stone blocks of the steps were displaced and cracks appeared everywhere; the style of architecture was ancient. On both sides of the stairs there were some small and big stones and a 'Trisul' (trident), all smeared with vermilion. The image of the goddess is an almost circular, flat, huge block of stone coloured with vermilion. We met some local pilgrims, who had come to sacrifice some goats, their desire having been fulfilled. The place is situated on an altitude of more than 7000 ft. and from here many snow-covered peaks could be seen on the horizon. Saroda was once populated by many learned pandits, who were once famous for their deep knowledge of the Sastras. When Sankaracharya went out all over India to establish the supremacy of his school of philosophy, defeating the learned of other schools, he came to Saroda, too. It is said, when he wanted to enter the temple of Saroda, the goddess forbade him not to enter her temple, as he was polluted while he transfered his soul to the body of a king to get the knowledge of sexology. Then the debate ensued, if the soul is ever polluted. They say, ultimately the goddess was defeated and Sankaracharya got admission into the temple. Thus once this place was a great follower of the Vedanta philosophy. Along the compound walls there were sheds for the pilgrims, where we passed the night. The evening 'arati' was inspiring; during the 'arati,' the local pilgrims chanted some verses in a chorus in a sweet simple rhythm. The priest of the goddess invited us to lunch next day, but as we were to return early in the morning we declined the invitation with thanks.

Next morning with a drizzling sky overhead, we commenced our return journey. In many places fog and sun's rays leaking through the clouds created beautiful scenes in the bed of Kisanganga. The road was more damaged for last night's rain. It was a level descent. So we walked with ease and speed and reached Dudhnial and asked the coolies to accompany us so the distance of Dudhnial from Saroda is certainly not 8 miles, as they say; it must be more or less about 11 miles. We finished our meal at Duhunial and asked the coolies to accompany us to Tregam, but they refused to do so in fear of 'dhup' (the Sun). So the 'habildar' again very kindly recruited for us a new set of coolies and we started towards the afternoon to halt at the forest bungalow of Jumagand. This time the keeper of the bungalow, allowed us to stay there very gladly and placed himself entirely at our service. The poor fellow got only Rs. 5 per

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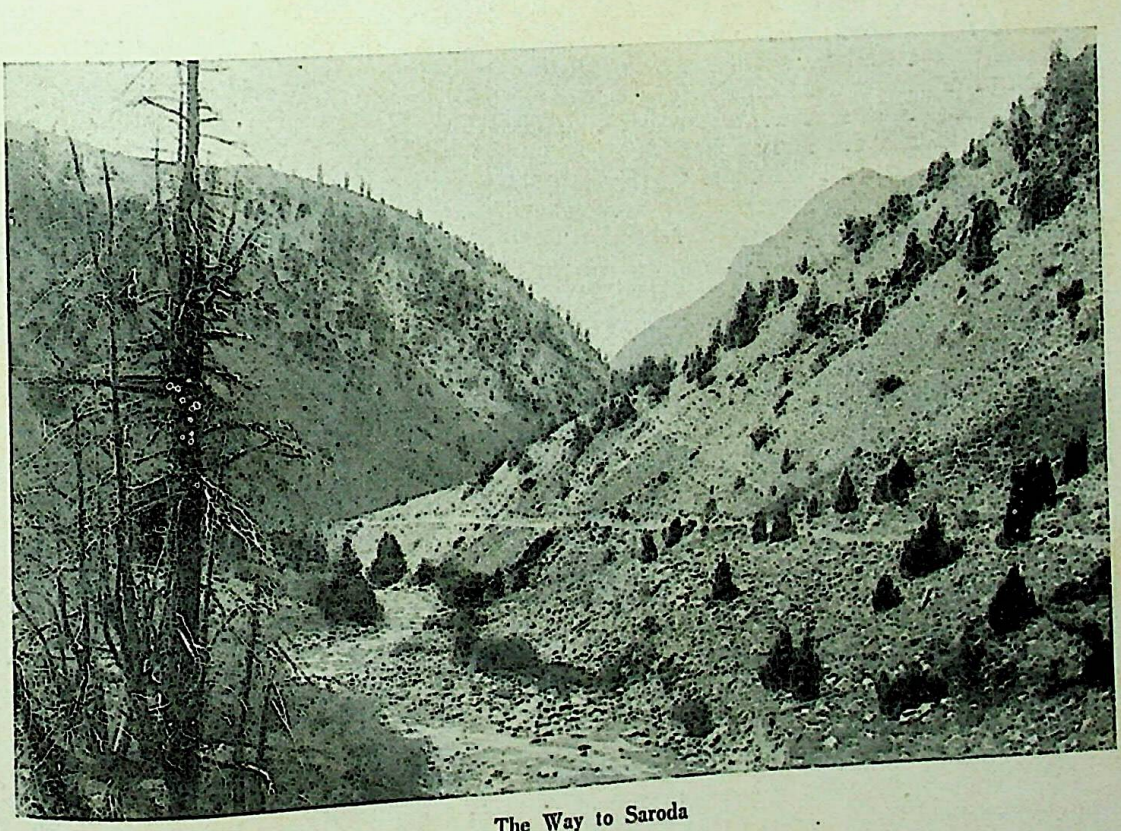
The Kisanganga



The Way to Saroda

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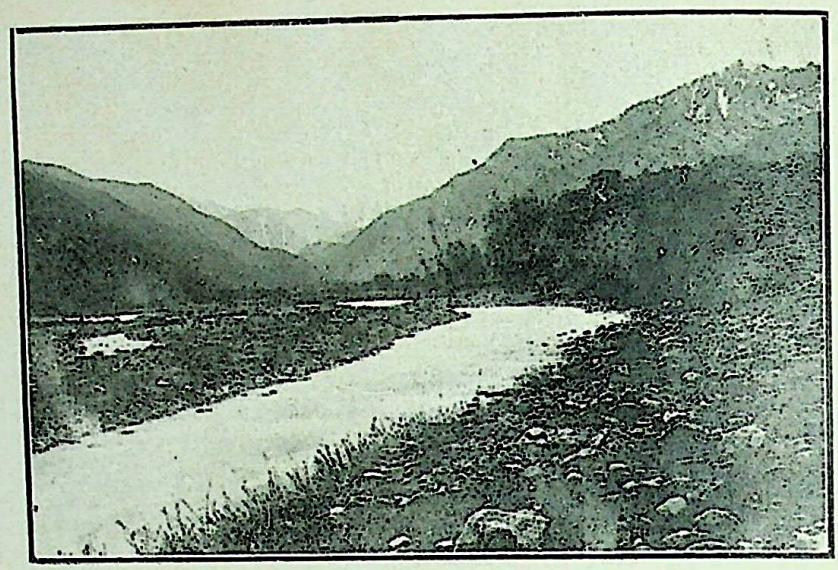

The Dudhganga

Marriage Ceremony in a Hindu family

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month. I tipped him again and said, "Take care of everybody from Calcutta." They do not know where is Bengal but have heard of Calcutta. The behaviour of predecessors tells upon the convenience or inconvenience of future tourist. So at least for the sake of future tourists, every tourist should behave well and treat the people of the places they visit in a gentlemanly manner and kindly.

After a rather short ascent we made the descent by the regular way instead of 'pak-dandee'. From the time taken, it appeared Lodrowana is not less than 12 miles from Jumagand; but the local people say it is 8 miles. Enjoying the kind hospitality of Tikaramji at noon, we started for Tregam.

At Tregam we halted at a dharamsala, near which was a crystal-clear tank called 'Chitragupta Kunda', which is said to be a sacred place. The tank was full of fishes, which play about fearlessly, as none take fish here.

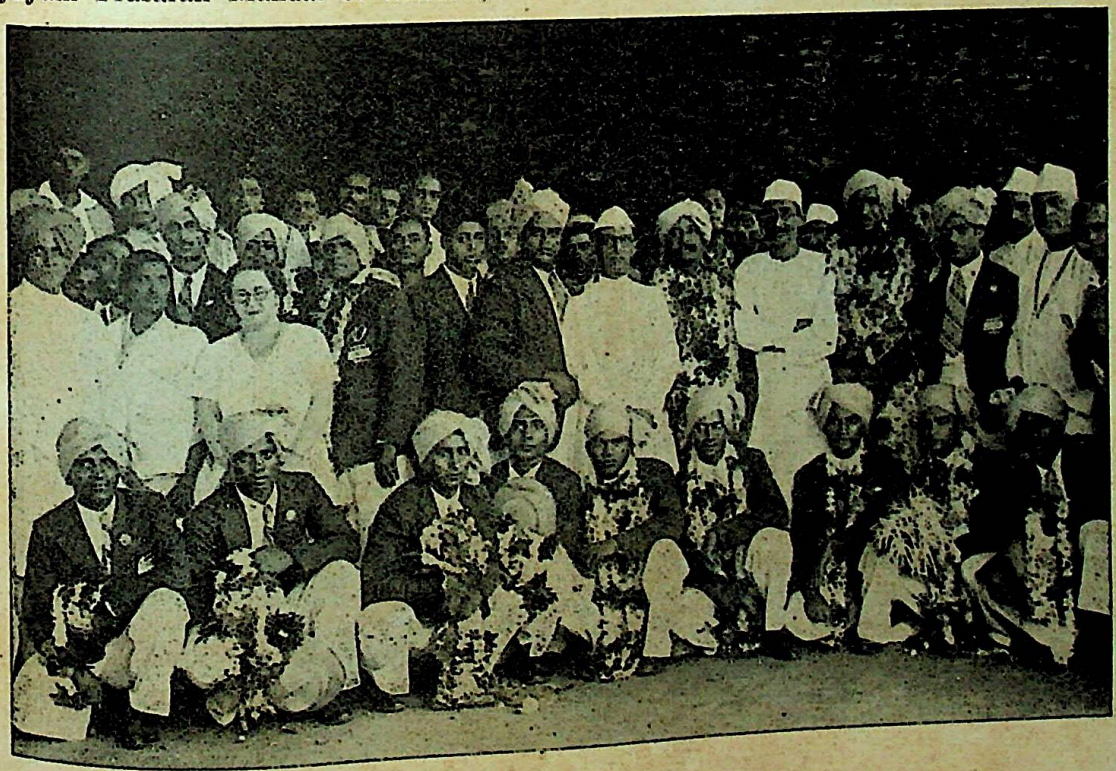
We decided to go back to Sopur direct by 'tonga', but no 'tonga' was available at Tregam. For conveyance the people of this place have to depend entirely on the incoming passengers who come by 'tongas'. We got two 'tongas' on the morning of the second day and at about 2 P.M., reached Sopur (30 miles) after a short halt mid-way.

From Sopur we took bus to Srinagar. The journey from Sopur to Srinagar through the plain, straight, 'safeda'-bordered roads of Kashmere, amidst the green fields, on which silvery streams run on a zig-zag course like steel swords, is a delight by itself.

HANUMAN VYAYAM PRASARAK MANDAL'S TEAM AT BERLIN

GREAT SUCCESS AND APPRECIATION IN DEMONSTRATION OF GAMES AND ATHLETICS

THE team of 24 athletes of the Hanuman Vyayam Prasarak Mandal of Amraoti, which started for the International Sports Students Congress at Berlin arrived here on the evening of the 22nd of July, and was received at the station by the Olympic International Congress



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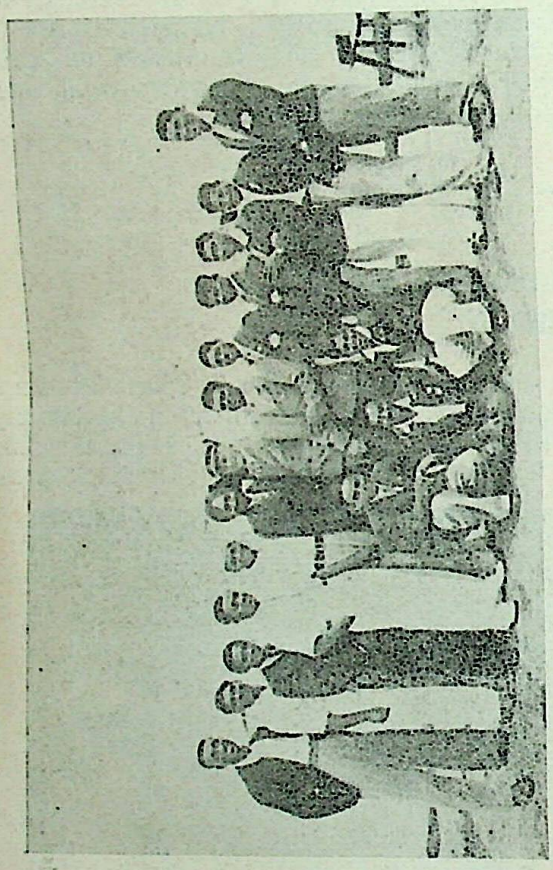
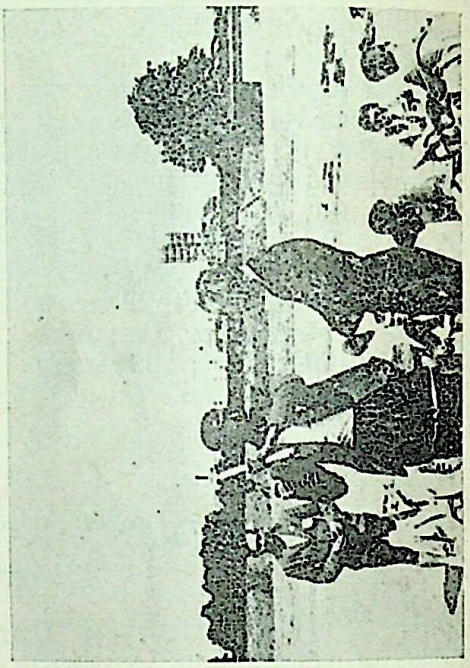
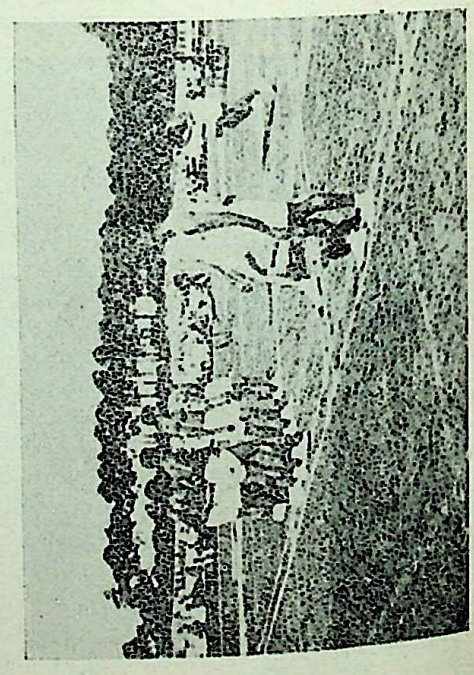


The Indian Atheletic Team with Mr. Eberhard, Officer-in-Charge of the Team



Mr. Asanare, leader of the team explaining the exercise of Lezim before the leaders of many nations by teaching one of them



The game of Atya-patya displayed on the 11th of August, 1936

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authorities. The session of the Congress began from the 24th morning and the team was introduced to Minister Rust by Dr. Krummel the President of the Congress Committee. About 31 nations had sent their athletes and physical culturists and the total number was about 960. Each nation was displaying its own games and the Indian team was given the chance to display its games and sports on the 29th of July. The gathering of spectators for the demonstration was fully representative and the reputed physical culturists of all the nations were present. The demonstrations began by a march past and the entry of the athletes was heartily cheered by the spectators. The team gave the demonstration of Hu-tu-tu, Malkhamb, Lezim and Indian club drill and fencing. All the games were very much appreciated by the spectators which fact was manifested by the constant applause. Especially the display of Hu-tu-tu and Malkhamb were liked by the scientists of physical culture so much that they were specially filmed and by now every man in the camp is trying to learn Hu-tu-tu, lezim and even a few feats on Malkhamb.

Cheers for Indian Team

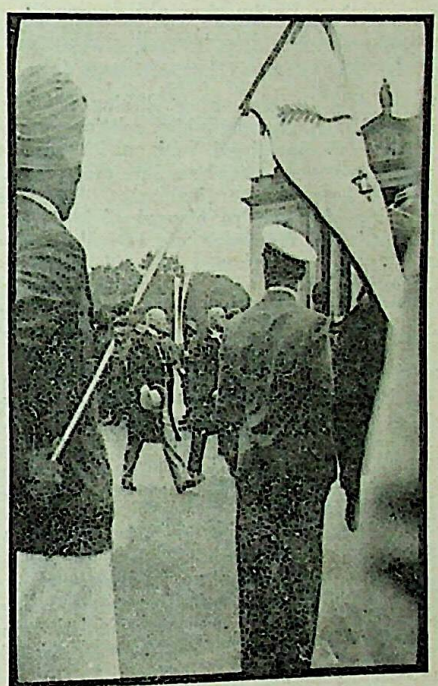
The huge crowd of about half a million and over that had gathered at the Unter Den Linden —the biggest street of Berlin, was gay and boistrous. There was cheering as the teams of various nations were passing by the road for the opening of the Olympic games on the 1st of August. The biggest cheers went to Indian team who were in their blues and safron turbans.

The members of the team took an active interest in the deliberations of the Congress and Dr. Kane, the leader of the team, delivered a lecture on "Indian System of Physical Education" and it was very much liked by all. Dr. Nash of America and Dr. Deim of Germany and Dr. Kudsen of Denmark specially thanked Dr. Kane for the nice way in which he expressed and explained the system.

The camp evening entertainments consisted of singing, dancing and other light activities. The Indian groups took keen interest and active part in all these and its song "Ekla Chalo Re" of Rabindranath Tagore was so much appreciated that the Indian team was invited on the opening night of the Olympiad to sing the song at the Stadium before the huge gathering of about 200,000 people.

Special Second Chance of Displays

Being very much impressed by the demonstrations given by the athletes of the Hanuman Vyayam Mandal the Sports Congress Committee requested the Indian team to have one more performance and accordingly one more display was given on the 11th of August. The demonstrations were very successfully conducted before a huge gathering of athletes and lovers of physical culturists from all over the world which also included the Indians residing at Berlin and the members of the Oriental Club. The Cane Malkhamb Feats of Yogic Physical Culture (Asans), and the games of Kho-kho and Atya-patya were appreciated by all.



Flag Salute to Baron Coubertin, President, International Olympic Committee and the founder of Modern Olympics and Dr. Lenald, President of XI Olympic Games

Social Functions

The leader and the team was invited for dinner and social functions by prominent associations and Ministers of German Government.

Unique Honour

A unique honour to the activities of the Hanuman Vyayam Prasarak Mandal of Amraoti was given by the International Olympic Committee in its special meeting held on the 31st of July when in the competition for the Olympic Cup for the year 1936 the H. V. P. Mandal was placed second and was behind the first by only a few votes. This is a unique honour to India in general and H. V. P. Mandal in particular as it was the first time when India's work in the line of physical culture was recognized and considered by the International Olympic Committee.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Universal Literature

The following is the abridgement of an article on universal literature by Rabindranath Tagore in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

All our faculties are for establishing relations with the rest of the universe, by which relations we become true, whereby we apprehend truth, and without which our separate existence and the separate existence of other things would have had no significance. Such relations are three-fold : of knowledge, of need, of joy.

The relation of knowledge may be called an adverse relation like that of a hunter with his quarry. Then comes the relation of need, a practical relation that involves co-operation, with which it brings truth nearer to us. Lastly, there is the relation of beauty, of joy, where all separateness disappears, no feeling of pride remains, and there is nothing in the way of our intimacy with the meanest, the weakest thing. In short, the relation of knowledge is our school, the relation of need our office, the relation of joy our home. We are not all the time at school, we do not wholly belong to our office, it is only in our home that we gain the relief of self-surrender.

What, then, is this relation of joy? It is the knowing of oneself as another, of another as oneself. When we know in this way, no further question arises. We never ask why we love ourselves; the very consciousness of self is a joy. When we are similarly conscious of another, we have likewise no reason to ask why we love.

This extension of man's being outside itself is first and more easily, and finally most completely, effected in another human being, through sight and sound, thought and imagination, and in all the varied relations of affection. That is why man's life brims over with fulfilment in knowing, loving and working for other men.

Though the panorama of man passes before us, there is left unfulfilled within us the desire to make it our own. My love for what I behold must find adequate expression embellished by beautiful language, so that it may secure permanent place in my heart, and not drift away on the current of the fleeting world.

Thus does every external phenomenon,—be it the splendour of sunrise, the brilliance of a great character, some deeply felt emotion, anything that appears to us admirable because it stirs us into an ususual intensity of consciousness, make our heart desire to capture it for itself by force of its own creative activity, for the purpose of greater self-manifestation.

The process of man's self-expression is carried on chiefly in two streams, the one of his works, the other of his literature. These streams, into which man pours out himself, flow along side by side, supplementing and fulfilling each other. Man can only be completely known in the history of both.

Nevertheless, in the field of man's work, self-expression is incidental, not his primary concern.

Man's heart is not sufficient unto itself. It wants to spread its emotions over the outside world. It can fulfil itself only by somehow or other making true without, what it feels as true within.

The one endeavour of the heart is how to become as true without as within. Its constant longing is to give objective reality to its emotions in the world outside. When the man of riches feels opulent, he many exhaust all his wealth in his anxiety to display it. When the lover realises his love, he becomes willing, in some supreme moment, to sacrifice his all, even life itself, in order to make it true in the world. Always there is the desire in the heart to establish itself in the All.

There is a line of the Vaishnava poet, Balaramdas: *Who brought you out from within my own being?*

That is to say, the beloved belongs to the heart itself, and its yearning is to get back its own. There is also the opposite endeavour : when it fails to find outside that which is within, the heart seeks to make an outward image of what it feels with the aid of all kinds of devices. Thus goes on the play of making the world one's own and expanding oneself in the world, for the sake of which man is willing to give up all else.

When the counterpart of the same endeavour appears to be made by the outside world, to enter into relations with man by means of beauty, his heart responds at once, and surrenders unquestioningly. Only the heart of man can realise that there is a heart in the universe, and both seek expression in mutual communion.

The two aspects of work and emotion are thus to be found in the universe. Its working we cannot see fully, nor is our intellect competent to grasp the whole of it. But its aspect that appeals to our emotions is immediately open to us. What is beautiful is lovely, what is grand is admirable, what is terrible is awe-inspiring. Their entry into our heart, their attraction for our heart, is direct. There may be an intermediate play of hide and seek, of consequent delays in consummation, but there is nothing in it beyond expression on either side, followed by mutual communion. The wisdom of God is seen in the working of the universe, His love in the joy that permeates it. It is difficult to discover God in its working, but not so when participating in its joy, for that is of His essence.

This is also true in the world of man. Here, likewise, intellect works and joy wells up. The former makes for self-preservation, the latter for self-expression. The one is necessary, the other beyond necessity. Necessity obstructs expression, expression overlooks necessity. Self-interest is parsimonious, in profusion is joy revealed.

In literature self-interest is at a safe distance. Grief casts a mist of tears over our hearts, but does not wound our lives. Fear agitates our hearts, but does not harm our bodies. Pleasure titillates our hearts, but does not make us besides ourselves by rousing our desires too strongly.

What then is revealed through literature? It is our wealth, our plenitude, that part of our being which overflows in excess of our actual needs, which has not been exhausted in the process of practical life. In such excess is humanity truly expressed. That man hungers is true, but that he is brave is still more true. The superman,

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the ideal towards which man is progressing, is being evolved by his literature, and such permanent ideal is being accumulated therein as a guide for each succeeding generation.

To view literature as belonging to a particular person, place or time, is not to see it truly. What literature has to give us can only be properly apprehended when we realize that through it humanity of all time is seeking expression. Only the works of such authors as have felt within themselves the sentiments of all mankind, have found permanent place in literature; and its several makers belonging to different countries and epochs are but the workmen who have assembled to carry out a given design.

In the field of what I call universal literature, the thing to be seen is, how man is there giving expression to the joy which is at the source of his being; in what aspect, whether as sinner, enjoyer, or self-conqueror,—he, in different moods and circumstances, essays to hold himself forth, how through all such aspects and variations his soul is ever striving to know its own significance.

In the Ramayana and Mahabharata, in innumerable folk-tales, ballads and devotional songs, is distributed to each and all, by day and by night, the nectar welling up in the heart of humanity. Behind the meanest countrymen of ours stand the heroic figures of Rama and Laksmana, through the dingiest of his dwellings flow the heart-stirring breezes of their forest retreat; his rainy season has been amplified and made more beautiful in the rains perpetuated in our poems and songs, in Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*, in Vidyapati's lyrics; the petty joys and sorrows of his meagre home are presented to him in larger perspective in the joys and sorrows of royal dynasties told in drama and epic; his heart's yearnings for his little daughter are annually celebrated in the eternal story of Uma's separation from and reunion with her father, the Mountain King; the creations, the radiations of man's heart mitigate, with the embrace of their soft, bejewelled arms, the hardness and poverty of man's work-a-day world.

I ask you thus to see universal literature as enveloping all mankind with a halo of beauty and virtue. You must see how his physical life has thus expanded into its surrounding spiritual life,—the larger world that literature has created round his smaller world of actuality.

A Road-side Interlude

"Surely our *jai* is for the people who live in India, the many millions who live in her villages and cities," explained Jawaharlal Nehru to the Jat peasants of a village in Rohtak district. The road-side interlude is reproduced from the Pandit's article in the *Triveni*:

We had had a heavy day full of meetings and processions. From Ambala we had gone to Karnal and Panipat and Sonepat and, last of all, Rohtak. The Punjab tour with all its enthusiasm and crowds was at last over. A sense of relief came over me after the long strain, and a weariness which demanded sleep from which there would be no quick awakening.

Night had fallen, and we rushed along the Rohtak-Delhi road, for we had to catch a train at Delhi that night. I could hardly keep awake. Suddenly we had to pull up, for right across the road sat a crowd of men and women, some with torches in their hands. They came to us and when they had satisfied themselves as to who we were, they told us that they had been waiting there since the afternoon. They were a hefty lot of Jats, petty zamindars most of them, and it was impossible to go on without a few words to them. We got out and sat there in the semi-darkness surrounded by a thousand or more Jat men and women.

'*Quami nara,*' said someone and a thousand throats answered lustily, three times, '*Bande Mataram.*' And then we had '*Bharat Mata ki jai*,' and other slogans.

"What was all this about," I asked them, "this '*Bande Mataram*' and '*Bharat Mata ki jai*'?"

No answer. They looked at me and then at one another and seemed to feel a little uncomfortable at my questioning. I repeated my question: "What did they mean by shouting out those slogans?" Still no answer. The Congress worker in charge of that area was feeling unhappy. He volunteered to tell me all about it but I did not encourage him.

"Who was this 'Mata,' whom they saluted and whose '*jai*' they shouted?" I persisted in questioning. Still they remained silent and puzzled. They had never been asked these strange questions. They had taken things for granted and shouted when they had been told to shout, not taking the trouble to understand. If the Congress people told them to shout, why they would do so, loudly and with vigour. It must be a good slogan. It cheered them and probably it brought dismay to their opponents.

Still I persisted in my questioning and then one person, greatly daring, said that 'Mata' referred to '*dharti*,' the earth. The peasant mind went back to the soil, his true mother and benefactor.

"Which dharti," I asked further, "the *dharti* of their village area, or of the Punjab, or of the whole world?" They were troubled and perplexed by this intricate questioning, and then several voices arose together asking me to tell them all about it. They did not know and wanted to understand.

I told them what 'Bharat' was and Hindustan, how this vast land stretched from Kashmir and the Himalayas in the north to Lanka in the south, how it included great provinces like the Punjab, and Bengal and Bombay and Madras. How all over this great land they would find millions of peasants like themselves, with the same problems to face, much the same difficulties and burdens, and crushing poverty and misery. This vast country was Hindustan, '*Bharat Mata*,' for all of us who lived in it and were her children. 'Bharat Mata' was not a lady, lovely and forlorn, with long tresses reaching to the ground, as sometimes shown in fanciful pictures.

'*Bharat Mata ki Jai.*' Whose *jai* then did we shout? Not of that fanciful lady who did not exist. Was it then of the mountains and rivers and deserts and trees and stones of Hindustan? 'No,' they answered, but they could give me no positive reply.

"Surely our *jai* is for the people who live in India, the many millions who live in her villages and cities," I told them, and the answer was pleasing to them and they felt that it was right.

"Who are these people? Surely, you and the like of you. And so when you shout *Bharat Mata ki jai*, you shout your own *jai* as well as the *jai* of our brothers and sisters all over Hindustan. Remember that *Bharat Mata* is you and it is your own jai." They listened intently and a great light seemed to dawn on their heavy peasant minds. It was a wonderful thought—that this slogan they had shouted for so long referred to them, yes to themselves, the poor Jat peasants of a village in Rohtak district. It was their *jai*. Why then let us shout it again, all together and with right good-will: *Bharat Mata ki jai.*

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And so on into the darkness to Delhi city and the train, and then a long sleep.

Who Designed the Taj

In the following article abridged from the pages of *The Twentieth Century*, Nandalal Chatterji refutes the absurd theory of the European origin of India's architectural wonder :

Of the two legends relating to the supposed European designer of the Taj, one is on the face of it simply preposterous, and has been rejected by all modern writers. It is Sleeman who was responsible for the fanciful suggestion that Ustad Isa referred to in all contemporary Persian chronicles as one of the chief architects employed by Shah Jehan to build the Taj was no other than Austin-de Bordeaux, a Frenchman in the Emperor's service, because the name 'Ustad Isa' literally signifies 'Master Jesus,' *i.e.*, a Christian, and as it is known that the latter alone was the most prominent European artist at the Moghal Court at this time, he may have been popularly known as 'Ustad Isa.'

A study of the contemporary sources reveals that Ustad Isa was only the abbreviated name of Muhammad Isa Effendi who, according to the most reliable sources like the *Badshahnama*, the *Aml-i-salih* etc., was a resident of Rum (Constantinople).

The other legend which is merely more plausible than the first one has been stoutly supported by writers like Keene, Vincent Smith, the Rev. H. Hosten, etc. A Spanish friar, Father Manrique, who came to India in Shah Jehan's time is the original author of the story that a Venetian, Geronimo Veroneo, planned the Taj. The truth of this story entirely depends upon the credibility of Manrique's assertion, as no other contemporary traveller or chronicler repeats it.

A number of arguments have been advanced in support of Manrique's account. Firstly, that no Indian chronicler mentions Veroneo's name is not surprising, as the Muslim writers may have intentionally suppressed the details concerning the share of a European in the construction of the Taj in order to give the entire credit to Muslim architects. Secondly, there is a reason why Manrique should have wilfully concocted the story. He had every opportunity to learn the facts concerning the Taj. Besides he is known to have been on friendly terms with Asaf Khan, the father of Mumtaz. As such, he must be expected to have made his statement from personal knowledge. Thirdly, Manrique published his work in Europe in 1649, *i.e.*, before the work on the Taj was completed, which shows that he wrote about it before he could have had a full idea of the grandeur of the finished building. Fourthly, although Veroneo died in Lahore, his body was brought to Agra where he was buried in 1640. This fact clearly indicates the importance of the man. Fifthly, the actual design of the tomb is not European, yet it was not impossible for a clever European to have made it in consultation with, and with the help of, local architects. Sixthly, as Veroneo died before the completion of the Taj, Ustad Isa may have been the chief superintending architect in the later stages of the construction, and this may be the reason why the former's name has been ignored in the chronicles. Seventhly, Father Catron wrote in his 'History of the Mogul Empire' (London, 1709) that the Delhi gardens were planned by a Venetian. Father Hosten has argued that the Agra gardens were also planned by a Venetian, as the Anguribagh shows Italian design; and because the garden of the Taj is a part and parcel of the building, and is co-ordinated with its architectural idea, it may be assumed that the same Venetian planned the Taj also. Eighthly, the proposed site and the foundation of Shah Jehan's own tomb on the other side of the Jumna indicate an un-Indian and Italian character. The proposed bridge over the Jumna also could never have been planned by an Indian engineer, as no Indian had previously undertaken to bridge a river as broad as the Jumna. Lastly, the famous screen railing round the cenotaph, and the inlay work show Italian influence, and support the story of the Italian designer of the Taj.

Although this view has been thoroughly exposed by several responsible art-critics, it still survives in some quarters :

Among the modern critics who have ridiculed the story of Manrique, the names of Mr. E. B. Havell, and Sir John Marshall are the most prominent. Both on historical and artistic grounds it may be convincingly shown that the legend of the European designer is fantastic.

The Persian chronicles have left the fullest details with respect to the Taj, its builders, their salaries, the total cost of the buildings, and its materials etc., and they all mention the Turkish, the Irani, and the Indian architects, craftsmen, and gardeners. I would be absurd to say that they could all jointly conspire to suppress the name of a European. It is again noteworthy that no other European traveller corroborates Manrique's account. Had it been accurate, competent observers, like Bernier, Travernier, and Manucci would surely have been the first people to give due credit to a fellow-European. Some of them have given currency to the wildest of gossip heard by them.

It is probable that the Italian may have been employed in some humble capacity during the construction, and as he died long before the completion of the buildings, his name has not been mentioned in any chronicle.

As a matter of fact, the general plan of the tomb is taken from Humayun's tomb at Delhi. Of this there can be no doubt at all. In the latter monument also can be seen the introduction of that stone inlay which reached its perfection in the Taj, and its four corner cupolas and the narrow-necked dome were all adopted in the Taj.

The entire conception of the Taj is so Indian that the very mention of European influence in it sounds ridiculous. The whole internal evidence of the building militates against the theory of its European origin.

The human quality of the Taj is the supreme psychological proof of Indian character.

The Taj is the expression in living marble of a superb conception of feminine beauty and conjugal love.

The Taj was meant to be feminine, because it is Mumtaz herself. No amount of casuistry or propaganda can entitle an obscure European adventurer to be ranked as its designer.

The fable of the Venetian builder, which is no better than a bedtime tale, merely illustrates the superiority complex of a class of European writers who believe that everything of outstanding merit in India must have originated from Europe.

Authentic Leaders

Dr. Kalidas Nag, Editor of *India and the World*, exhorts, in an article in *The Aryan*

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Path, with special reference to India, leaders of Asiatic thought, to remember the undying legacy they have gained from their authentic leaders in the past :

A study of the facts of our progress, however, leads to a definite conclusion that very few of us are born leaders, while most of us are being led, raising naturally the difficult psycho-ethical question of the *Guru*. However corrupted today, the institution of the *Guru* was noble and uplifting. Its pristine condition may be well described thus :—the *Guru* was not there to command, though the *Chela* lived by obedience. The *Guru* did not pull and push the *Chela*. now here now there, but ever instructed by suggestion and hint, enabling the pupil to see deeper so that he might live more intelligently. Thus in every *Yuga* in India we find spiritual leaders in one form or another, as Vedic Gods, as Divine Rulers, as Wise Sages—ever the compassionaters of men.

Already in the pearly light of the Vedic dawn we appealed to the Shining Ones :—

O Agni! take us by the good path
leading to welfare and blessing.
(*R. V., I. 189,1*)
O Varuna and Mitra! lead us forward.
O Venerable Indra and Maruts!
Show us the best way to prosperity.
(*R. V., I. 90*)
Direct me O Rudra! that I may not
deserve thy worth. (*Y. V. XV., 15*)
Let my inspiring hymn go forth to
Vishnu the all-pervasive One.
(*R. V., 124,3*)

He who gives breath or soul (*atmada*), *who gives strength* (*balada*), *who commands or leads all* (*even*) *the gods; whose shadow is Death as well as immortality* (*Yasya cchayamrtam yasya mrtyuh*), *to what God shall we offer our oblations?* (*R. V., x. 121.2*)

Coming down from the remote *Samhitas* to the *Brahmanas* of the later Vedic period, we find that Daivic leaders like Indra came to be consecrated into quasi-human Ruler-Leaders. The grand coronation ceremony of the *Mahabhiseka* shows this. In the eternal fight between the spirits of Good and Evil, there is no victory except through the King-Leader. Hence *Rajan* comes to arrest anarchy and Indra and Varuna are styled *Samrat* or imperial rulers (*R. V.*, v. 85; vii. 82).

Occasionally the sacerdotal texts present us with the portrait of a human ruler-leader like Sudas in the section of the "Battle of Ten Kings" and the Vedic Sudas has his epic incarnations in Sagara, Raghu and a host of other leaders of men crowding the epic canvas of Valmiki and Vyasa. In the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* we read about not only the defication of the human hero kings, but the humanization of the gods as well. In the opening cantos of our premier epic *Ramayana* we find a wonderfully poetic narrative of creative evolution from the geological formations (*Ram.*, I, 36—37) to the descent, under the guidance of Bhagiratha, of the Ganges to the earth. We also read of colossal feats like the excavation of the ocean beds and the churning of the ocean, finally leading to the creation of the archetypes of life and society (*Ram.*, I, 40-45). The Vedic or possibly pre-Vedic Rudra-Siva and Vishnu-Krishna came to dominate the stage of Hindu leadership, with such a brilliant gallery of leaders (*netr nayajna*) and with such a sublime improvisation on *niti* (Science of Polity) in the *Santiparvan*.

In the domain of intellectual and moral leadership also we get now the personal touch. The hymns of the Sage Dirghatamas prepare the way for the profound speculations of Yajnavalkya and specially of his noble wife Maitreyi who uttered the sublimest prayer of humanity :—

Lead us from the unreal to the Real, from darkness to Light, from death to Immortality.

What a lead to Humanity from this prophetic daughter of India!

Rulers of men from our *Kshattriya* group (and not the *Brahmanas* only) have often emerged as great leaders of thought and spirit like Janaka and Bhisma, Mahavira and Buddha. Our people have expressed their gratitude by the poetic deification of their Hero-Kings *par excellence*, Rama of Valmiki and Krishna of Vyasa. These are some of our authentic leaders and it is difficult to find in literature a more noble characterization of temporal leadership than that of Rama (*Ram., I,* 1) or of spiritual leadership than that of Krishna in the *Bhagavad-Gita* of the *Mahabharata*.

Quasi-legendary and literary apotheosis apart, India has produced, throughout her well-differentiated historic epochs, authentic leaders like Mahavira and Buddha, Asoka and Vikramaditya, Sankaracharya and Ramanuja, Nanak and Chaitanya, Kabir and Dadu, Tiruvalluvar and Tukaram, Akhar and Sivaji, to mention only a few of the great galaxy of our classical and medieval epochs. Even during the disintegration of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the nation was at its lowest ebb of political and social consciousness, we have had Baji Rao and Ranjit Singh, Rammohun Roy and Swami Narayan, Ramkrishna and Vivekananda, Tagore and Gandhi.

May the blessing of our spiritual leaders encourage us, in this very Age of Rebarbarization, to strive for the re-establishment of the kingdom of the compassionate mind and the enlightened heart!

India's Past and the West

In dealing with India as the cultural *Guru* of the west in *The Vedanta Kesari*, Dr. Dhirendra Nath Roy, Professor of Philosophy in the University of the Philippines, makes the following observations on the glorious achievements of India in the past :

Can the people of India build up a healthy present or dream of a golden future without due regard to their past? What inspiration can a subject people have to build its destiny anew when its existing political status is an implicit surrender of national self-confidence and a homage to an alien race? There is no greater religion to a subject people than to save its own ideal, its national soul; for, otherwise it lapses into a degrading idolatry by consciously or unconsciously worshipping the alien rulers.

India's past was so full of glory and greatness that it once made her appear like the paradise on earth, a dream-land of the whole mankind. Her splendour, whether material or moral or spiritual, was simply staggering to human imagination. Her material products were so fine and unrivalled that all ancient nations eagerly sought to have trade relations with her. It is said that even ancient Egypt and Chaldea "were commercially its vassals and dependents." The people of these countries saw the Indians well versed in practical science and art and highly skilled in manufacturing work. "India offered for sale articles not elsewhere to be found : the shining warts of the oyster; glass-like stones dug up

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out of the bowels of the earth, or gathered in the beds of dried-up brooks; linen which was plucked as a blossom from a tree, and manufactured into cloth as white as snow; transperent fabrics, webs of woven wind which, when laid on the dewy grass, melted from the eyes; above all, those glistening glossy threads stolen from the body of the caterpillar, beautiful as the wings of the moth into which that caterpillar is afterwards transformed." (Winwood Reade *The Martyrdom of Man*).

The expert navigators of Guzerat took these things to Chaldea and Egypt where they found good markets for all of them. At a much later period the phœnicians carried many varieties of Indian goods to the people of Europe, whose ambition grew up as they saw such wonderful things, and heard even more wonderful stories about India. The Persians and the Arabs followed the Phœnicians to make themselves rich by selling Indian goods to the Europeans. Large and prosperous cities arose on the routes through which such goods were carried and perished when the routes were changed.

Later yet, the merchants of Venice and Genoa became fabulously rich by monopolising the Indian trade in Europe. When this became known to other people of Southern Europe, they too were fired with great ambition to establish their own trade relation with India. Columbus was sent out to discover a sea route. The Portuguese people sent Vasco da Gama who succeeded in discovering a sea route to India by way of the South African coast and returned triumphantly after thirty-two months with a letter from a Hindu king. It was a great occasion for the Portuguese people. "That night all the houses of Lisbon were illuminated." They saw no less than what an American scholar recently described as things which the British people saw when they first arrived in India. "Nearly every kind of manufacture," says he, "or product known to the civilized world—nearly every kind of creation of man's brain and hand, existing anywhere, and prized either for its utility or beauty—had long, long been produced in India. India was a far greater industrial and manufacturing nation than any in Europe or than any other in Asia. Her textile goods—the fine products of her looms, in cotton, wool, linen and silk—were famous over the civilized world; so were her exquisite jewellery and her precious stones cut in every lovely form; so were her pottery, porcelains, ceramics of every kind, quality, colour and beautiful shape, so were her fine works in metal—iron, steel, silver and gold. She had great architecture—equal in beauty to any in the world. She had great engineering works. She had great merchants, great businessmen, great bankers and financiers. Not only was she the greatest ship-building nation, but she had great commerce and trade by land and sea which extended to all known civilized countries."

The Spaniards, of course, went to their newly-discovered America, but amidst all their adventurous undertakings there, they could not forget India. A big party of explorers headed by Ferdinand Magellan left the American shores to discover a Pacific route to India. They arrived at a group of islands which they later called the Philippines but which they thought was a part of India and the natives of which were *Indios* or Indians. It seems the very name of India was such an obsession with them that wherever they arrived in course of their search for that blessed land they liked it to be no other country than India. Other European peoples like the Dutch, the English. and the French tried to follow the examples of the Portuguese and the Spaniards. Naturally there ensued, among these peoples, hard rivalry and clash of interests. In that clash finally flashed the good fortune of the Englishmen who rose above all others and took, with a stately mien, the lion's share of India's trade. That lion's share has served England splendidly to let it rise from its extreme insignificance in every respect to a state of unrivalled power and prosperity. India has made what England is to-day and it is nothing but false pride that stands in the way of recognising this truth.

Maharshi Devendranath Tagore

From Dayaram Gidumal's Tpavelogue of a Social Reformer in the Nineties, dated January, 1898, appearing in the *Young Builder*, is quoted the following account of the Maharshi:

The founder of the Adi Samaj is perhaps the most noticeable man in Calcutta. His has been a beautiful life, and a glance at his venerable appearance inspires you with a feeling of admiration almost bordering on adoration. He is now somewhat deaf, and not a little infirm owing to his great age. But his soul is lustrous, and his love for Him who is Law and Love shines in his countenance and finds utterance in every word he speaks. He has imbued himself with the spirit of Nanak and other true *Bhaktas*, and you find him familiar not only with choice gems from the Granth, but from the poems of Hafiz, the Upanishads and the Gita. To my question: "How can one realize the Unseen?," he replied by quoting the beautiful verse from the Gita: "A man of *faith* (*shraddha*) obtains knowledge (*Gnan*) *etc.*," and by pointing in eloquent terms to the light that shines outside us and within us (*Akas Tej Maya,—Antar-Tej Maya*). He then counted the persons present, and finding them six he added, "the Seventh is He.' A verse from the Vedas in which Varuna (the moral Governor of the Universe) is spoken of as the third wherever two men meet, followed, and a beautiful musical clock having rung its song in the rose-scented chamber in which we were sitting, we took our leave, deeply impressed with the sweetness, the fragrance, and the melody of the Maharishi's life.

In Praise of Milk and Potatoes

The Mysore Economic Journal quotes *in extenso* in an article in praise of milk and potatoes, some of the recommendations of an expert Commission appointed by the Health Committee of the League of Nations:

Paris.—Milk and potatoes are coming in to their own again, thanks to the investigations and teachings of an expert Commission appointed by the Health Committee of the League of Nations. Only a few years ago, there was a tendency in certain quarters to consider whole milk as food only for babes, and skimmed milk as fit only for calves and pigs. As for the potato, it was contemptuously described, by those who should have known better, as a mere ball of starch, lacking great energy value and beneath contempt as a source of nourishment.

The report of the above-mentioned expert Commission is likely to be a standard work on the subject for some time to come, and to have a profound influence on the human dietary.

Foods are now classified not only according as they consist mainly of proteins, fats or carbohydrates, but also according as they are protective or energy-bearing. The protective foods are rich in minerals and vitamins, and

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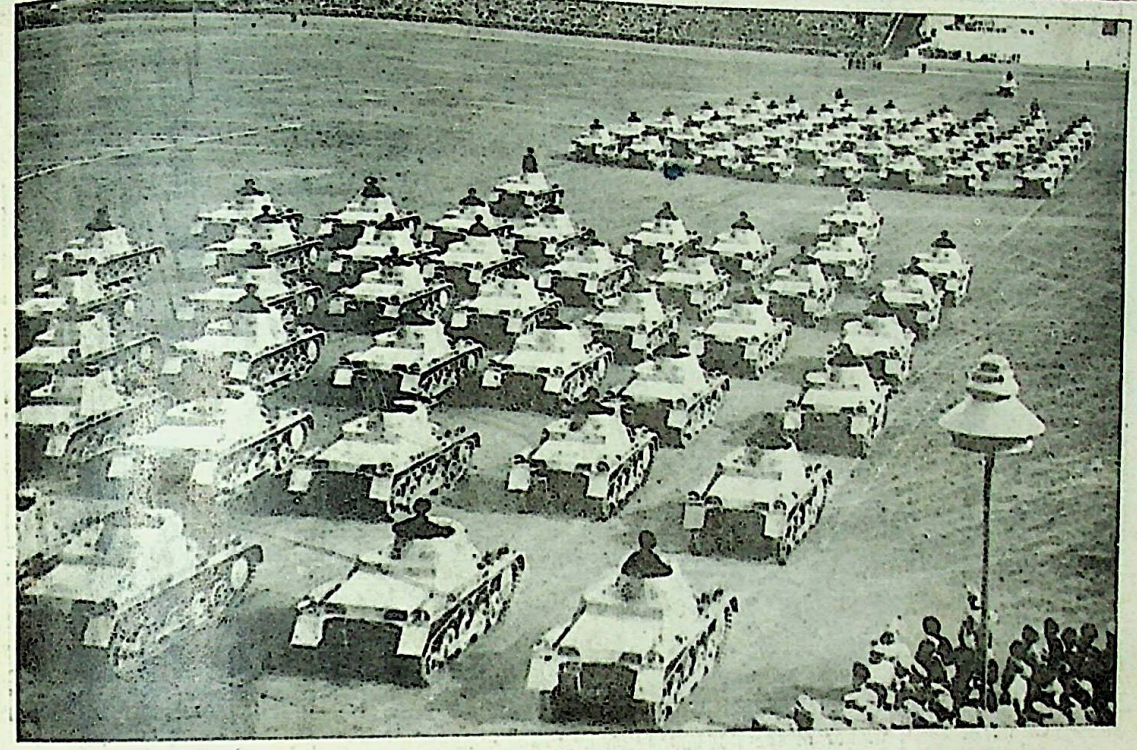
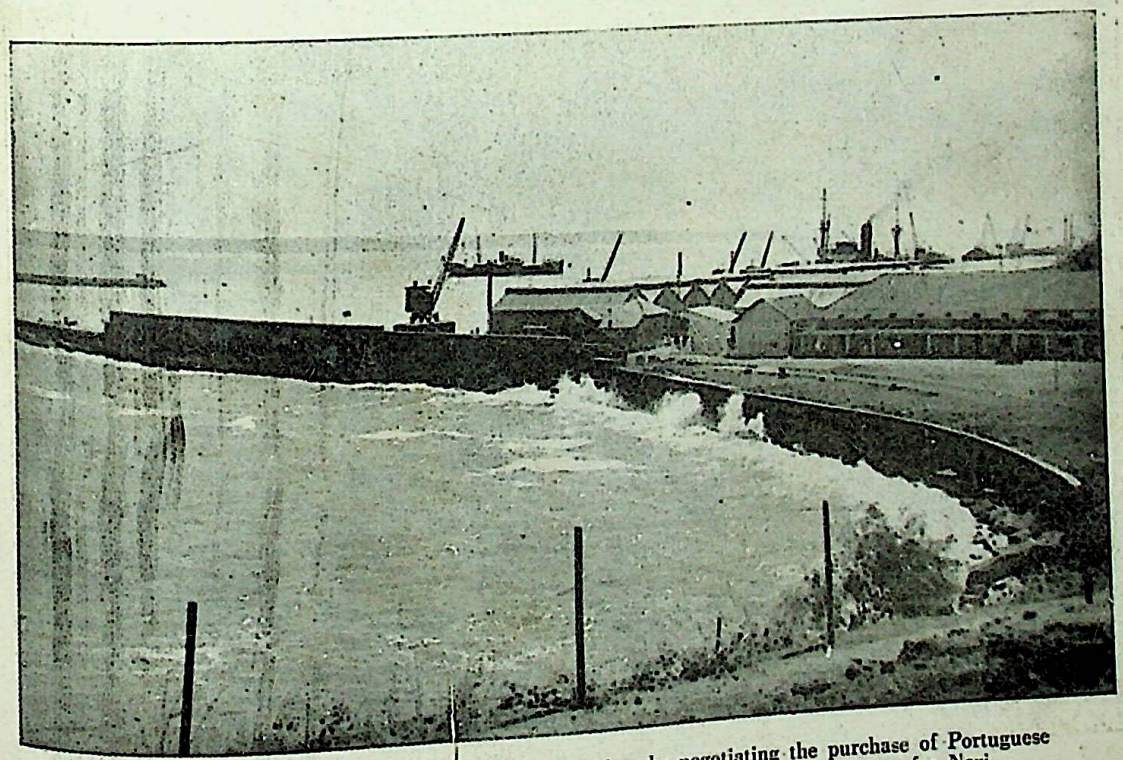


Germany parades her tanks at Nuremberg : light tanks, in columns passing over the Zeppelin Field



Goa harbour. The German Government is reported to be negotiating the purchase of Portuguese possessions in India with a view to converting Goa as a naval base and centre for Nazi propaganda in India

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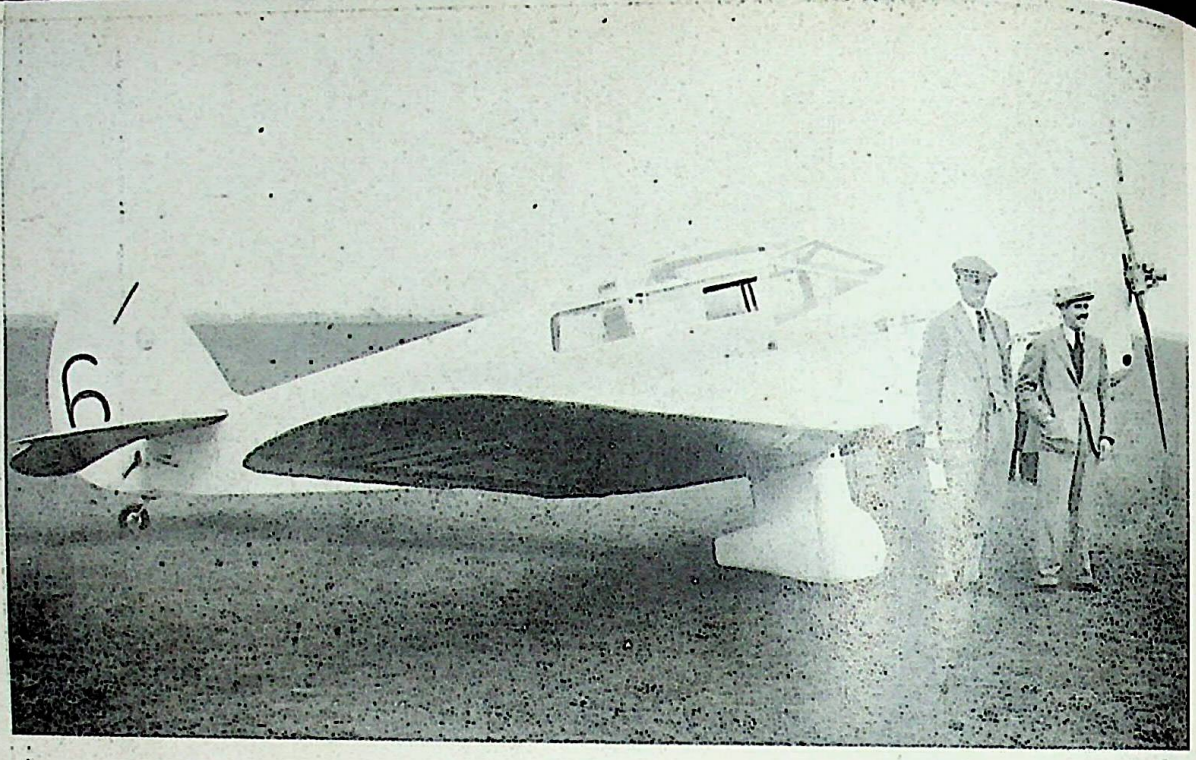

C. W. A. Scott, winner of the £10.000 London-Johannesburg air-race, and his Co-pilot Giles Guthrie with their Percival "Vega Gull." They covered 6,154 miles in 52 hours 56 minutes 48.2 seconds

Jesse Owens, the "black panther" and winner of Olympic gold medals, gives a demonstration to boys, besieging him for his autograph in London

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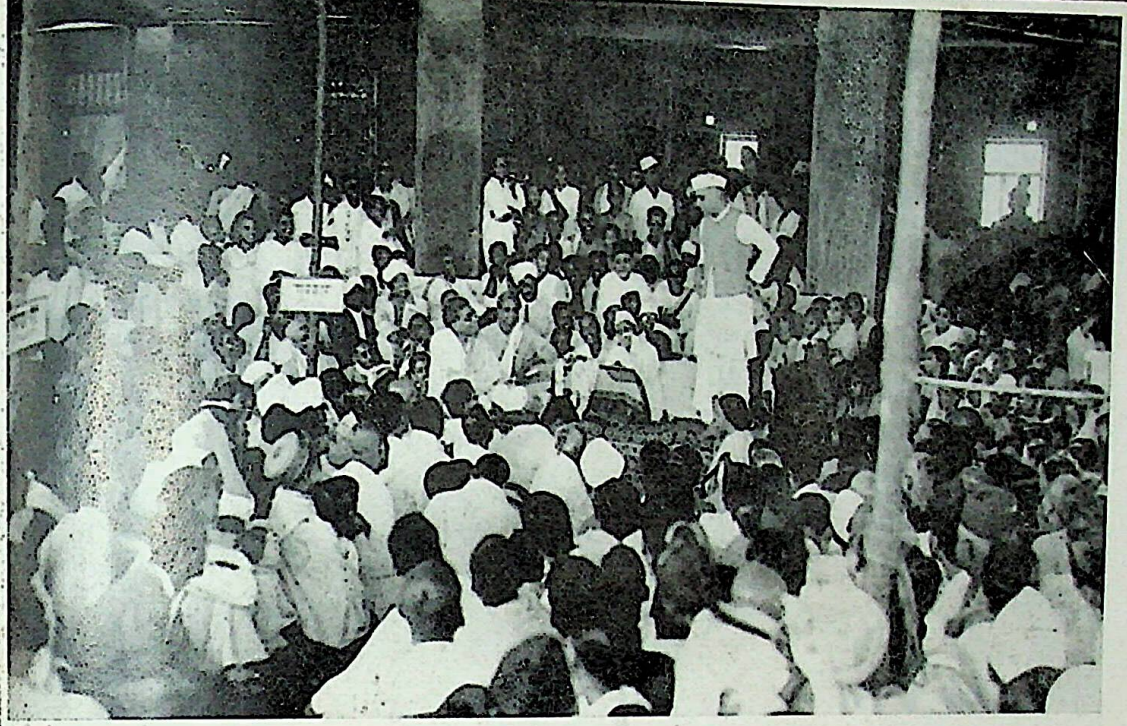
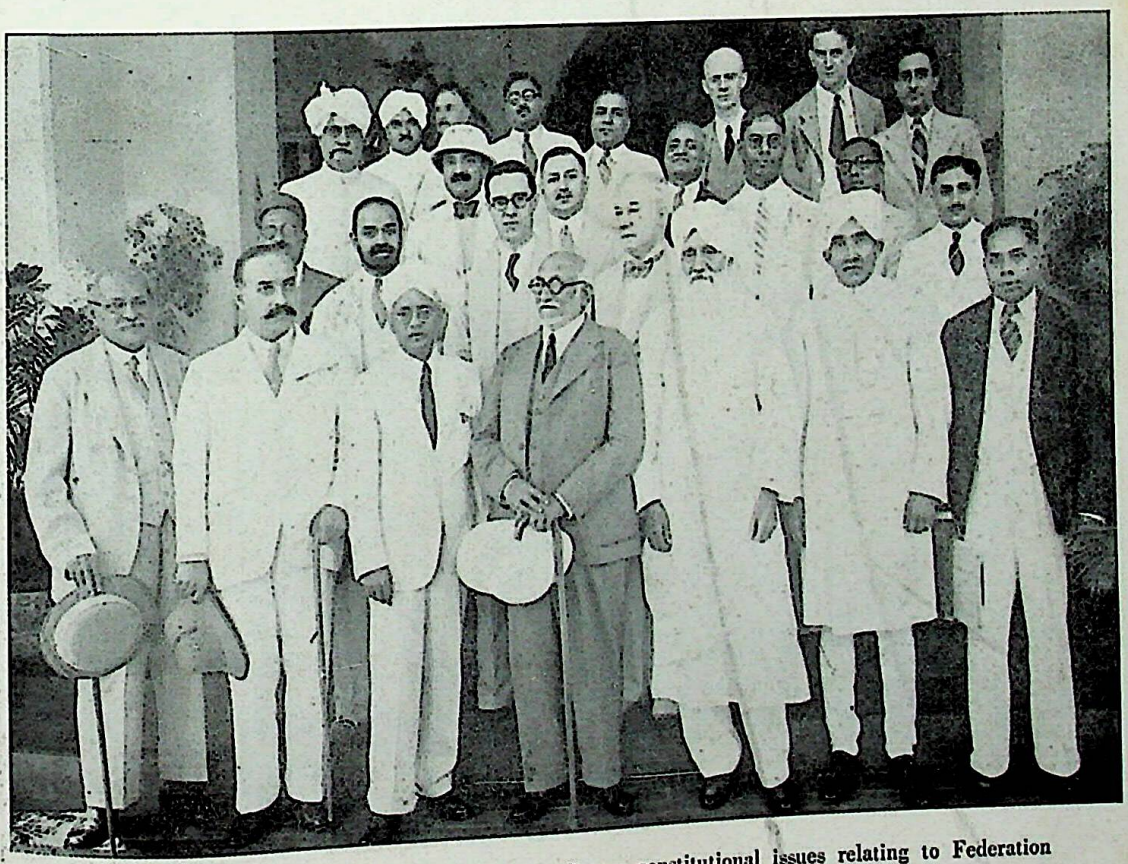


Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru opens the new buildings of the Hindi Prachar Sabha at Mambalam, near Madras



Indian State Ministers confer in Bombay to discuss constitutional issues relating to Federation

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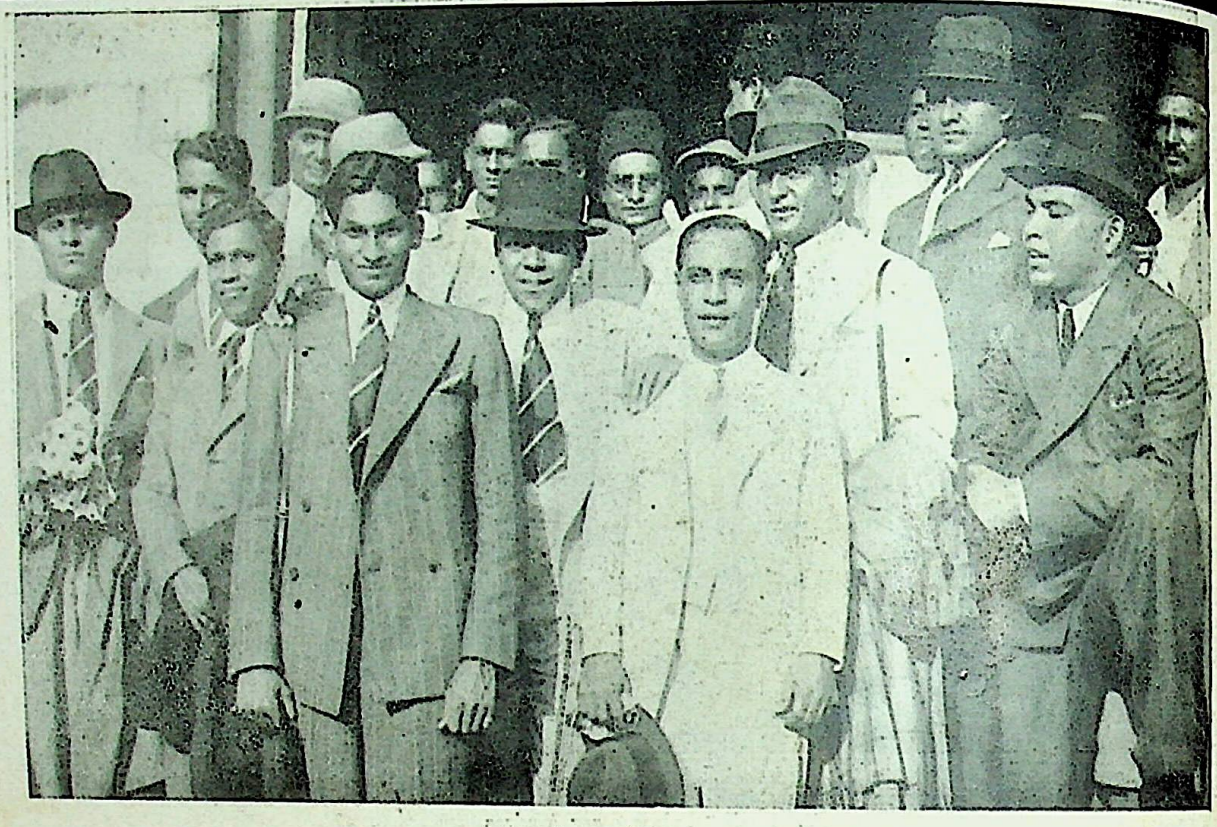
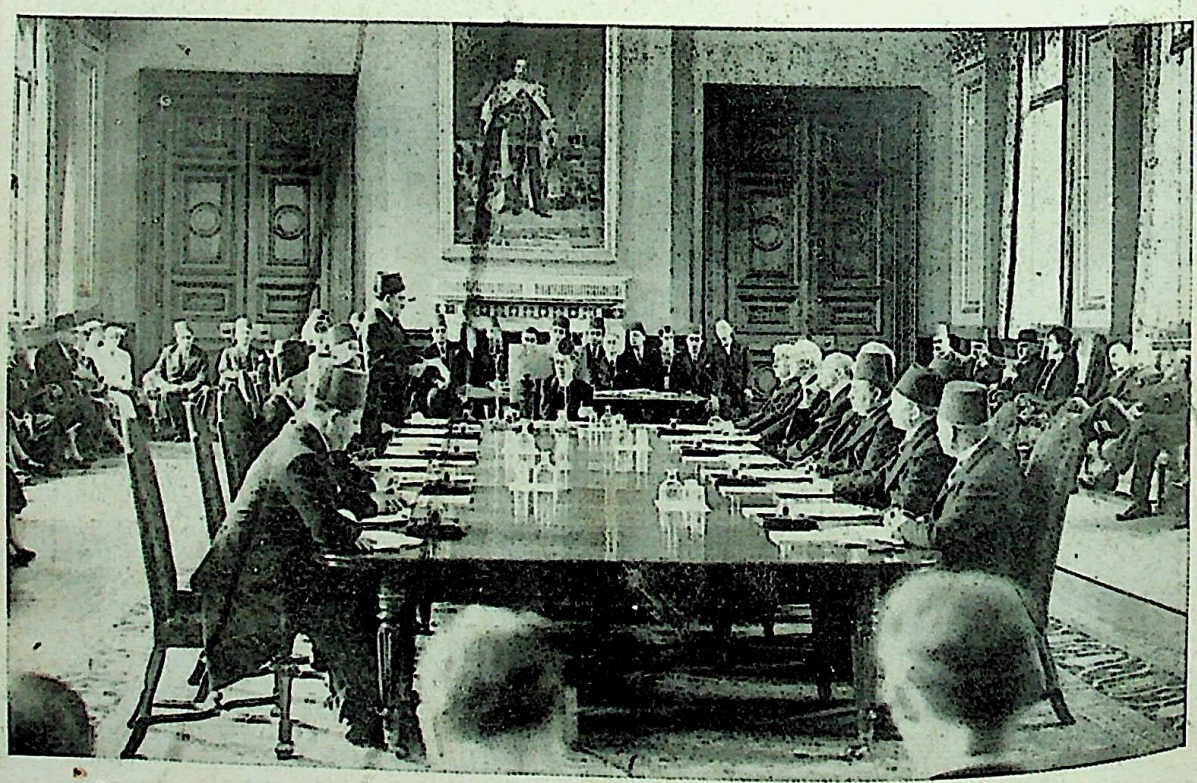


Members of the Indian Cricket Team returns home



Signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. Nahas Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, is seen speaking

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include milk and milk products, eggs and grandular tissues (liver, etc.), greenleaf vegetables, fruit, fat, fish and meat (muscle). Among the energy-bearing foods of little or no protective power are sugar, milled cereals and certain fats.

Of energy-giving foods, unmilled cereals are not rich in protective nutrients, and the more they are refined, the less is their protective power. Many fats, especially when refined, possess little or no protective constituents. Refined sugar is of value only as a source of energy; it is entirely devoid of minerals and vitamins. The increasing habit of large sugar consumption tends to lessen the amount of protective foods in the diet and is to be regarded with concern.

In the opinion of the League of Nations' Commission, the deficiencies of modern diets are usually in the protective foods. Now, pregnant and nursing women are those members of the community who need the greatest "protection" in order that their children may be properly nourished both at birth and during infancy. The dietary of their mothers should include plenty of milk, whole or skimmed, as it is a rich source of calcium salts, phosphates and vitamin B2. It is also a good source of vitamin B1. Milk fat or cream is an excellent source of vitamin A. Eggs contain vitamins A, B1, B2, and D, and are rich in iron. The proteins of these foods are not only themselves of the highest nutritive value, but also improve the utilization of the proteins contained in cereals and vegetables.

Milk has the additional advantage derived from the action of its calcium salts and phosphates on the effect of any vitamin D derived from other articles of food or from sunshine. Though it is poor in iron, milk renders more effective the iron contained in other food. Ordinary diets are usually inadequate in their supply of vitamin D. It is therefore desirable in countries which are none too sunny to add a small daily ration of cod-liver oil to the diet of the pregnant and nursing mother and to that of the growing child. Fish-liver oils are the richest known natural sources of vitamin A, and are also important sources of iodine. In regions where the inhabitants are apt to suffer from goitre, and where sea fish are not available, the provision of extra iodine in the form of iodised salt, or in some other way, is to be recommended.

The Commission recommends an extended use of the potato in the family diet, to replace part of the sugar and highly milled cereals hitherto in fashion. Potatoes provide extra vitamin C and more readily available calcium and phosphorus than are present in cereals. Potatoes also yield more iron and B vitamins than milled cereals.

It is possible to provide a simplified diet whose few protective foods are adequate to maintain health. But it is a sound general principle that variety in diet tends to safety. The extensive use of much-refined white flour should be discouraged, and its place should be taken in part by lightly milled cereals and, above all, by potatoes. Potatoes should also displace, as much as possible, highly refined sugar, however much the notion of a child sucking a photo instead of a lollipop may seem repugnant to the present juvenile generation.

Indian Games at the World Olympics

The following account of Indian games at the World Olympics, in connection with the visit to Berlin of the Hanuman Vyayam Prasarak Mandal, is taken from *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*:

Less attention has been paid than it deserves to the visit to Berlin of a group of 24 Indian athletes from the Hanuman Vyayam Prasarak Mandal of Amraoti. Their visit was in connexion with the International Sports Students Congress held in conjunction with the Olympic Games and they were among the most striking and admired of the 31 delegations at the Congress. It is not too much to say that they brought great credit to this country, more so than the small group of athletes who failed even to pass the preliminary tests at the Games. The Indians, looking very smart in their dark blue blazers and blue and saffron turbans, gave demonstrations of Indian games that even in this country are seldom seen and which were quite novel and greatly appreciated by those who saw them. Their displays of Hu-du-du, Malkhamb, Lezim, Kho Kho, Atya Patya, their feats of Yogic physical culture, their Indian club drill and old-time fencing were highly praised by the many professors of physical culture as well as by those lay spectators who could not but admire the rhythmic beauty with which the displays were carried out. Films were taken of several of the games and both Hu-du-du and Lezim were eagerly taken up by the delegates of many other nations. Nor did the activities of the Indians end here. At one of the evening camp entertainments they sang Rabindra Nath Tagore's song "*Ekla Chalo Re*" so impressively that they were invited to sing this on the opening night of the Olympiad before a crowd of 200,000 people at the Stadium. Taken altogether, the visit of the Indian delegation was a great success, and, as London and Paris are to be visited before they return to India, we shall perhaps hear more of these quaint Indian games.

A POEM

Speak to me, my friend, of him,
and say that he has whispered
to thee in the central hush of the storm
and in the heart of the peace
where life puts on its armour.
Say that thy utmost need is of him
and that he ever seeketh thy straying heart
through tangle of paths.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in the Visva-Bharati News

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Holiday in Spain

Basil Martin describes in *The Inquirer* his pleasant holiday in Spain :

A woman from Castille

We saw nothing of the large towns, but we were charmed with the courteous manners and simple faith of the country people. Their religion gives them no trouble. Mass in the morning, dancing in the road with castanets in the evening, and a rest in between. The Spanish peasant is not "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." When he meets you, he says, "Walk with God," and you reply with a similar greeting, but whether you mean the same thing is doubtful. The festival of Corpus Christi is a national holiday. All shops are closed, wayside altars are set up and garlanded, and everyone is dressed in Sunday clothes.

The houses in the mountains are like Swiss chalets, with large hayloft and winter quarters for the animals, well built of stone with pantile roofs. There is no sanitation whatever except at the village hotel. We had clean beds but poor cooking, and our vegetarian habits made feeding difficult. But that was a small price to pay for the magnificent scenery and invigorating air.

The farming is primitive. When you see ploughs drawn by oxen and women sowing corn by the hand, it is difficult to realize that you are in a Western country in the twentieth century. You remember the pictures in the old family Bible.

The road-making was not quite as primitive as the farming, for the rocks were blasted with gunpowder; but there was no modern machinery. The huge stones were rolled down the hills by hand, and dragged into

An Aandalusian dancer

position on a wooden sledge by oxen. The workmen were paid five or six pesetas a day.

Labour seems unequally divided. On the way from market the donkeys carry two heavily loaded panniers nicely balanced as well as men on their backs, the women have loads on their heads fit to break their necks, their husbands, sons and sweethearts strolling by the side with empty hands.

We visited those wonderful caves at Altamira, where the roof is covered with pictures of animals long extinct. The drawing shows considerable ability and the colouring is perfect. Antiquarians tell us the caves must have been inhabited by intelligent human beings at least 20,000 years ago.

The Servile Press of Fascism

We have reproduced from time to time the orders issued by the fascist dictatorships of

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Germany and Italy to the press of those countries. Another batch of instructions issued to the Italian press is here reproduced from *The New Republic*:

The conquest of Ethiopia is not yet fully appreciated by the public. Write it up.

Mr. Tefari should never be called the Negus.

Make no mention of the order of General Graziani that the Fascist salute is obligatory in Ethiopia.

Severe punishments will attend the writer and the paper writing and publishing articles into which pity might be read for the Ethiopians; no sense of fraternity. Clear distinction between the dominant race and the subject one.

Concerning the return to Italy of Minister Ciano (Mussolini's son-in-law) and the sons of the Duce, wait for the official communique.

Don't give as an interview the declarations made by Minister Ciano to a German journalist.

Give little prominence to the promotion of the sons of the Duce.

We repeat for the second time: no comment on the workers' agitations in France. No photographs. Transgression of this order means seizure of the whole edition.

The news, given by the foreign press, that we are again exporting motors for airplanes, is not to be reproduced.

Do not mention the meeting of the Minister Alfieri with Schuschnigg. Say instead that Alfieri was in Venice for personal reasons and incidentally met the Austrian Chancellor at the Art Exhibition.

Give no notice of arrival or passage of important foreign personages in Rome, unless given out by the "Stefani" agency.

Only record the fact of the death of Maxim Gorki. No comments, no eulogy; only list of works may, at the most, be permitted.

The Holy Muhammadan Empire in Transition

In the course of a paper contributed to the *World Order*, Paul Simpson McElroy reports the swift and significant transformations in Islam.

During my first year as teacher in Cairo the majority of the Muhammadan student body asked for permission to attend the mosque on Friday to pray, and vast majority also rigidly observed the fast of Ramadan by not eating from sunrise to sunset. Only three years later only one student, asked to be excused for Friday prayers, and not one observed Ramadan, the Muhammadan Lent. Not only that but it is now rarely that one sees men going through their genuflections on street corners, on the trains, and in the fields as formerly. It is obvious from this that the hold Islam once had upon its followers is slipping.

Muslims are themselves now beginning to ask if the Qur'an is literally inspired:

Such questions are challenging the sheikhs embarrassingly. It means that the Qur'an must undergo higher criticism just as the Bible has done; higher criticism of the Qur'an can be postponed no longer.

No longer will young people allow their parents to choose a spouse; in fact, young couples are doing their own courting, openly. This new emancipation, desirable as it is, not however without its defiant rebuff to old customs.

The enrolment in the ancient and orthodox University, El Azhar, is reported to have dwindled from about ten thousand to less than five thousand:

So significant a drop can hardly be attributed to the depression when tuition is virtually free and when many have chosen government or foreign schools instead. Modern Muhammadan youths refuse to attend this orthodox institution, revered as it is, many of whose teachings are now regarded as obsolete; a memorizing of the Qur'an, for example, does not provide a livelihood in the competitive age.

The result is that they are attending government schools or even enrolling in foreign universities that endeavor to give an "open mind" to the student. So the old-school Muslim conservatives are faced with either revolutionizing their educational program to the extent of introducing what to them would be heresy, such as modern sciences, a higher criticism of the Qur'an, and the like, or else letting the young people attend the liberal foreign institutions of learning.

They are being forced to the change. The future of Islam depends upon how they meet these revolutionary demands.

Even more extraordinary changes have taken place in Islam:

Nationalism, for one thing, has torn the Holy Muhammadan Empire asunder; it has dropped into Islam like a bomb shattering that united kingdom to fragments. Heretofore, a Muslim was pre-eminently a Muslim regardless of his nationality, but today the inhabitants, even in the predominantly Muhammadan lands, are claiming themselves to be first of all Syrians, or Egyptians, or Turks, and Muslims second. National loyalty is taking precedence over religious loyalty. Today, the primary concern is for nationality, not for religion.

Indeed, a few years ago Mustafa Kamal Pasha of Turkey struck the fatal blow to Muslim unity by stripping the high potentate of Islam of his powers, thus virtually abolishing the Sultanate and Caliphate. In Turkey, the introduction of western culture is being precipitated by the substitutions of the Latin alphabet for Turkish script, and European dress for Oriental.

Materialism, popularised by modern science, has weakened Islam in much the same way that gnostics undermined Christianity in the early centuries.

Instead of merely accepting explanations that have been passed down for centuries, modern Muslims are challenging traditional authority, their long-closed but inquisitive minds want to know why!

Modern science has changed the attitude of mind of Muslim youth; it has been like a wedge prying open little by little the heretofore impenetrable Muhammadan world. Already innumerable Muslim students have been educated in German, French, English, and American universities and many of these liberalized students have gone back to Muhammadan lands in positions of leadership.

One might enumerate many other aspects of Muhammadan political, religious, and social life that are being transformed, but these may suffice to indicate the import of these changes.

Thus far the revolt has not been spectacular, nor has the upheaval been catastrophic, yet it is safe to say

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that Islam is now on the verge of one of the greatest crises it has ever faced.

What is Wrong with the British Labor Party?

A correspondent to the *Spectator* suggests some reasons of the failure of the British Labour Party to make any progress such as would indicate the likelihood of their return to power within a measurable distance of time. He writes :

I believe that one of the primary causes is the baleful influence upon their fortunes of the Trades Unions. When the coalition was made between the Socialist Party, then a struggling group of propagandist intellectuals, and organized Trades Unionism, it seemed as if Socialism at a stroke had been placed upon the map of practical politics.

Here were 6 million certain votes for the Socialist candidates. It was confidently believed that upon this foundation could be built a party that in a decade would dominate British politics and fashion, to its own prescription, the whole face of society. It was a fatal miscalculation. In an instant the Socialist Party became a class party. It was no longer the vehicle of the Socialist movement but the political representative of the strong and well-defined interests of organized labour. The middle classes have been repelled. The radically-minded men and women who, with the decline in the influence and power of the Liberal Party that followed the secession of working-class support, might have given the new party its brains and driving force, have found no comfort of soul in its ranks.

The safe seats are closed to them. Any constituency where there is an organized industrial vote capable of making victory certain is claimed by the Trades Unions for one of their own nominees.

Another factor contributing to the failure of the Labour Party, the correspondent suggests, is the poor personalities of the Labour leaders :

Since the defection of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who in his prime exercised a certain magnetism in his platform appeal, the Labour movement has produced no great national figure. There is Major Attlee, their leader, painstaking and competent but in the great debates exhibiting vehemence rather than strength, and narrowness in outlook. Never has he delivered himself of a sentiment that has struck the imagination of the nation or a phrase that they have ever remembered. On the other side of him are Mr. Arthur Greenwood and Mr. Alexander, both good knockabout platform speakers but nothing more. Mr. Morrison at one time seemed to have qualities of imaginative leadership, but he has since become immersed in the details of London County Council administration and gives little time to the House of Commons.

Beyond these men there is none of any consequence except perhaps Mr. Dalton, the product of Eton and the lecturer's chair, who spoils every case by over-statement, and Mr. Shinwell, who looks like a Russian Commissar but has no authority in the Party.

But the greatest obstacle to their leadership is that they do not know what way they must go :

Every armament debate finds them in the utmost mental confusion. They preach collective security and yet fought with the greatest violence at the General Election and since every measure designed to help Great Britain to play an effective part in that security.

The whole Foreign Policy of the Labour Party is vitiated by their odd but obstinate conviction that peace and justice are interchangeable terms. But they are, in fact, tragically contradictory. In Abyssinia it would have been possible to obtain justice by a resort to war or a threat of war. Peace between Italy and ourselves has only been maintained at the expense of justice to Abyssinia.

It is the same with their economic policy. On Socialism they do not know whether they favour an evolutionary or a revolutionary policy. Sometimes they preach the full-blooded doctrine of nationalization of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, and on other occasions it is watered down to a mild edition of pre-War liberalism.

The Palestininian Arab Cause

Writing in *The Catholic World*, D. Harold Hickey presents the case of the Arabs in Palestine. He observes :

When the Great Britain assumed the mandate of Palestine and Transjordania following the World War, she found herself in the awkward position of one who has promised that two bodies shall occupy the same space at the same time.

The difference in these two promises lies in the fact that the one made the Arabs has all the binding force of a treaty for such it was. On October 24, 1915, Sir Henry M'Mahon accepted on behalf of the British Government an agreement with the Shereef of Mecca, later King Hussein, fixing the boundaries of the independent Arabic state, which included Palestine. This pledge was later confirmed by Lord Balfour in 1918, and by Lord Carson to King Feisal in 1919. The agreement, however, was never made public. Later, in 1916, without the knowledge of King Hussein, the British Government made a secret agreement with the French Republic which excluded Palestine from the new Arabic state. Still later, in 1917, Lord Balfour promised Lord Rothschild that a National Home for Jews would be established in Palestine.

The contention of all the Arabs with whom I talked, was that the promise made to them had priority over that made to the Jews because it had been made to an ally, a leader of a fighting nation—King Hussein—who had put a quarter of a million men in the field. The Arabs feel, therefore, that they have been betrayed. They are convinced that they won the War for the Allies in the Near East.

To claim that the Arabs are benefiting through Jewish development of Palestine sounds ironical in view of the fact that thousands have been thrown out of employment while other small business men have been undersold as a result of their inability to compete with mass production and sharp practice.

Furthermore, the Arabs feel outraged by the fact that while every commission appointed by the British Government to investigate conditions in Palestine has favored their cause, the findings and recommendations of these commissions have been repeatedly ignored.

In spite of the fact that these commissions were unanimous in the opinion that the present population was all that the country could absorb, at least for the time being, the legal immigration into Palestine for the past three years has been as follows : 1933, 32,000;

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Arab prisoners being searched at the prison gates at Tel Aviv

1934, 42,000; 1935, 61,500. In addition to the above, it has been claimed that at least 1,500 Jews find their way in illegally each year.

Madame Irene Joliot-Curie

The Living Age translates from the *Marianne*, Paris, an interesting portrait of Madame Irene Joliot-Curie by her sister. Madame Irene Joliot-Curie, it will be remembered, was awarded the Nobel Chemistry prize in 1935 and is now the Under-Secretary for Scientific research in the French Cabinet, being one of the first French women to be a member of the Cabinet:

She is a scientist, the daughter of two great scientists and the wife of another. She must have a very strong personality to make a go of that: in not resembling nor imitating anyone, not even her illustrious mother, in whose footsteps she seems to follow so faithfully.

When I was a child, my elder sister's conduct seemed to me totally incomprehensible and, to tell the truth, scandalous. It used to dismay me to see Irene Curie get a box of bonbons, put it away in her small yellow pine cupboard, always in such meticulous order, take it out once to eat a single bonbon, and finally forget all about the existence of this treasure, which *I* should have devoured in a few hours. I have seen her accumulate in her savings bank, franc by franc, sums which seemed enormous to me but which she never spent—simply because she never wanted anything. I have seen her arrive punctually every day at the high school, her homework clearly written out in a comically childish hand, her lessons well learned. This young person, so unsociable, slow-moving, and hard to approach, lacked the dash of the brilliant pupils. She had something better: knowledge once acquired was fixed firmly in her well-ordered mind.

Poise, marvelous poise! This young woman knows nothing—or at least I think so—of inner torment, discouragement, pessimism. She has a talent for avoiding all the petty worries which could deflect her from her chosen path. And while she has not a shadow of vanity, she has complete confidence in herself. She has always known what she wanted and has achieved it without haste, without ostentation, but with patient courage.

Because she hates city life, with its dust and noise, she has had a house built in the environs of Paris, and another in Brittany. This enables her to work, from one end of the year to the other in a healthy atmosphere, and to live the simple family life that she loves. She adores sports, and even when she has been working hardest she has always found time to swim, to ski, to go down rivers in a canoe, and to climb mountains. On the other hand no human power could make Irene Joliot-Curie do anything that bored her, such as attending to her dresses or seeing importunate people— nor prevent her from yawning at an official reception.

By the side of her husband, whom she almost never leaves, since the two do their scientific research together, Irene Joliot-Curie has become more human, more tractable. I have seen her adapting herself little by little to family life, transforming herself into a housewife, growing deeply attached to the two children she has brought into the world.

The impassive physicist now gets excited about social questions, even about political doctrines. And, since our opinions differ on certain points, I finally succeeded some time ago in having a heated argument with my 'sister-who-never-gets-angry'—a discussion which lasted at least seven minutes! Amazed and dumb-

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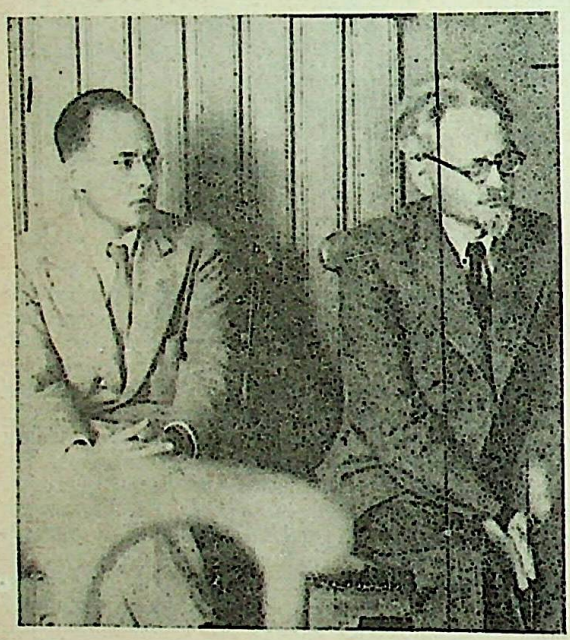
founded by this unexpected event, we looked at one another in silence. Then we began to laugh, and, changing the subject, I asked Irene Joliot-Curie to explain clearly to me just what artificial radium was, the discovery of which brought her the Nobel prize.

The Russian Conspiracy in Retrospect

In discussing the trial of the Trotskyites in Russia, the *Unity* observes :

What first impresses us in the great Russian conspiracy trials, we must confess, is the tremendous drama of the thing. Here is the French Revolution come back again! In Zinoviev, tried and convicted, is the reincarnation of Robespierre. Remember how the great leader of the French Terror raved and raged against his enemies, mastered for his own frenzied and fanatical uses the revolutionary party of the day, and then at last, as the wheel of fate spun its dreadful round, himself came before the red tribunal for the condemnation of his



Trotsky, accused of participating in a plot to kill Stalin, interrogated by the police of Oslo

peers! In all this drama of a century and a half ago, we see only the anticipation, so to speak, of what now is happening in Moscow. The second impression which we bring from this trial is the overwhelming realization that there is no end to this quarrel between Stalin and Trotsky. It is war to the death. Russia was not large enough to contain the contending chieftains, and now the world proves to be not large enough. Trotsky and all his group must be wiped out ere the regime can be at peace. . . . And what are we to think of the comic opera spectacle of defendants on trial for their lives not only confessing guilt, but vying with one another in presenting alleged evidence to prove the case against them? Russian trials are very different from ours, but is Russian mentality so different as well? Only Trotsky, far removed from the scene, has seemed to act sanely. All the rest seem to be mere madmen, or strange characters from some wild work of fiction.

M. Litvinoff, Foreign Comissar of U. S. S. R., was awarded the Order of Lenin by the Central Executive of Soviet Russia in recognition of his services to the cause of peace

The German "Doctors"

Hans Erman writes in *Das deutsche Wort und die grosse Uebersicht*, Berlin :

Since 1933 the number of students in the German Universities has been gradually decreasing and is now lower than the maximum number reached uptil now by about 35 per cent. The number of "Doctors" is, however, on the increase. Whereas the annual average number of promotions to the Doctor's grade was 3000 in pre-war years, it has risen during the post-war years to 7000 and in 1935 it was nearly 9000!

The average number of doctrates per University has been considerably surpassed by the University of Berlin with 743 Doctor-dissertations (*i.e.*, daily 3, if we do not count the Sundays). Then follows Leipzig with its 670, Munich 665 and Hamburg 496 dissertations. The number of passes, however, does not appear to depend upon the size of the University, because Erlangen created 492 Doctors, while Cologne and Bonn followed it with their 457 and 404 respectively. Greifswald with 177, Freiburg with 167 and Giessen with only 107 fall below half the average number of dissertations, but Koenigsberg has now recovered its position by conferring 229 doctorates.

Nearly half the number of thesis (*i.e.*, 3600) have been devoted to Medicine, which seems to be as popular as ever. The so-called Philosophers come for behind with their 1830 and the Lawyers with their 1760 dissertations. Many of the Universities include their economic and scientific branches of studies under the Philosophical Faculty. Only nine Universities have a separate Faculty of Natural Sciences and these register 393 dissertations.

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Four Universities having a separate Faculty of Economics have brought forth 260 dissertations. The "Doctor of Theology" is as rare as ever, and occurs only 65 times, ten Universities not having conferred it at all.

And what is the type of work over which all these candidates have been racking their brains for acquiring a title?

The themes treated by the theologicians were indeed poor! Most of them dealt with researches into the narrow field of exegesis and linguistic interpretations. Only one thesis from Hable ventures out of the groove in dealing with "Bismarck's attitude towards the Church during the culture-war." Did the theologicians never feel the necessity of investigation from a technical point of view problems more intimately connected with the life of the people?

Studies in Natural Sciences were relatively unaffected by the political developments in the country.

Special researches of a technical nature *e.g.*, those relating to breeding, marketability and prices of native agricultural products were on the increase. The physicists show a deep interest in problems of radiation and investigation of raw materials. The chemists have devoted themselves with renewed interest to explosive substances. In the work of the medical scholars we meet, along with their contributions to usual subjects like, technique of operations, evaluation of the patient's history and clinical monographs, with researches into the "Theory of hallucination", "Effects of drinking coffee", "Are the customary determinations in the examination of the dead body enough to prevent live burials?". hereditary diseases and also racial and anthropological studies *e.g.*, "Cross breeds from Chinese fathers and European mothers."

The students of law have handled planty of new material in dissertations on *e.g.* The responsibility of the editor (Erlanger), Expatriation according to the law of 23-3-1934, Cartells and transfer-theories, copyright of films, Legal relatives in cases of blood-transfusion, Legality of the Nazi-revolution etc.

In the Philosophical Faculty, the economic researches deal with problems of current interest, *e.g.*, Government and the Press in Prussia, the principle of the elite in Facism, Dumping, as an industrial problem, the munition-industry in the world-war etc. Particularly noteworthy is perhaps the growing popularity of Music which has claimed in 1935 dissertations dealing with almost all masters of music. Researches in the field of old languages are also remarkable and we can speak here of a new orientation, as scarcely any author of the antiquity has been neglected. The studies in the formal and racial types of ancient Art are bound to be fruitful in giving rise to a new criticism of art and style. On the other hand, the study of modern literature is turning away from the German classics. Even Goethe evokes but one dissertation, while the modern poets are receiving ample attention. Rilke occurs several times along with Daudet, Wilde, Maeterlinck, Paul Ernst, Kipling, Baudelaire, Roabe, Scheffel. Dehmel, Liliencron. Even Paul Schlenther, the theater-critic has privilege of evoking his first dissertation.

Could Japan Defy Sanctions?

Writing in the *Asia*, Frank C. Hanighen examines how raw material sanctions would work in the case of a blockade of Japan by a combination of powers, among them being the United States and the British Empire, which together have almost all the raw materials in the world.

Of the eight "great essentials," namely man power, factories, coal, iron ore, oil, nitrates, sulphur, copper, the author points out, Japan lacks only two, iron ore and oil. These two deficiencies, however, are serious.

The absence of oil in Japan is particularly grave. Not only is the Japanese army now highly mechanized with tanks, airplanes and supply trucks, but also her naval vessels are mainly oil-burning. At the present time her consumption of oil amounts to approximately 20,000,000 barrels a year. To meet this her domestic output is deplorably inadequate. From the fields of Honshu and Hokkaido, and from southern Sakhalin and Taiwan (Formosa), the production is not more than 2,000,000 barrels a year. The oil from the shale deposits of Manchuria has so far netted but 300,000 barrels a year. These figures are based on *World Petroleum* data. At best, therefore, even if her war-time requirements should not exceed those of peace-time (which is hardly likely), Japan could count on barely one eighth of her necessary supplies from her own territory, to carry on industry and military operations.

Next—iron ore. Japanese industry needs about 2,000,000 tons a year. Japan's domestic output is but 200,000 tons and Korea provides 400,000. Manchuria as a reservoir of iron has proved somewhat of a disappointment. The great mountain of Anshan has much iron ore but it is of low grade. The ore has but thirty to forty per cent of iron content and the silicon content is high—which is a great drawback in the making of steel. . . . However, with military necessity obviously in mind, the Japanese have persisted in working this mountain. At present, the output is no more than 200,000 tons. Thus, taking Manchurian ore together with that of Japan and Korea, hardly half of Japanese industry's peace-time needs could be satisfied, not to mention the inevitable additional demands of war-time production.

A short war, lasting about a year, would not however embarrass Japan, for the Japanese have been building up reserves for this contigency. According to the *World Petroleum*,

"For the past few years the Japanese navy has been building up stocks (of oil) and while exact figures of the volume of supplies in storage have not been published they probably amount to something between 16,000,000 and 20,000,000 barrels or the equivalent of a full year's requirements both for industry and for government."

These stores plus the ordinary commercial stocks on hand could undoubtedly cover all needs for at least a year.

As to iron ore, a somewhat similar situation exists. Japan has been buying scrap iron in enormous quantities abroad for some years.

A long war, however, may present different problems. There are other materials necessary in war-time; Japan's position is not so insecure so far as some of these materials are concerned; but when one considers certain other vitally necessary materials such as nickel, which

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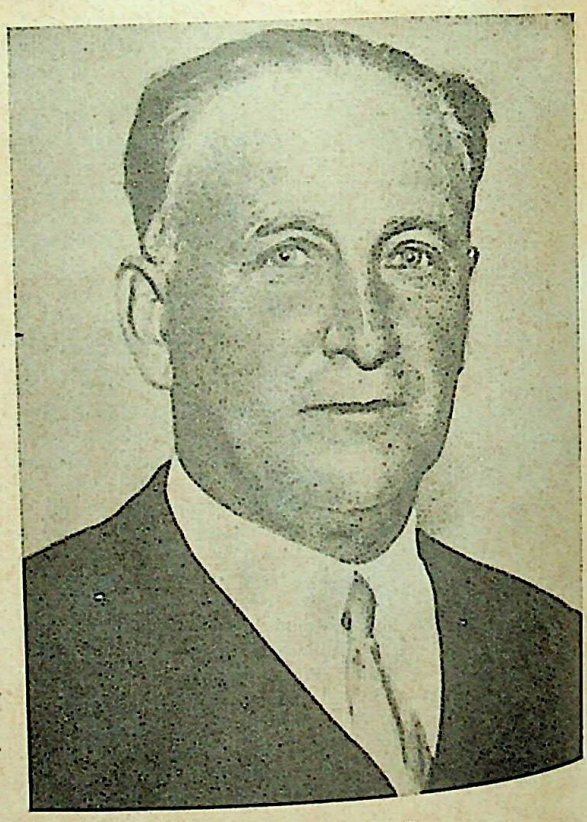
is used in the making of heavy guns and battleship, the picture is not so encouraging. The writer thus sums up Japan's position in a long war :

Lead and antimony, on which her bullet supply depends, would be a fatal lack. Separated from sources of nickel her heavy military industries would be hamstrung. Absence of zinc, chrome, tungsten and manganese would in course of time affect not only the fabrication of munitions themselves but also the machinery which makes munitions. Even if Japan were able to build up an enormous reserve stock of manganese, it would be of little use without the iron ore which is its essential complement and of which she has such an inadequate domestic supply. With an oil-burning navy and a motorized cavalry, she would have to win some startling success before very long, such as the capture of the great oil-bearing Netherlands Indies, to sustain her military efforts and to compete as an equal with other powers much more fortunate in their oil reservoirs. Without cotton a drastic change in her whole industrial set-up, probably accompanied by labor disturbances, would inevitably result. Finally, should there be military sanctions, and should the naval situation turn out unfavourably for her with a blockade of her ports, her food supplies would be curtailed, perhaps as seriously as Germany's during the World War. It is impossible to believe that Japan could hold out under such a burden. Sanctions, or a blockade by such great powers as the United States and the British Empire, in the long run would defeat her.

Dr. Kurt Schuschnigg



Senor Largo Caballero
Spain's new Socialist Premier

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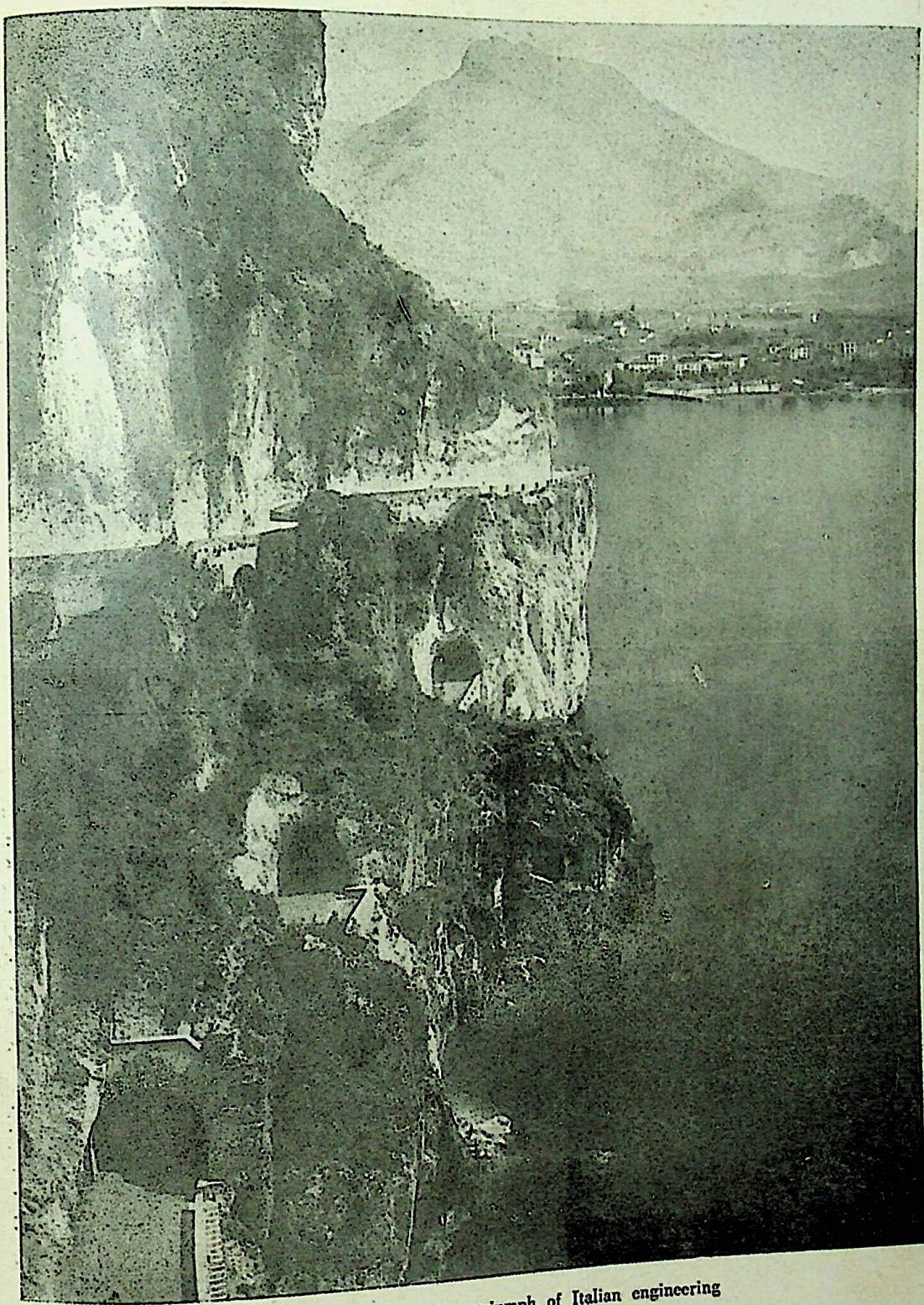

The Gardesana road, a triumph of Italian engineering

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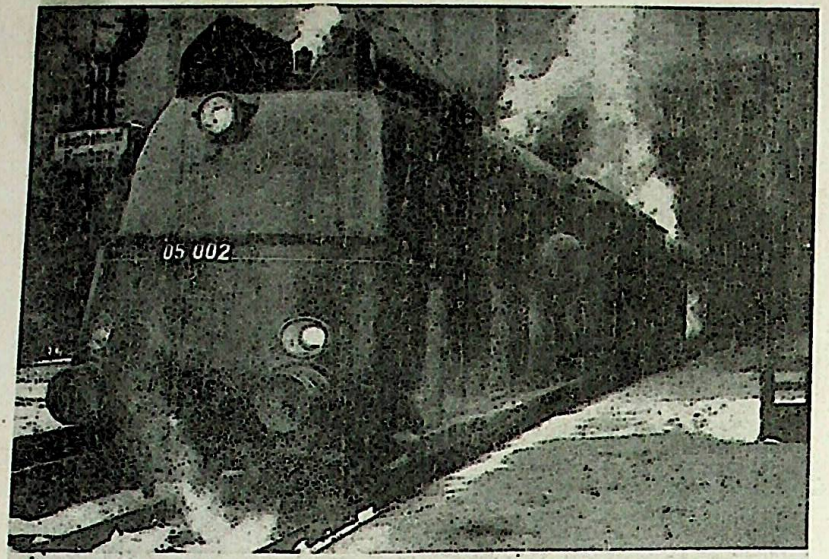
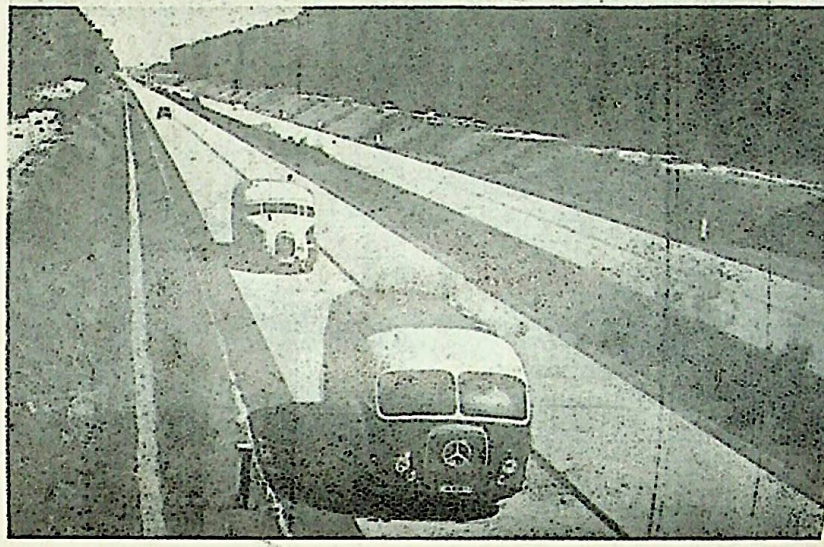


Borsig Stream lined express train
Double-decker train of the Lubeck-Buchen Railway



The Electrified so-called "glass" train
The German Railway Co's fast omnibuses on the Reich motor road

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INDIA AND PREPAREDNESS

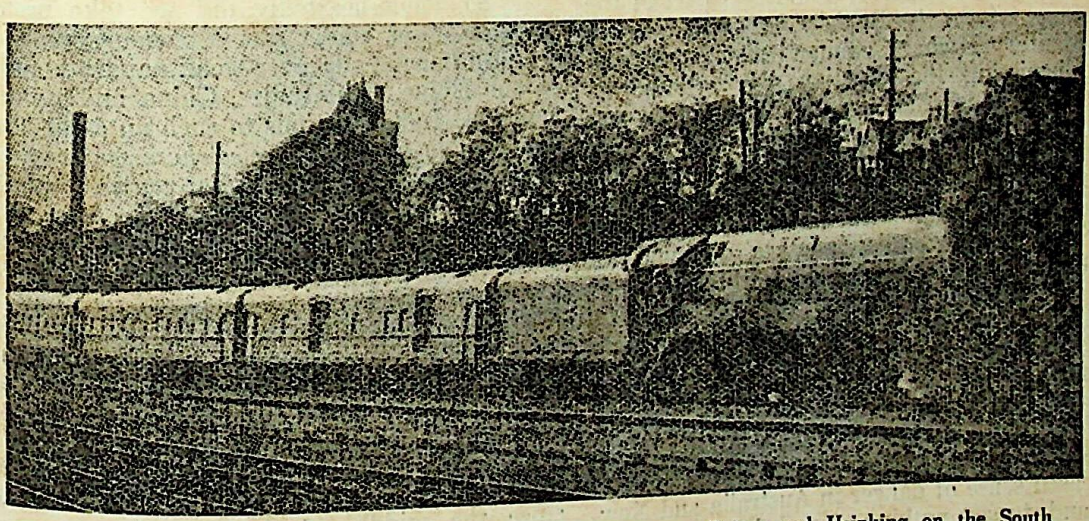
II. Communications

SOMETIME back there was a notification in the daily press, presumably issued by the direction of the Military authorities, which set forth the special advantages, such as customs duty rebate and money grants, offered by the Government of India to the purchasers of approved types of six-wheeled motor lorries. The condition for the grant of these advantages was that the owner was to hold the lorry at the service of the authorities, who thus would have a large number of suitable motor vehicles available at short notice and fair valuation. We do not know what this offer brought in the shape of results, in any case we do not see any visible results in the shape of private-owned six-wheelers plying in the main roads of the country. Perhaps the offer was not lucrative enough, perhaps the need was not urgent and so the offer was withdrawn. In any case the offer was not made in the proper way, since such offers always mean the putting up of prices by the trade to the utmost limit, thereby almost nullifying the advantages of the rebates and thus rendering the vehicle a bad proposition for the buyer when the added mechanical disadvantages are weighed in the balance. Perhaps the best method would have been to ensure a proper price and adequate service during running first and then to subsidize the seller to do the propaganda for sales. But even though enough sales had been obtained thus, and granting that a six-wheeler can negotiate the worst of roads, what remedy did that offer to the problem of *no roads* in many parts of the country, a few almost obliterated ancient tracks with *no bridges* elsewhere and a few good roads with bridges *specially built to prevent any other traffic than railway from crossing them?*

The position of India with regards to the problem of transport can be well-described in the following short paragraph from Sir Philip Chetwode's speech, published in the July issue of the *Asiatic Review* :

"Altogether there are 4,000 miles of vital frontier communications, road and rail, made vulnerable by the bridges crossing the immense rivers of India. Should these communications be cut; the forces fighting in defence of India's frontier would be gravely embarrassed, if not brought to a stand."

The frontier mentioned by Sir Philip is the land frontier only as is specifically mentioned in the following paragraph from the same speech.



The Stream-lined train, *Asia*, which has been running between Dairen and Hsinking on the South Manchuria Railway, was built in Japan. The railway line is the largest single investor in Manchukuo

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to safeguard their own interests, but that is not the true position. It is the Indian tax-payer that has to pay the cost in the long run. As such the bridges should have been made suitable for all purposes, commensurate with the cost, although while they were in the absolute possession of the monopoly concerns they could have charged a reasonable toll. Anyway, the death-knell of the time-honoured forms of traffic being thus rung, the field was left clear for the monopolists of the railways, and, by the beginning of the twentieth century, transport in India meant railway transport except in the watery areas of East Bengal, Malabar and a few other places.

The net result is that traffic in India has now perforce to move along fixed railway routes and over the narrow bottle-necks of railway bridges that act as efficient filters for stopping other forms of traffic and as these routes and bridges were planned and built by monopolist concerns, they are not always the shortest routes, nor are they (especially at the bridges) at all capable of handling major congestions of traffic at any time.

There is no flaw in Sir Philip Chetwode's statement, "altogether there are 4000 miles of vital frontier communications, road and rail, made vulnerable by the bridges crossing the immense rivers of India. Should these communications, be cut, the forces fighting in defence of India's frontier would be gravely embarrassed, *if not brought to a stand.*" All that we would add is that there is precious little road, excepting at the frontier, *and, as the bridges are mostly railway bridges, what roads there are elsewhere are useless excepting in the stretches between the rivers.* But what we would like to know is whether India's frontier is really confined to that area served by these 4,000 miles of road and rail. We frankly confess that we have no right to ask as we are supposed to be non-martial by law, by training and by statutory provision. Yet perhaps we might be excused if we ask why the 5,000 miles of Indian Sea-board (nearer 10,000, if the coastal contours be followed) are regarded as invulnerable. If they are not, then it is difficult to understand why they are left out of consideration in the defence plans of India. Even if there had been any International agreement to the effect that India must not be attacked excepting through the North-West Frontier,—valueless as such agreements are these days—one could understand the reasoning. Perhaps there is some such understanding of which we are ignorant, but even then it is difficult to understand why just these 4,000 miles of communications should be regarded as vital. By Sir Philip's own statement, munitions and supplies—without which the army is paralysed in no time—have to go from Calcutta and Cawnpore, Nasik and Jubbulpore. If we add re-inforcements etc., then Bombay and Colombo would be added and the vital communications become elongated to twice four thousand miles rail—and hardly any roads!

We have no desire, even if we had the authority, to challenge the justification of the importance placed by the army authorities on the North-West Frontier. No doubt it is the most vulnerable spot in India's natural defences, and no doubt ample provision has been made by the authorities for the adequate safeguarding against any probable hostile inroad through that quarter. But we would feel much safer if we knew that the communications would hold under the strain of sustained transport pressure following the attack in force by an army with modern equipment.

Then consider the almost impossible—which means "most probable" in modern international practice—case of an attack by the sea-route. Are there no possible enemies of the Empire who have access to the sea-routes? Captain Altham seems to believe that there are a good few potential ones—and they are far more formidable than the Russians or the trans-frontier pathans. What happens in the case of such an attack over a scattered area? Would the much-pampered railways be adequate to the problem of transporting whole sections of the defence forces—artillery, mechanised units and all—over a thousand miles and more at short notice? The mechanised units can travel over any roads, for short distances they may even travel over no roads, but can they travel over the "immense rivers of India" without any bridges—or with bridges that carry rail-tracks over wide ladder-like frame work—with any speed whatsoever? How long would it take them to cover a thousand miles of narrow roads, broken up by rivers, and in parts hardly any roads?

To cut the argument short, the position may be described as follows. The only effective means of communication and transport that India now possesses are the railways. If the sea-route be open, and supplies and reinforcements can be sent from three or more ports—so that three or more lines may share the burden—then the communications will hold, provided that these supplies be sent in a steady prolonged stream, not exceeding the maximum normal

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traffic. They are not in a position to cope with the volume of traffic that ensues during the rush periods of a major compaign, such as Sir Philip Chetwode's words regarding Russia imply.

On the other hand if the call be in the reverse order, that is any major call is made upon the army to proceed to some distant part of the coast-line to defend it in force, it is not at all certain whether the railway in question will be able to cope with the problem.

And if the railways fail, the army will be helpless, for there are no roads in India that can accommodate any appreciable volume of fast moving traffic. What roads there are, are narrow circuitous paths that add anything from 25 per cent to 250 per cent more distance to the path travelled.

* * * *

With the coming of motor-traction in the field of transport, all the civilized nations of the earth started building proper roads. Arterial roads, Trunk roads, Feeder roads, all these were planned by the state, designed and made by experts. These roads helped commerce and industry, trade and traffic, helped travel, beautified the countryside *and substantially helped to reduce unemployment.* In countries facing international complications, the strategic value of such roads—which cannot be as easily destroyed as railway tracks—as very valuable additions to the means of communication was quickly recognized by the military authorities and consequently many such roads were constructed regardless of expense or difficulty; Germany and Italy are cases in point.

Consequent upon the development of the roads, the railways of those countries were faced with a vigorous competition from motor-traction, which received a great filip from this new departure. Railways revenues started diminishing so rapidly that the managements concerned were in serious difficulties. But the problem did not prove impossible of solution. Efficiency was increased, rates were lowered, deluxe travelling was made the custom rather than the exception, and a wide campaign of publicity was instituted. The "road-menace" to the railways disappeared under the increased volume of traffic, directly the railways recognized that motor-traction had come to stay and made preparation for it. Indeed in Germany, Italy and U. S. A., road and rail started co-operation with mutual benefit, and to the general enrichment of the country. But then in these countries the blessings of monopoly-obsessed inefficiency were not so much to the fore!

In India the problem has come, and is being tackled in typical fashion. This article is not a political or economic examination of the workings of the Indian Railways. Whether they are State-managed or private monopolies, the mentality—and the resultant lack of efficiency—behind them is guided by the same old spirit of monopoly. Road traffic in India has a multitude of handicaps—outrageous "loot" prices for petrol and other necessities being part of them—and if the road *versus* rail problem is handled by the present methods, the Army in India will soon be reduced to the "C 3" standard in comparison with modern armies, so far as mobility is concerned. And it seems the Army has hardly any say in the matter! For what can the army do if the railways go on degenerating through continued loss (the latest estimate is Rs. 100,000,000) while holding up road traffic development through a dog-in-the-manger policy!

K. N. C.

MY GRANDMOTHER

By GUR BAKHSH SINGH

I love to narrate the views of one of us who is preparing to vanish into the impenetrable UNKNOWN. Not that her views are any nearer the truth than those of others, but because they seem to achieve peace of mind, which is undoubtedly a most desirable condition of living.

My grandmother is old, very old, reaching three and ninety; she is small, very small, hardly four and a half feet; she is happy, very happy, like the lotus kissed by the golden rays of the April sun; she is gentle, very gentle, like the placid little stream, which, coursing through a fragrant garden, softly caresses the roots of blossoming trees.

She is an old type Sikh, and lives unaffected by years which roll by, or the host of thoughts which around her rise and die. Clouds darken or it shines; rains pour or it is dry; she, like the marble temple on the summit of a rocky

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NOTES

Date of Alleged Abandonment of British Autocracy in India

The legislature of India was formally inaugurated by the Duke of Connaught on the 9th of February, 1921. Lord Chelmsford, who was then Governor-General of India, observed on that occasion :

"The increasing association of the people of India with the work of government had always been the aim of the British Government. In that sense a continuous thread of connection links together the Act of 1861 and the declaration of August, 1917. In the last analysis the latter is only the most recent and most memorable manifestation of a tendency that has been operative throughout British rule. But there are changes of degree so great as to be changes of kind, and this is one of them. For the first time the principle of autocracy which had not been wholly discarded in all earlier reforms was definitely abandoned; the conception of the British Government as a benevolent despotism was finally renounced; and in its place was substituted that of a guiding authority whose role it would be to assist the steps of India along the road that in the fullness of time would lead to complete self-government within the Empire. In the interval required for the accomplishment of this task, certain powers of supervision, and if need be of intervention, would be retained, and substantial steps towards redeeming the pledges of the Government were to be taken at the earliest moment possible."—Quoted in *India in 1921-22*, pp. 46-48, and reproduced therefrom in Major B. D. Basu's *India under the British Crown*, p. 512.

So, according to Lord Chelmsford, "the principle of autocracy" "was definitely abandoned" in 1921. That means that the old ideas of imperialism were discarded in that year. But in 1936 Lord Linlithgow, the present Governor-General of India, said on the 21st September :

"And if the constitutional changes now impending predicate remarkable growth of Indian political consciousness in terms of both of desire for self-government and of growing realization of essential unity of India, so also those changes connote profound modification of the British policy towards India as a member of the Commonwealth. For indeed, by their very nature, they involve nothing less than the discarding of old ideas of imperialism for new ideals of partnership and co-operation."

Both Lord Chelmsford and Lord Linlithgow speak of Britain "discarding" an old outworn thing, variously called autocracy and imperialism. The future chronicler of British generosity in India should know the definite date of Britain's Great Indian Renunciation. There is a yawning gulf of fifteen years between 1921 and 1936. How can it be annihilated or bridged?

Chinese Students' "National Salvation Movement"

There is a students' movement in China, known as the national salvation movement. It is not a nominal or a stagnant movement. In fact, no true *movement* can be at a standstill. The Chinese movement has developed to a new stage, and the students have assumed new responsiblities. *The Voice of China* says that

It can be taken for granted that, as long as China is not free, all Chinese, except the traitors, can never neglect their work for national liberation. This is particularly true of the students, who have not spent their holidays in personal enjoyment.

How Chinese Students Spend Their Holidays

That Chinese students do not spend their holidays in personal enjoyment is evidenced by the formation of the Obligatory Education Promotion Association of the city of Tientsin.

The students themselves describe the purpose of this association in the following words :

"We decided to organize this association because we found that our national crisis is too serious, and that the masses of people—the workers, peasants and the inhabitants of the small towns—need to be educated into an understanding of the situation. On the other hand we considered it the best task for us to undertake during our vacation. All of the work has one underlying purpose : national salvation. The cultural level of the great mass of people is generally low. . . . Our work, therefore, is to teach them to read, so that their political level may be raised."

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The work is carried on entirely by students, though financial assistance is obtained from other groups in the national salvation movement. The students say :

"We have two sections, one which works in the city and the other in the suburbs. In the city we have four schools, mainly for the workers and the children. In the suburbs we also have four schools, for the peasants and the illiterate children. On the average, there are from 130 to 140 in each school, who are divided into classes for adult men, women and children. If a class is too large it is divided into two groups. The work in general has proceeded very smoothly, with fine co-operation between the teachers and the pupils."

A reporter of the *Voice of China*, who visited some of the schools with a student-official as a guide, writes :

When we entered the school office, which was also used as the drawing room, I was nearly suffocated. It was as small as a chicken house, and countless flies were swarming about. This was the only school building which the students had been able to obtain. The other schools were all in local temples.

The teachers prepare their own meals. Fish and meat are not obtainable in the villages and vegetables can be procured only with great difficulty. In general the teachers had to rely upon the vegetables brought to them as gifts from the peasants, who also supplied them with cooking utensils.

The students had been eagerly welcomed by the people and although they had lived for only a brief period of time among the peasants, they were already on intimate terms with them.

These student-teachers lead a hard life of privation and suffering.

In the evening, after the school is finished, the desks are converted into beds, where some of the teachers slept. Others simply lay down on the earthen floor. Although these villages are infested with mosquitos, most of the students were without mosquito nets. They shared exactly the life of the peasants. I could not help but contrast this life with the comfortable existence in the summer resorts of Kuling or Peitaiho,—it was a comparison between paradise and hell. When I ventured to express the opinion that this was too bitter a life, the students only smiled and shook their heads. From their expressions of sincerity, enthusiasm and devotion, it was obvious that they were receiving their reward from the results of their work. They have accepted a life of struggle, and hardships have no terror for them.

The reporter gives some illustrations of this spirit.

There was one student-teacher, who each day travelled by foot, under the sultry sun, more than 20 *li* (seven miles) in order to teach in two villages. Another girl student also overcame the shortage in staff by this method. The writer met this girl, travelling from one village to the other, and on arriving at the second village she was seen immediately going to the kitchen to prepare her meal. Who would not be moved at such sacrificing zeal! There is no doubt but that the events of the past few years have remoulded the Chinese youth. They understand clearly the age in which they are living, their environment and their own mission. This explains why they are able to work unceasingly without thought of their own welfare.

So in China even girl-students are doing such work.

The writer has given many other interesting details.

The fellowship established between the teachers and pupils has already reached a point where they are no longer separate from each other. The writer saw many evidences to bear out this statement. Before and after the meals, the pupils voluntarily assisted the teachers, often bringing utensils and even food from their own homes. When it rained the women pupils would bring umbrellas to the teachers. The writer was told that once the girl who taught in two villages wanted to have someone substitute for her in one place, because the daily travel was too difficult for her. When the women in the village learned this, they threatened to strike if she left them.

In one of the villages the kitchen and the sitting room was in one single room. After the lessons were finished, one could see the teachers busily engaged in cooking, with the pupils running in and out as if they were all members of the same family. When the teachers, tired with their long day, would ask the peasants to leave they complied with the greatest reluctance.

In every school there is an extra-curricular activity almost every evening. Then the pupils, big and small, men and women, gather together and the students lead them in singing. These gatherings do not disperse until midnight.

In one of the villages the writer saw on the table in the sitting room of the school. two salt eggs, wrapped separately in paper, on which were written : "For our teacher,——." From the handwriting it was obvious that they were presented from one of the peasant-pupils.

These things may appear trifling, but they are indications of the warm fraternity which exists and which is growing ever stronger between the students and the peasants. This alone indicates the success of the venture.

Narcotization of China

Miss Muriel Lester, founder of Kingsley Hall in London, hostess of Gandhiji in London, and a social worker of international fame, writes in the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, July 10, 1936 :

"There are over thirty poisonous drug shops clustered outside the city wall . . . all belonging to Japanese or Koreans. . . . All of the 160 drug shops in the county of Changli have been set up during the last two or three years. . . ."

"The conditions in Changli are better than in some of the other cities of the demilitarized zone. The worst places are : Tangshan, Shanhaikuan, Lanhsien. Kaiping, Kuyeh and Chinwangtao."

"Certain specially unpleasant features struck me, such as the alliance of gambling, lotteries, brothels and pawn-shops, with the drug traffic. When people bring their articles to these pawn-shops, they take heroin or morphine instead of money. If an injection is desired, a syringe is rented to the customer on the deferred payment system. The first dose is obtainable at a low price, but rises stiffly as the customer becomes an addict. . . . Young people are freely served. . . . The danger to the young life of the community seems to the inhabitants so imminent that they are setting up associations for good citizenship, appealing to the public to guard against these evils in their midst."

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A Chinese paper observes :

Miss Lester was so indignant and excited at the state of affairs that she discovered in the demilitarized zone, that she went first to the Japanese Legation in Peiping, to the Japanese Consulate in Tientsin, and finally to the Government in Japan and reported what she had discovered. But the Japanese Government is more aware of this situation than Miss Lester, who seemed not to realize that these things constitute a well-planned political policy of Japanese imperialism. Had she travelled a short distance further into "Manchukuo, the paradise of the teachings of the good Kings," where the prosperous world of poisons has been created by force of arms, Miss Lester would have been even more excited and indignant.

In 1933 the income from the opium monopoly shown in the Manchukuo budget was 5,000,000 dollars. But the people perish, body and soul.

Swadeshi Movement in China

In China there is a Swadeshi Association called the "Students' Association for Promoting Native Goods." The following is a description of a propaganda pilgrimage to Kia Hsing made by this association.

Their morning activity consisted in distributing handbills and addressing the crowds at the tea houses, street corners and every place where people were gathered together. The people received them warmly, enthusiastically listening to their speeches and eagerly receiving their handbills, which called upon the people not to buy Japanese goods, to promote native products, and to struggle against Japanese aggression. After listening to one of the students address the crowd, a worker spoke, appealing to his fellow-workers to support the patriotic students.

In the afternoon the students staged a one-act play, "Foreign Sugar," which has as its theme the smuggling activities of the Japanese and the struggle of the people against them. More than a thousand people came to see the performance, which although rough in production was enthusiastic in expression. The audience was deeply impressed. Later, the students taught the audience to sing patriotic songs.

Returning to Shanghai in the evening, the students encouraged by their successful venture began their plans for a continuation of this activity with an even greater energy.

Women and Freedom Movement

Addressing a largely attended women's meeting at Madras, held on the 6th October under the presidency of Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said :

"If women's question in India is to be a drawing-room affair, nothing can be expected to happen. But if it happens to become a part of the struggle for national independence and economic emancipation, then you will not only better yourself but will also advance the country."

Continuing Panditji said,

"If the women of India take their full part in the struggle for national freedom, their status will be raised and they will gain a position in the public life of the country from which they cannot be removed."

Panditji recalled the part played by women in the last civil disobedience movements and said that the 1930 civil disobedience movement played a great part in ending the practice of seclusion of women. They came out, took part actively and showed powers of organization and constructive work and raised their status not only in the eyes of India but of the world.

Panditji proceeded to observe :

"So far as the local bodies are concerned, I should welcome women more and more to occupy seats in committees. In actual practice, however, there are not many occupying positions of authority. This may unfortunately be partly due to lack of power and human material at the present moment in women compared with men. Secondly, it may be that men are not keen in pushing up women. But if you are really keen on pushing ahead, you should take the initiative and also take your due share in your rightful place in the country."

Gyanendra Nath Chakrabarti

The death occurred at Benares on the 7th October of Mr. Gyanendranath Chakrabarti at the age of 75. He was successively lecturer at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, Inspector of Schools, pro-Vice-chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, and Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University. He was for years one of Dr. Annie Besant's co-workers in the Theosophical Society. He was an extensively travelled man, and if he has left an account of his travels, it should make interesting reading.

Bengal Women on Crimes Against Women

A representative gathering of women was held in the first week of October at the Mahabodhi Society Hall, Calcutta, to devise ways and means to deal with the growing menace of crimes against women in Bengal. Srijukta Sarala Bala Sarkar presided. A large number of ladies were present.

Members of all-India Women's Conference, National Council of Women in India and Bharat Stree Mahamandal attended the meeting.

In opening the proceedings, Sjta. Sarala Bala Sarkar said :

People in any other country would have been seriously perturbed if the crimes against women to the extent in which they were committed in Bengal, were perpetrated in any of those but it was a matter of deep regret that the Bengali people, specially Bengali women, were somewhat indifferent in the matter. It appeared that Bengal had become almost lifeless. Was not the inhuman torture to which a woman was subjected in Khorde-Gobindapur a slur on the womanhood of Bengal? Now-a-days the nationalist spirit was taking an increasingly stronger hold

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on the public mind in this country and this was as it should be. In this stage of their national development it would indeed be a matter of shame if the women of Bengal were not moved by the insult and indignities heaped upon their sisters in the villages and did not take a firm resolve to effectively fight this growing menace. When things like this were happening day in and day out, it was high time that women of this country became wide awake in this matter and made sincere attempts for a solution of the problem.

The meeting adopted a resolution

urging that in view of the inhuman tortures that were being perpetrated day in and day out on the helpless women of Bengal, Government should meet out sterner punishments for dealing with offences of this nature and suggesting that in villages where such offences were committed in an organized way, punitive tax should be imposed upon the people of that village. The meeting further urged the Government to direct their police officers to be very vigilant in dealing with offences of this nature. The meeting also suggested that Woman's Protection Committees might be established by the villagers in every village.

By another resolution

The meeting considered the sentences passed on the accused in the Khorde-Gobindapur case to be inadequate in comparison with the seriousness of the offence committed by them and hoped Government would prefer an appeal against the judgment.

The meeting further urged the women of Bengal to make organized efforts for devising ways and means for the eradication of the evil and persist in their efforts in this direction with unflagging zeal until they succeeded in weeding out the evil from the soil of this country.

The meeting by another resolution made it perfectly clear that the communal issue could not be raised in a matter like this. A woman was a woman, whether she was a Hindu or a Mahomedan, and her oppressor, whether a Hindu or a Mahomedan, was an oppressor all the same.

The first resolution was moved by Mrs. Kumudini Basu. She said that in order to stop these heinous crimes Government should post punitive police in places where such crimes occurred and levy punitive tax and also organize defence parties of young men in villages of Bengal. She was seconded by Mrs. Santa Nag and supported by Mrs. Biraj Mohini Roy, who said that every woman must keep a knife with her to protect her honour.

The second resolution was moved by Srijukta Mohini Debi and seconded by Mrs. Manika Gupta, Secretary of the Calcutta Constituency of the All-India Women's Conference.

The third resolution was moved by Srimati Rama Debi and seconded by Mrs. Kumudini Basu.

The fourth resolution was moved by Srijukta Anurupa Debi, seconded by Srimati Prabhabati Mitra and supported by Srimati Bibhabati Mukherjee.

All-Bengal Women Workers' Conference

As the result of the strenuous and whole-hearted labours of Miss Labanya-lata Chanda,

Miss Labanya-lata Chanda
Photo by *Ananda Bazar Patrika*

B.A., and her co-workers, the All-Bengal Women Workers' Conference was held in Calcutta on the 11th and 12th October under the presidency of Mrs. Nirmal Nalini Ghose of Nadia. It was the first of its kind.

Mrs. Nirmal Nalini Ghose
From *Ananda Bazar Patrika*

In her address, Mrs. Ghose appealed for the remoulding of society and the body politic of the present-day in the light of the ideals of equality and independence. If that were done,

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the sufferings and obstacles confronting them would melt away in no time.

Mrs. Ghose next referred to the repressive measures taken by the Government and the continued detention of the sons of the soil without open trial, criticised the problem of untouchability and appealed for the development of cottage industries.

"It is the heartlessness of man which is responsible for the uglification of modern civilization. It is only the touch of the woman's heart that will make it undergo a radical transformation,"

said Mrs. Nirmal Nalini Ghose. A moving appeal was made by her to the women workers of Bengal to translate their lofty ideas into immediate action, for which the most important things necessary were unflagging energy and a great love of work. The paramount need of the hour was a central organization of women workers with ramifications in town and villages all over the province and it would be the duty of these organizations to train women in the ideals of freedom, service and equality and create in them that driving force which would lead them to put their ideas into execution. She concluded by saying that they had an extensive field of work lying before them and that they wanted earnest and sincere workers from among the women all over Bengal.

Srijukta Mohini Devi, president of the Reception Committee, while giving due tribute

Srijukta Mohini Devi
From *Ananda Bazar Patrika*

to the Women's Protection Society and similar institutions for their services to the nation, appealed to women themselves to take their courage in both hands in order to eradicate crimes against womanhood. The unemployment problem among all sections of society, she remarked, had brought women out of their hearths and homes and the matter required careful handling, as women of the present-day had in many cases to earn a living for themselves and their families. She strongly condemned the tendentious sexual novels and stories written by some authors.

About 200 delegates from the mofussil and the city attended the Conference.

Tagore's Message to Women of Bengal

On the second day of the All-Bengal Women Workers' Conference Rabindranath Tagore addressed the delegates and other ladies present. As usual, he spoke in Bengali. The substance of his address is given below.

The birth of the earth, as every geologist knows, was preceded by tremendous revolutions in Nature's order. Millions of years after that there came on the earth the first faint signs of life, which brought along with it the first feelings of pang. Mightier and greater than the blind forces of nature, this throe of life was accepted by man.

But it was not man, engaged in persistent and pitiless struggle, but woman, imbibing this gift from nature, set herself to the formation of society. The dawn of human civilization found the matriachal system in force, the mother being the centre. Man employed his strength and intelligence in the building up of civilization. That, however, let loose a centrifugal tendency—a tendency to break it up, but woman's work was to prevent it from being broken. The bounds of the family and clan widened, but the mother remained the centre.

Origin of Patriarchy

A time, however, came in the history of human civilization when man asserted his strength and the social system became patriarchal. He began to extend the scope of civilization by the force of arms, while woman confined herself to a narrower field like housework and the bringing up of children. Great civilizations like those of India, Assyria, Egypt and Babylon were created. Politics, religion and economics were produced, but women had very little direct hand in them. She remained more or less in the background. In the strenuous work of creating civilization women had but little place. In the constant struggle and unrelenting warfare of those days women could not play their part. Whether it be due to the injustice of men or by the laws of nature, their contribution to the production of civilization had been but little, although it could not be gainsaid that indirectly, in many things, women had lent their inspiration. That had resulted in the failure of a harmony—a co-ordination between the intellect and the efforts of men and women. The bitter effects of this were in evidence today.

Civilization Based on Sacrifice

Civilization had its foundation in sacrifice. In all ages men, forsaking their individual will, had sacrificed themselves at its altar. But the greatest sufferers from laws made by them had been women—weak and helpless. They had all along obeyed the restraints imposed on them and thereby accepted their miseries. They had been doing

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this till now, thinking that self-torture brings purity. They had portrayed God, as it were, to be a cruel task-master who could be propitiated by fast and privation.

BANE OF BLIND BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

Women had been debarred from participating in the work of civilization and consequently their knowledge had been limited. Hence those superstitions and blind beliefs which were not found among men were cherished by women, as if these were a necessary part of their being. This ignorance and superstition which had been accumulating among them for ages had been retarding the progress of mankind. That illiteracy and superstition which had enveloped the entire country had its root in the secluded corners of our homes.

SECLUSION OF WOMEN

The only redeeming feature of the situation was the awakening consciousness of women, witnessed even in the East. Everywhere it had been realized that seclusion of women had done irreparable injury. The Poet had travelled all over the world and almost everywhere seen the new signs. In Mahomedan countries like Persia, where customs regarding women were unduly severe, women had been educated and were now taking their rightful place in society. The progress of women in Japan was known to all. In China women had taken in their hands the defence of their motherland. Conditions in Spain would tell the same tale. To save their motherland they had not hesitated to take part in bloody warfare.

WESTERN CIVILIZATION ON THE WAY TO DISSOLUTION

It would be wrong to suppose that these women in those countries had given up their womanly qualities and were imitating men. There could be no more serious mistake than to think that women's attainments would achieve their fullness in their limited sphere alone. It was women alone who could save civilization, which was proceeding to its goal of destruction through a thorny path stained with blood. Civilization made by man was in the melting pot. It was in Western countries that man-made civilization had flourished most. This one-sided civilization, the savants of those countries had opined, was on its way to dissolution, since it had not been supplemented and mellowed by woman's heart and intellect.

Just at the time when the situation had seemed hopeless, women had entered the arena. Even if a slight vestige of civilization remained after its impending dissolution, it would be women's sacred task to create a new civilization on its ruins. Man's intellect and woman's heart acting in unison would bring about that new state of things. Then and then only they would be able to take their rightful place.

REMOVAL OF IGNORANCE

But before they aspired to do that, they must assert themselves, remove their ignorance and refuse to bow down to blind belief and superstition. They must be brighter in intellect and have a wider outlook. Indian women must not think for a moment that they were lowly and downtrodden. They were to discard their age-long ignorance and rise to the occasion. The new age was coming.

Resolutions at Bengal Women Workers' Conference

The All-Bengal Women Workers' Conference has passed a number of resolutions. One of these recommended that an All-Bengal Mahila Sangha should be formed on non-communal lines, having its branches in every town and, if possible, in every village in Bengal. A committee would be formed with 20 members from Calcutta and 40 members from the mofussil.

The Conference condemned the future constitution as harmful to the country's interests, and recommended that the policy of the Indian National Congress should be followed in this regard. The Sangha would help the women candidates set up by the Congress.

The Conference thought that it should be the aim of the Sangha to help the unemployed with money for promotion of arts and crafts in this country.

The existing repressive laws were condemned and their abolition was demanded.

The demand was also made of freedom of the Press, individual liberty and the right of holding meetings without hindrance.

The Conference expressed its dissatisfaction at the light punishment passed on the offenders at the retrial of the Khorde-Govindapur case and requested the Government to file an appeal against the decision so that a heavier sentence might be passed on them.

The Conference further drew the attention of the Government and the public to crimes against women in certain districts in East and North Bengal and suggested that Government should pass heavier sentences on the offenders, which would have the effect of lessening the number of such incidents.

Bengal Congress Socialist Conference

The Bengal Congress Socialist Conference was held in Calcutta in the first week of October under the presidency of Mr. Yusuf Meher Ally of Bombay. The main resolution passed at the Conference ran as follows :

"This conference expresses its considered opinion that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people to frame their own constitution, and that the new constitution as embodied in the Government of India Act is thoroughly reactionary and retrograde and seeks to intensify the exploitation of the masses and strengthen the fetters of imperialism by granting concessions to the upper classes at the cost of the overwhelming majority of the population and using them to thwart the working of the popular will.

"The only cause open for the Congress is to adopt such measures as will make the working of the constitution impossible.

"This Conference declares that the only constitution that will be acceptable to the Indian people will be one drawn up by a national Constituent Assembly elected on universal adult suffrage and composed of the representatives of the exploited and oppressed masses of the people, provided that those who have opposed and betrayed the struggle for independence shall have no place."

How will the persons to be excluded be chosen and who will choose them? Will there be set up a sort of Political Inquisition? In that case, the details of political orthodoxy and political heresy must be defined.

The Conference declared itself absolutely opposed to the acceptance of Ministerial offices by Congressmen, and expressed the

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opinion that the election manifesto issued by the All-India Congress Committee was a great improvement on the previous position of the Congress. It urged the Congress to clarify certain points.

As regards the Communal Decision, the Conference "strongly disapproves of the recent decision of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee executive" in favour of agitation against that so-called award. This strong condemnation of the B. P. C. C. was followed, not preceded, by disapproval of the Communal Decision itself. So the decision of the B. P. C. C., in the opinion of the Socialists, would seem to be a greater evil than the Communal Decision!

Communal Strife and Economic Strife

There are some leaders and their followers in this country who think that communal strife in India can and will be ended by the formation of parties on economic lines. Whether communal strife can be ended by the formation of parties on economic lines, we do not know. But let us assume that it can be. But, then, we shall have class struggles in the place of communal strife. In various countries of Europe, *e.g.*, Russia, there has been class warfare. Such warfare is going on in Spain at present. Is class warfare less bitter and less sanguinary than communal dissensions and riots?

Whatever the adjective used before a word connoting conflict, the method of war does not commend itself to us. If conflict and bloodshed *must* go on is there much to choose between different kinds of violent clash? We do not believe that there *must* be some sort of warfare always.

The world requires an altogether different method for the attainment of peace and concord. And the motive at the back of the method should be the opposite of greed, hatred and race or class arrogance.

"*Madrasee*" *and* "*South Indian*"

The Indian Social Reformer of Bombay, edited by Messrs. K. Natarajan and S. Natarajan, has an article on "Madrasees" in Bombay. It complains:

> We are having in Bombay just now something like the problem of Indians in South Africa. It concerns 'Madrasees' so-called. As the word 'cooly' in South Africa came to apply to all Indians, whatever their status or occupation, the name 'Madrasee' which has been pre-empted for many years by butlers and *ayahs* in the service of Europeans, has been extended in Bombay to all persons from South India. There was recently a protest in a newspaper by a South Indian against this application of the term 'Madrasee'. He was told in reply that his objection was fanciful. Bengalis, Punjabis, Hindustanis, Sindhis and others do not object to be called by the name of their Provinces. Why should the South Indian object to be called a Madrasee?

Our contemporary replies:

> There is a reason and a good one. Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces consist of different linguistic groups. They cannot therefore be used to designate all their inhabitants like the Punjab and Bengal. Moreover the term Punjabi, Bengali and others are not ordinarily used to apply to a class like butlers and *ayahs* and they are not, therefore, associated with any ideas of inferior status.

It continues:

> Of late we have seen advertisements in the papers calling for applications for vacant posts with the proviso that no Madrasees need apply. This sentiment found expression in a resolution recently brought before the Bombay Municipal Corporation. . . . It was thrown out by a large majority as absurd. But the sentiment against Madrasees is there and it is worth while enquiring how far it is justified.

Our contemporary states that it was a South Indian, Mr. K. Subramania Iyer, who induced the Government and University of Bombay to recognize commercial education and was instrumental in establishing the College of Commerce.

> Then came many persons, mostly shorthand writers. There was no good shorthand writer in Bombay then and even now few Bombay men have the patience and perseverance needed to attain proficiency in that art which the South Indian had made his own. . . . All over India, South Indian shorthand writers have been regarded as the most efficient in the line and there has been a demand for them. It is clear, therefore, that the South Indian shorthand writers have supplied a want in the Bombay business world.

It is stated next:

> The two great advantages which the South Indian possesses over the local man, is his accurate knowledge of English and his aptitude for hard work. The secondary schools in Madras are much more efficient, particularly in the teaching of English, than their counterparts in Bombay. A speaker at the Bombay Municipal Corporation meeting complained that the *Times of India* was full of Madrasees. The *Times of India* has no special reason to favour Madrasees in preference to Parsis, who at one time occupied the same positions. The argument really tells against the attack on Madrasees. Another argument used in private by Bombayites, is that the Madrasee has a low standard of life. "Standard of life" is difficult to define, but it should surely include not only food and drink for the physical man but also something for his mind and spirit. The Madrasee may stint, he often does, in his food and clothing, but he has, speaking generally, an intellectual outlook derived from the tradition of South India.

What that tradition is is suggested thus:

> Modern Hinduism had its greatest teachers in the South in the persons of Sankara, Ramanuja, and

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Madhva Acharyas. Even earlier, a South Indian Brahmin, Nagarjuna, was an apostle of Buddhism to Kashmir. An even greater South Indian was Bodhidharma, who introduced the Dhyana School into China. . . .

It is pointed out in conclusion that two of the few Indians best known outside India are South Indians.

All-Bengal Students' Conference

An All-Bengal Students' Conference was held in Calcutta, on the 12th October last under the presidency of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. In the course of his presidential address Mr. Bose said :

"The new constitution which is being ushered in is inconsistent with national independence and the principles of democracy. It gives little or no power to the people of India. The Indian National Congress has rejected it; and in order to demonstrate your confidence in your great national institution it is your duty to see that only those who conform to the Congress policy and programme are returned to the new legislatures."

He proceeded to observe :

"My faith in Bengal's nationalism is born of my faith in Bengal's youth. Our sickness, social and political, cannot be cured by sighs and laments; they can only be cured by those who are young and courageous. It is for the youth of a country to preach, to combat, to act. It is for them to discover, to create and to lead."

It is quite true that our sickness, social and political, cannot be cured by sighs and laments. It is also true that social, political and other maladies can be cured by those who are young and courageous. But the meaning of youth has to be correctly understood. Every one who is young in years may not be youthful in spirit and energy. And youthfulness is not the monopoly of persons of any particular age.

We desire and hope that many of our students, when their academic career is over, may become leaders in course of time. We believe our students are intelligent enough not to think that studentship in itself is "Leadership Made Easy."

Referring to the detenus Mr. Bose said that their sufferings had been beyond expression. As he had himself been a prisoner without trial, his opinion cannot be treated as that of a mere arm-chair critic.

The 'ignoble' Communal Decision, according to Mr. Bose, was calculated to divide the nation vertically as well as horizontally. The agitation for the rejection of the new Constitution must necessarily comprise within it agitation or the rejection of the communal decision. He reiterated that his views regarding the imperative necessity of carrying on a country-wide agitation against the communal decision had not undergone any change whatsoever. This opprobrious attempt to drive a spoke in the wheel of Indian nationalism must be defeated at all cost, in order to succeed in the fight for freedom.

Referring to the unemployment problem he made a survey of what the foreign Governments were doing in ameliorating the conditions of the unemployed in their respective countries. The acuteness of the situation in our country, he said, could well be guessed from the fact that the output of the factories to be established by the 58 detenus recently released had been sold and paid for in advance. This must serve as an eye opener to the possibilities which the Government of Bengal had not utilised all these years through neglect or indifference.

Concluding Mr. Bose said :

"You have inscribed on your banner the words 'Freedom, Peace and Progress'—freedom as opposed to slavery, peace as opposed to violence and progress as opposed to inertia. Be loyal to your banner and success will be yours.

Students and Politics

As chairman of the reception committee of the All-Bengal Students' Conference Mrs. Anila Dasgupta rightly observed :

"If students should not participate in politics, on what ground is the right to vote conferred upon them in India under the Government of India Act, 1935? This recognition of the right to vote was a recognition of the right to participate in politics."

This right to participate in politics should be properly understood by all classes of people. While, on the one hand, adults who are peasants or farmers, factory workers, clerks, teachers, professors, lawyers, shopkeepers, merchants and other men of business, landholders, and others, should not confine themselves wholly to the particular kind of work on which their livelihood depends, but should pay due attention to politics also; on the other hand they should not (as they usually do not) neglect such work for participating in politics. No one can lay down for each individual how much time should be given to one's own work and how much to politics. Such apportionment, depending on individual circumstances, must be made by the individual himself. We are speaking of individual himself, not of days of revolution.

As regards students, except the few who are self-supporting, they depend for their expenses on what they get from their parents or other guardians. So they do not have to work for their bread. But, though they have no bread-earning occupation, their principal work, as their name indicates, is study. Study does not, of course, mean only the perusal of books. Other means of acquiring knowledge and experience are included in that word. So, just as other classes of people have some main occupation which they do not and should not neglect, students also should not neglect study either for politics or for public work or for play. As in the case of other classes of people, so in

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the case of students, each individual must determine for himself how much of his time should be devoted to study and how much to other things.

We repeat, we are speaking of ordinary times, not of times of revolution.

These are unexciting 'uninspiring' platitudes. To repeat them is a thankless task.

Council for the Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine

DARJEELING, OCT. 12.

The "Associated Press" understands that the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Local Self-government have sanctioned the constitution of a Council for the Faculty of Ayurvedic medicines.

The function of the Council will be to select the curriculum, hold examinations and grant degrees and diplomas in Ayurvedic medicines.

It is further understood that the Government are also considering the question of constituting a Council for the Unani system of medicines on similar lines.

—*Associated Press.*

Indian Medicinal Plants

As a council is going to be constituted for the faculty of Ayurvedic medicine, it is necessary to remind the public and the Government that Ayurvedic medicine, if it is to maintain its ground, must go in for self-criticism and progress. All Ayurvedic medicines should be chemically and clinically tested in a strictly scientific manner.

For conducting such work, there should be properly equipped libraries and laboratories, as also farms for the cultivation of medicinal plants whose efficacy as remedies has been scientifically established.

Some time ago we read in the papers that the Mysore Government had decided to cultivate such Indian medicinal plants as could be grown in Mysore. *Indian Medicinal Plants*, by Lieut.-Colonel K. R. Kirtikar and Major B.D. Basu, brought up to date by recognized authorities, will be a great help to all who, either as practitioners, or as manufacturers of medicines, or as promoters and patrons of Ayurveda, want to serve the cause of indigenous medicine. The excellent plates in that work offer a ready means of identification of medicinal plants.

Medical Aid in Villages

Some provinces in India may be comparatively more urban in character than some others, but on the whole India is a country of villages. And this land of villages is also a land of diseases. The villages are for the most part without any qualified physicians. There are thousands of villages where there are not even quacks. Under the circumstances, the decision of the Bombay Government to encourage qualified private medical men to practise in villages by the grant of subsidies is a commendable one. Both public men and the Government talk nowadays of village improvement, rural reconstruction, village resuscitation, and the like. All such work requires the services of medical men.

The idea of the Bombay Government is to put one trained doctor in charge of three or four of a selected group of villages which he will be expected to visit on specified days each week. He is to receive from the Government Rs. 50 a month. He will also be allowed private practice. The income from both sources may not be much, but it is certainly a living wage. The number even of medical graduates who do not earn a living wage is not very small. So the allowance fixed by the Bombay Government is not niggardly.

Other provinces should draw up similar schemes *and work them.*

War on Third Class Matriculates

It is said that there is a suggestion in the report of the Sapru Committee on unemployment that third class matriculates should be kept out of universities. The Government of India have asked the universities to state their opinion on the suggestion. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, vice-chancellor of the Patna University, is said to have opposed such exclusion, saying that it would shut out 50 to 60 per cent of the students of Bihar from the benefits of higher education. The proportion may vary from province to province. But everywhere it will prevent many students from receiving higher education.

Speaking generally, is there any marked difference between the intellect and attainments of third class and second class men? Even as regards the first class, many teachers will be able to say that some pupils whom they had expected to pass in the first class had passed in the third and, not unoften, *vice versa.*

Some time ago the results of an examination, so to speak, of examiners in England were published in the papers. The answers of some examinees which had been marked by one examiner were given to others to examine. The marks given by the different examiners differed very greatly. Even the same examiner who had originally examined some answers and given marks for the same, when required to

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Bust of Rammohun Roy
By John Gibson
Photographed from different angles

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examine them after some time had passed, gave marks very different from those which he had originally given.

Some third class matriculates are known to have done much better in higher examinations.

So the infallibility of examiners and the reliability of public examination results are not axiomatic. Not unoften they may even be myths.

But apart from the reliability or unreliability of examinations, it has to be considered whether the exclusion of third class matriculates from colleges will lessen unemployment or help these matriculates.

Suppose some third class matriculates join some college, become graduates or "failed B.A.s" and do not get any employment. Then in that case they swell the numbers of unemployed graduates or unemployed "failed B.A.s." Suppose, on the other hand, that these matriculates are shut out from all colleges and remain matriculates. As there are numerous unemployed graduates, it would not be wrong to assume that these matriculates, too, would remain unemployed and swell the ranks of the jobless. So in either case there would be unemployment. Therefore, the mere exclusion of third class matriculates from colleges cannot by itself be a remedy for unemployment.

As regards the excluded matriculates themselves, what good would their exclusion do them? If there were a sufficient number of technical, technological, or vocational institutions of other kinds which they could join for education, they could join them and get some kind of training. But there is a lamentable paucity of such institutions. Hence, the excluded matriculates can only become idlers. Would that be good either for them or for society or for the Government?

It is a most ridiculous and mischievous idea to exclude young men willing to receive education from joining arts and science colleges without providing facilities for some sort of vocational education. Even if there were a sufficient number of vocational institutions, there would be no justification for compelling any class of students to join them.

The Government does not guarantee employment even to all of the small number of young men who pass successfully through the few vocational institutions in the country. In fact many of them are unemployed or are engaged in work for which they were not trained. Therefore, guaranteeing appointments to all who might finish their courses in a larger number of such institutions—supposing they came into existence somehow, would be out of the question. The number of Indian young men who are unemployed in spite of their having received technical training abroad is not small.

In a country like India, with few industries, a general education under present circumstances may some times be better than technical training, as an arts graduate may get a job for which the technically-trained man is not fit.

It is not easy to suggest feasible means for solving the unemployment problem. But nostrums like the exclusion of third class matriculates from colleges, the reduction of the number of colleges and high schools or of their students, are worse than useless. The mere establishment of numerous vocational institutions would be no solution, unless new careers were opened out at the same time by the starting of new industries, the revival of old ones, extending the scope of existing ones, the modernization and expansion of agriculture and the development of trade and commerce.

The public services can and should absorb a larger number of Indians than they do now. Indians should be eligible for all appointments, from the highest to the lowest, in the civil and military services. We do not mean to say that to-morrow some Indians should become the Governor-General or the Commander-in-Chief or provincial governors and the like. But all racial barriers should be removed immediately, and arrangements should be made for Indians to receive training for all kinds of services which require special training.

Aviation, railways and shipping can provide employment for thousands upon thousands of more Indians.

Our Central and Provincial Governments seem to think that they have done enough to solve the problem of unemployment by teaching a very small number of men the processes of making soap, knives, scissors, brass cups, umbrellas and the like. Something is better than nothing, no doubt, but this something is not enough. It may be considered even worse than nothing from a certain point of view, as it may mislead the Government of the country and outsiders to imagine that the Indian unemployment problem was being tackled.

Bengal Private Colleges Menaced

Private colleges in Bengal depend for their existence almost entirely on the tuition fees received from their students. That means that they must have a large number of students or

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else close down. This may not be, in fact is not, a satisfactory state of things. But if the Government, local bodies and rich men will not or cannot promote higher education by substantial pecuniary help, there is no other way to spread knowledge than to have a large number of students and collect fees from them.

The Calcutta University has been engaged in considering the accommodation, the number of professors and lecturers and other details in relation to the colleges for laying down the maximum number of students which each college should have. Our knowledge of the matter is derived from the columns of newspapers, and hence we cannot vouch for the accuracy of the information given in the previous sentence. Assuming that it is correct, we would suggest that, if on enquiry it appeared that any college had not or private colleges in general had not sufficient accommodation and teachers, the right thing to do would be to secure subsidies for increasing the accommodation and recurrent grants for increasing the number of teachers. It should not be made impossible for any college to go on. It should also be considered that, if the existence of colleges be threatened, that would be a menace to the strength and usefulness of the University also.

We are aware of the oft-repeated opinion of Sir P. C. Ray that the graduate-manufacturing machine should be scrapped, so that our young men may turn their attention and energies to agriculture, trade, industries and business in general. Without discussing whether material prosperity alone is the one thing or main thing needful—we know Sir P. C. Ray does not hold any such opinion, we would agree to the closing down of the University and the colleges, if that alone could solve the unemployment problem and poverty problem in Bengal. But we are afraid that is not the right solution.

Munshi Prem Chand

In Munshi Prem Chand Hindi literature has lost its most popular and distinguished novelist and story-teller. His real name was Dhanpat Rai, Prem Chand being his pen-name. He began his literary career as a writer of Urdu but, later, gave up Urdu in favour of Hindi and made his mark by his novels and short stories. Some of his stories have been translated into languages other than Hindi. He distinguished himself also as editor of the Hindi monthly "Madhuri" and the Hindi quarterly "Hansa."

Sir Lalubhai Samaldas

By the death of Sir Lalubhai Samaldas India has lost a distinguished citizen. Early in life he occupied a high position in the service of the Bhavnagar State. Giving it up, he entered business in Bombay. He came to be known as an able man of business and was a director of a number of important concerns. He made the co-operative movement his own, assisted in founding a co-operative bank in Bombay and rendered signal service to that movement. He was for a time a member of the Executive Council of Bombay. He was elected to the Council of State in 1920. He was connected with several educational institutions and movements and, unlike many men of business, was noted for his culture and learning. Once, while travelling with him from Bolpur to Calcutta, the present writer had the pleasure of listening to his conversation on the *Upanishads* with Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri, which showed that he was as much at home in the Shastras as in the share market. In religious and social matters he was a man of liberal views. He kept himself up-to-date in matters of commerce and industry by getting in touch with the latest methods and machinery, as his visit to Japan, described in a book by him on the subject, shows. The present writer made his acquaintance in Bombay in 1904, at the exhibition held there in connection with that year's session of the Indian National Congress, when Sir Lalubhai was showing round a party of delegates. He was a man of affable manners and could always be easily recognized by his head-dress.

Ram Narayan Chaturvedi

By the untimely death of Professor Ram Narayan Chaturvedi, Agra University and the United Provinces generally have lost a distinguished scholar and professor of history. He had talent for research. He belonged to the new reform party of Chaturvedi Brahmins. He was a patriot with a longing for constructive work.

Pandit Sheo Narain

Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain of Lahore, who died on the 29th of September last at the age of 75, was once the leading advocate in the local High Court and had acted as a Judge for some time. It was his judgment which saved the life of Bhai Parmanand during the martial law period in the Panjab. He was a member of the old legislative council and took keen interest in public affairs. His study

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of comparative religion brought him in touch with Buddhism, which he finally accepted as his faith. He did much to propagate Buddhism in the Panjab and was closely connected with the activities of the Mahabodhi Society. He built a small cottage at Sarnath, where he used to spend many weeks every year in the company of Buddhist Bhikshus. His literary works include a life of Buddha, novels and travel diaries and some booklets in English.

End of Arab Strike in Palestine

Palestine Arabs who had joined the strike returned to work on the 12th October last. Shop windows were not shuttered for the first time since the spring. Arab 'buses had begun to run. But it was reported that there were still some terroristic incidents. It is to be hoped that these will soon cease.

Jews and Arabs ought to be able to come to some understanding. The Arabs have the whole of Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and Egypt. These do not constitute an insignificant portion of the earth. Jews must have a national home after centuries of dispersion. And where can that home be except where centuries ago their ancestors lived? Palestine is not a large country, but it is large enough for both Palestine Arabs and the autochthonous and immigrant Jews. If Mussalman Arabs have their holy places there, Jews and Christian Arabs have their holy places there, too, of much earlier date.

Arabs could never expect to gain their object by violence—particularly as the rulers of independent Arab States were on the side of Britain. Time will show what they may or may not be able to gain by negotiation.

English Youths Attack London Jew Shops

LONDON, OCT. 12.

In the evening a party of about 100 youths, from 16 to 18 years old, waving black handkerchiefs, attacked shops owned by Jews, smashing windows and in some cases stealing goods. The disorderly elements disappeared on the arrival of the police.

It is stated that 25 shop windows were smashed and a motor car belonging to a Jewish tailor was set on fire.—*B. O. W.*

This shows that the British people are absolutely fit for democratic self-government and that there is no need there for a "Communal Award" favouring Jews.

Bengal Students' Conference Resolutions

Some of the resolutions passed at the All-Bengal Students' Conference have a direct bearing on the life and work of students, whilst the others might have been passed at other Nationalist gatherings also. Of the former description are the following:

"This Conference reiterates its strong condemnation of all repressive laws and ordinances, curfew orders, restraint orders and Public Security Acts, inasmuch as they are a negation of the rights and liberties of the people, and demands the repeal of all those laws, ordinances, etc., and further demands the immediate release of all those including students who have been detained in prison and elsewhere without trial."

"Resolved that a permanent All-Bengal Organization of Students be formed with a view (*a*) to encourage cultural and intellectual co-operation on equal terms between the students of various provinces and Indian States, (*b*) to suggest improvements in the present educational system, (*c*) to safeguard the rights of the student community and (*d*) to prepare the students for citizenship in order to take a due share in the struggle for complete national freedom by rousing their political, economic and social consciousness."

It is a pleasure to find that our students are intelligent enough to understand that *as students* they cannot assume the role of leaders and that it is for them to *prepare* themselves for citizenship in order to take a due share in the struggle for complete national freedom by rousing their political, economic and social consciousness.

"Ananda Bazar Patrika" of the 15th October last has drawn the attention of the highest authorities ("uchchatama kartripaksha") to the following resolution adopted at the Conference:

"This Conference strongly protests against the prevalent mean policy of appointing teachers and students to perform the work of spies and informers." (Translation).

Is there such a policy or practice?

Payers of Land Revenue and Income-Tax in Bengal

Some time ago (see *The Modern Review* for March, 1933, and *Roy's Weekly*, Feb. 25, 1935) it was estimated that the Muhammadans do not pay more than 20 per cent. of the land revenues of Bengal, and more than 3 per cent. of the income-tax collected in Bengal. The estimates appear to be corroborated by the following facts. When the Morley-Minto Reforms were under discussion, Mr. R. B. Hughes-Buller, I.C.S., District Magistrate of Bakarganj, made certain enquiries about the payment of land revenue, and income-tax by the Hindus and the Muhammadans of the District. The results of his enquiries are given below (see p. 1377 of Papers relating to Constitutional Reforms in India, Pt. III):

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Number of proprietors paying land revenue

Sect	Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,5000		Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 5,000		Rs. 5,000 to Rs.10,000		Rs.10,000 & upwards		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Hindus	35	4	22	2	6	6	10	2	73	14
Muhammadans	8	4	5	0	2	5	2	0	17	9

Statement showing the number of Muhammadans and Hindus who pay income-tax above Rs. 50.

	Muhammadans	Hindus	Others
Above Rs. 1,000	0	4	0
Rs. 500	0	9	1
Rs. 100	4	99	1
Rs. 50	11	168	1
Total ..	15	280	3

From the above two statements, we find that the minimum land-revenue paid by the Hindus of the district is Rs. 2,79,000 as against Rs. 79,500 of the Muhammadans; or, in other words, the Muhammadans pay only 22 per cent. The Hindus pay income-tax to the extent of Rs. 26,800; "others" pay Rs. 650; and the Muhammadans Rs. 950 only; or in other words they pay less than 4 per cent. And this in a district where they are 71 per cent. of the population.

J. M. Datta

Physique and Proselytization

Sir Mahomed Iqbal's advice anent the Moslem missionaries who are to be imported from Al Azhar University of Cairo for converting the Harijans of India to Islam is that they should be tall and dignified-looking. Should not they also carry sticks, as Maulana Shaukat Ali does?

The British Christian missionaries who are coming out to India with the same object should take the Panjab Islamic poet's hint.

"Kick Indians Out" Movement in Ceylon

Simla, Oct. 15.

Thirty members of the Assembly, belonging to all parties including the European group, have issued a statement relating to the position of Indians in Ceylon, declaring that it was mainly through Indian labour and Indian enterprise that Ceylon had attained the present state of prosperity and that the movement to "kick Indians out" would mean retaliation by India in the same spirit.

The statement is signed among others by Mr. Govind Vallabh Pant, Mr. F. E. James, Mr. Aney, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury and Sir Md. Yakub.—*Associated Press.*

The Sinhalese are not an independent white imperialist Christian people. Why then this insolence?

Bengal Educational Department Anti-Hindu?

For a good many years the Education Ministers of Bengal have been Moslems. If these gentlemen had been the greatest educational experts available, it would have been foolish to take any exception to that fact. But unfortunately, far from their being the greatest available educational experts, they have not been known to possess any expert knowledge of education at all. And, as the Muhammadan community is not the best educated community in Bengal, there is no reason why Government should choose Education Ministers from that community alone for years together.

What makes the situation worse is that most of the officers at the headquarters of the Bengal Education Department are Muhammadans and Europeans, and they are not men of outstanding ability and attainments. It is said that of these nine officers five are Muhammadans, three are Britishers and only one is a Hindu. And it is rumoured that this solitary Hindu is going to be transferred and a non-Bengali Muhammadan brought in to take his place.

Maulavi Abul Kasem

Maulavi Abul Kasem, M.L.C., of Burdwan, whose death was reported in the papers a few days ago, was one of the zealous lieutenants of Surendra Nath Banerjea in the days of the anti-Partition agitation and rendered valuable service to the swadeshi movement. He was an effective speaker both in Bengali and English. In the latter part of his career his attitude towards the Congress was hostile, but he continued to cherish respect for Congress leaders of the old school, particularly for Surendra Nath Banerjea, whom he called his political *guru.*

Ban on "Amrita Bazar Patrika"

The order of the President of the Legislative Assembly, withdrawing the press gallery ticket from the representative of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," has been widely condemned in the indigenous section of the press in India. "The Amrita Bazar Patrika" used strong language in criticizing the President. But he ought not to have been so thin-skinned. Cry-babyism and high office go ill together.

Fresh Big Security from "Ananda Bazar Patrika"

Part of the security formerly taken from "Ananda Bazar Patrika" has been forfeited

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and fresh deposits of Rs. 5,000 each have had to be made by two persons connected with it.

As the judiciary are no less pillars of the State than the executive and as the former enjoy greater confidence of the public than the latter, the Government ought to bring editors or publishers or printers to trial before law-courts for alleged offences instead of demanding and obtaining big security deposits by executive order.

The Meaning of Vernacular

In the last session of the Legislative Assembly some elected non-official members objected to the use of the word 'vernacular' to denote Indian languages in some official publications and wanted such use to be discontinued, on the alleged ground that 'vernacular' means the language of slaves. No Government member said in reply that it did not have that meaning.

We have been accustomed from boyhood to use the word in the sense of one's mother tongue. So in order to find out whether we were mistaken, we consulted the latest edition of a big authoritative dictionary which we had on our table, namely, Webster's New International Dictionary. There we found the following meanings :

Vernacular, adj. [L. vernaculus born in one's house, native, fr. *verna* a slave born in his master's house, a native, of uncert. origin.] 1. Belonging to, developed in, and spoken or used by, the people of a particular place, region, or country; native; indigenous;—now almost solely of language; as, English is our *vernacular* tongue; hence, of or pertaining to the native or indigenous speech of a place; written in the native, as opposed to the literary language; as, the *vernacular* literature, poetry; *vernacular* expression, words, or forms.

Which in our *vernacular* idiom may be thus interpreted. *Pope.*

2. Characteristic of a locality; local; as, a house of *vernacular* construction. "A *vernacular* disease." *Harvey.*

3. Of persons, that use the native, as contrasted with the literary, language of a place; as, *vernacular* poets; *vernacular* interpreters.

Vernacular, *n.* The vernacular language, esp. as a spoken language; one's mother tongue; often the common mode of expression in a particular locality or, by extension, in a particular trade, etc.

As it may be objected that Webster's is an American lexicon, we consulted Murray's great Oxford Dictionary, the greatest English dictionary extant. A professor has kindly copied for us the following meanings of the word from it :

Vernacular

[f. L. *vernacul-us* domestic, native indigenous (hence it. *vernacolo*, Pg. *vernaculo*), f. *verna* a home-born slave, a native.

Adj. 1. That writes, uses, or speaks the native or indigenous language of a country or district.

2. Of a language or dialect. That is naturally spoken by the people of a particular country or district; native, indigenous.

3. Of literary works, etc. Written or spoken in, translated into, the native language of a particular country or people.

4. Of words, etc. Of or pertaining to, forming part of, the native language.

5. Connected or concerned with the native language.

6. Of arts, or features of these : Native or peculiar to a particular country or locality.

7. Of diseases : Characteristic of, occurring in, a particular country or a district; endemic. *Obs.*

8. Of a slave : That is born on his master's estate; home-born. *rare*

9. Personal, private.

B. sb. 1. The native speech or language of a particular country or district.

2. A native or indigenous language.

3. transf. The phraseology or idiom of a particular profession, trade, etc.

So a vernacular language does not mean the language of a slave.

There is a *rare* meaning of the adjective 'vernacular' : *when used before the word 'slave,'* it means 'born on his master's estate,' 'home-born.'

Against Official Interference in Elections

The Legislative Assembly has done the right thing by passing, with the concurrence of the Government of India, a resolution against official interference in elections. But what will be the attitude of the provincial governments and the officers subordinate to them? The circular to district officers issued by the Court of Wards in the United Provinces manifests an undesirable attitude. Has it been withdrawn?

The statement made by the Home Member, Sir Henry Craik, in this connection, will perhaps suggest an excuse to many officers to interfere in elections. He said among other things :

"The Government cannot tolerate illegal or seditious activities merely because these are carried on under the cover of an electioneering campaign. While it is the duty of all executive officers, indeed all officers of the Government, to maintain an attitude of complete detachment towards the various parties contending for the suffrage of the electorate, it is at the same time equally the duty of the Government to protect the structure of law and order and the machinery of administration from subversive and unconstitutional attacks.

"This is specially necessary during the process of change over from one form of constitution to another. Neither the Government nor its officers can stand by and let the campaign degenerate into a dissemination of sedition among the masses, the intimidation of rival candidates and their supporters or fostering of revolutionary mentality in the preparation for a fresh campaign of direct action."

The following letter, which appeared in the *New Statesman and Nation* of London of

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September 12 last under the heading "British Methods in India," is relevant to the topic :

Sir,—It is little comfort to those of us who opposed the new Constitution for India to find that the Government are already placing obstacles in the way of its proper working. If, however, my information is correct, and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy or integrity of my informants, this is certainly the case in Bengal, where there exists a small but influential reactionary party called the United Muslim Party, which is represented in the Government. In order to capture the machinery of the new Constitution a number of radicals have formed the Praja, or Tenants' Party, based on the worker and peasant. It is, of course, impossible for the Government to declare this party illegal, but it seems determined to do all it can to prevent its growth. To this end high Government officials are being permitted, if not encouraged, to canvass for the United Muslim Party, and to dissuade people from joining the Praja Party. Professors appointed by the Government, district officers, inspectors and other civil servants whom one would expect to observe the usual canons of political impartiality, are allowed to denounce the Praja Party and to urge support of the United Muslims. It is alleged, too, that favouritism has been shown in the promotion of junior officers, who are known to support the United Muslim Party, to important districts usually reserved for senior officers. In one district such a newly appointed officer has been upsetting on trivial grounds the election to the District and Local Boards of members opposed to the Government; the importance of this lies in the fact that it is to a large extent the members of these boards who determine the election to the Provincial Houses.

Perhaps such methods would have little influence in this country, but to anyone who knows the wretched poverty of India and the way in which the spirit of the people has been broken, their effect will be apparent.

ANTHONY GREENWOOD

The Old Ship Cottage,
East Mersea, Essex.

Japan Stands First in Newspaper Circulation

For some time past the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Herald* of London have been having a deadly feud on the question of circulation. Each claimed 'the largest circulation in the world' with its over-two-million sales. But the news from Japan has quickly silenced them both. 'The World's Press News' advises those papers that 'set themselves astronomical standards, to look orientally to Japan.' There, *Osaka Mainichi* claims 3,000,000 daily; its sister, the *Tokyo Mainichi*, boasts 2,400,000!

Japan's position in the newspaper world is due to the fact that all Japanese, except babies, are literate.

India and Preparedness for War Times

Public opinion in India may be against its participation in Britain's wars. But as we do not actually possess the right and the power of self-determination, India with her present political status will be inevitably drawn into any great war in which Britain may be engaged. Hence, one ought to see whether India is prepared for defence in case of war.

Generally only one aspect of the problem is considered, namely, whether there is sufficient man-power. But that is not the only aspect; nor is it the only important aspect, considering modern conditions and requirements of warfare. Theoretically India possesses sufficient man-power, though not enough of trained man-power. But man-power alone does not tell. Abyssinia possessed sufficient man-power and her soldiers were, if anything, braver than and physically superior to Italian soldiers. But in spite of that fact she was defeated because she was not self-contained as regards up-to-date arms and munitions and was deprived of the means and facilities for importing them.

How does India stand in these respects?

So long as the sea-routes from Britain to India remain unobstructed and neither Britain nor India is blockaded, all war materials required in India may be imported. But the cutting off of communications between India and Europe by the ocean is neither an impossibility nor even an improbability. In case communications are cut off India must stand on her own legs.

Sir Phillip Chetwode says in the July *Asiatic Review* :

"India now makes 90 per cent. of the requirements of her armed forces, Guns, Shells, Machine-guns, Rifles, Ammunition, Boots, Clothes, Saddlery, Harness, Vehicles and almost everything except Motor Cars and Planes, and these will come soon."

As detailed information relating to these matters is not accessible to the public, we cannot pronounce any opinion on Sir Phillip's statement. But we draw attention to the following passages in the article, "India and Preparedness," in our last issue :

Perhaps we may be excused if we feel an occasional twinge of doubt when we recollect the position of England in the first year of the great war, infinitely better equipped as pre-war England was, when compared with present-day India, as judged by industrial and factory equipment standards.

But leaving alone the State war-munitions factories, when we come to the question of factories that feed them, the industrial works that produce the ferrous and non-ferrous alloys, the chemical concerns that produce Glycerine, Toluene, Phenol, Aniline, Perchlorate, Oleum, Nitric Acid, Chlorine, Bromine and a whole host of complex organic and inorganic compounds, *without which the munitions factories would be brought to a standstill in no time*, where are they? The few chemical works that we do possess, are mere glorified dispensaries and perfumeries, dependant at every step on imported supplies. The great steel concern, that is the pride of civilian India of a certain class, is a very incomplete affair indeed, where war requirements of alloy steel are concerned, *judging by the Howrah Bridge contractor's replies.* Then again, where is the equipment for chemical warfare requirements, and for a hundred other specialized details of modern warfare? Is there a single adequate source

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of supply of non-ferrous metals and alloys in their myriad varieties? In short, the situation so far as factories are concerned may be summarized as "rudimentary," if not "primitive."

The article examines the position in detail as regards "strategic" materials. It ends with the concluding remarks that, compared to Great Britain in 1914, India's present industrial equipment for the production of the primary materials for munitions and armaments is almost primitive; and, therefore, in the not impossible eventuality of the sea-routes being interrupted, the position would be hopeless in a very short tiime. One should read the whole article to be able to judge whether such a conclusion is reasonable.

The factories for manufacturing war materials would be useful in times of peace also. Therefore, Indian pacifists also should be interested in their establishment.

The Indian Women's University

India is woefully and shamefully illiterate. If there can be a lower deep than the lowest, India's women are even more lamentably illiterate than her men. Therefore, though it is permissible to discuss academically whether arrangements for women's education at all stages from the elementary to the university stage, or at any stage, should be separate from those for men, in practice (provisionally, let us say) all arrangements for women's education, whether joint or separate, should be welcome. Illiteracy must be attacked in all possible ways. Illiteracy and ignorance must be liquidated.

We are glad to read that the 20th annual report of the Srimati Nathibai Damodhar Thackersey Indian Women's University, founded by Professor D. K. Karve, shows satisfactory progress in 1935-36. The number of students studying in the high schools affiliated to the University was 4,292 and of those studying in its Colleges 220 last year.

The Stamping out of Leprosy

The editor of this *Review* belongs to the district of Bankura in Bengal, in which leprosy prevails to a greater extent than in any other in the province. Therefore it gladdens our heart if anyone says that leprosy can be stamped out. Dr. J. Low of the leprosy research laboratory, Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, says it can be. But by what means can it?

He says, social, economic and hygienic conditions must be improved, people must be educated, they must have greater nourishment in order to be able to resist the disease. Dr. Low adds that the disease is more prevalent among rice-eaters and therefore they should be able to supplement their present diet with more substantial food. According to him, strong public opinion is wanted. But how can strong public opinion be created among an almost universally uneducated population? Poverty, illiteracy, ignorance of hygiene and sanitation, insanitation, absence of a sufficient number of leper asylums for treatment and segregation of lepers—all these depressing conditions have to be faced. But face them we must.

Do Bengal Congressmen Think Communally?

Several prominent non-Bengali Congress leaders and Congress Socialists have said in so many words or in effect that Congressmen in Bengal think communally. As we do not belong to the Congress camp, we leave the accusation to be answered by Bengali Congressmen, who can take care of themselves. But we may be permitted to mention one or two facts to show that non-communal thought and action have been an obsession with Bengali Congressmen—we mean of the non-co-operating school.

Crimes against women in Bengal are a crying shame. Muhammadans are the greatest offenders. There are several organizations for fighting the evil. When the oldest of them, Nari Raksha Samiti, was founded, one of the greatest Congress leaders was approached for helping it. He expressed genuine sympathy with its object, but declined to be either its president or its secretary or even a member, for fear of being taken for a Hindu communalist! And it is well known that Congressmen and Congresswomen in Bengal have all along generally stood aloof from the movement for the protection of women, the resolutions concerning crimes against women passed in the All-Bengal Women Workers' Conference being barely a week old.

Whether Bengal Congressmen think communally or not, their accusers certainly think communally. For they do not attack the greatest anti-National and anti-Democratic step yet taken by Britain, namely, the Communal Decision, for fear of offending the Muhammadans and being mistaken for Hindu Mahasabhaites in disguise. They can *practically* side with Muhammadan communalists, but they dare not fight the Communal Decision because non-Congress Hindus and Congress Nationalist Hindus have been agitating against it.

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According to Congress logic, it is permissible to fight and try to wreck the coming constitution as a whole, but it is sinful to fight a part, an essential part, of that constitution, namely, the Communal Decision. That it may be Congress policy necessitated by circumstances, we do not deny.

Gold Bad for India

A *Reuter's* telegram, dated Washington, October 16, says that American gold stocks are now the highest in the country's history, the actual holdings in mid-October exceeding 11,000,000,000 dollars.

Owing to the unrestricted, or rather promoted, gold exports from India, Indian gold stocks are now the lowest in the country's history.

And it is only right that it should be so. For have not India's sanyasis taught that the two greatest evils are *Kamini* (woman) and *Kanchan* (gold)? So, India's female population and female birth-rate are smaller than their male counterparts. And Occidental philanthropists are doing their best to banish the other evil, gold, from India.

Incidentally, it is very revealing and interesting that for the most part women prostrate themselves most reverentially at the feet of those saintly men who declare most emphatically that *Kamini* (woman) and *Kanchan* (gold) are to be shunned as poison.

Perhaps Freudian psychoanalysts have luminous explanations of all these phenomena at their finger-tips.

Belgian Neutrality and Its Effect on France and England

BRUSSELS, OCT. 14.

Reversions to Belgium's pre-war policy of neutrality was urged by King Leopold in his address to the full meeting of the Cabinet, over which he presided for the first time since his accession to the throne.

He said, this policy must aim resolutely at placing us outside the conflict of our neighbours. King Leopold declared that their policy must be strong enough to preserve Belgium from war from any source. He pointed to the "proud example of Holland and Switzerland," and emphasised that, to preserve Belgium from war, wherever it might come from, the Belgian military system must be organized. "Our military organization no longer meets new possibilities of a rapid invasion. We must remedy this defect."—*Reuter.*

The French and British people apprehend danger, especially from the air, as a result of Belgian neutrality. Belgium has a system of watchers for hostile aircraft. Neutrality may enable Belgium to dispense with these watchers. France and England may not in that case have the advantage of being warned betimes against air attacks. Even without Belgian neutrality, Paris and London can at present have only barely 40 minutes' warning—just sufficient time to set the defence arrangements in motion. Belgian neutrality may deprive Britain and France of the rights to fly over Belgian territory and to use Belgian aerodromes. It is also possible that Belgium may not object to German aeroplanes passing over her territory.

Government Attitude Toward Indian Shipping

There was a time when Britain had attained supremacy in the ocean. That position being threatened, she has been taking steps to prevent its further weakening. In the interests of her mercantile marine, the experiment of the tramp shipping subsidy of £2,000,000 was made some time ago. It has been successful. It has resulted in a great improvement in the tramp shipping industry. Changes made in the Act have enabled twenty-two more ships, in addition to the sixty already benefited, to become entitled to the subsidy this year.

While this is the British attitude towards British shipping, the British Government of India's attitude towards Indian shipping is different. We do not, of course, suggest that there is any incompatibility between the two attitudes. Both are dictated by the desire to promote British interests.

The latest indication of the British attitude towards Indian shipping is to be found in the following item of news:

In the Assembly on the 2nd October last, Pandit G. B. Pant sought permission to adjourn the House to discuss the "refusal of the Government of India to foster and help the project for an Indian-owned shipping service between India and Europe."

He declared that the Government of India had refused to guarantee 3 per cent. on the capital of two crores, which the Indian-owned "Hind" Line wanted for launching two ships.

Sir Mohd. Zafarullah, Commerce Member, explained that that happened last year.

Disallowing permission for the motion, the President said that the matter was neither of recent occurrence, nor was it of an emergent nature.

We are not here concerned with the President's disallowance of the motion. We only want it to be noted that the Government's refusal of help is not denied.

It is known to the public that Mr. Haji's Bill for the reservation of only coastal traffic for Indian shipping could not be passed owing to official opposition, though it was based on the recommendations of the Government's own Mercantile Marine Committee.

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The Sapru-Ghuznavi Coastal Traffic Bill does not propose any such reservation as was intended in Mr. Haji's Bill. It is meant only to prevent rate-cutting. The leading exponents of Indian public opinon in the Press in every province have supported it. Similar support has been given to it by the Indian merchants' chambers, the U. P. Liberal Association and other representative organizations. In spite of such public support to it, the Government have adopted the dilatory method of the circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion, instead of referring it to a select committee.

Bust of Rammohun Roy

The bust of Raja Rammohun Roy, of which photographs are reproduced in this number by the courtesy of the authorities of Sivanath Smriti Mandir, was prepared under the supervision and at the cost of "Prince" Dwarka Nath Tagore, friend and follower of the Raja, by the British sculptor John Gibson in the forties of the last century. It has been recently made over to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj by the heirs and representatives of the late Mr. Ritendranath Tagore in fulfilment of a promise made by him. He was a grandson of the Maharshi Devendranath Tagore.

India's Gold Exports

BOMBAY, OCT. 10.

Twelve consignments of bar gold valued collectively at Rs. 1,17,67,911 were exported from Bombay for Europe and America by the P. and O. mail steamer 'Narkunda' to-day.

The total quantity of gold exported from Bombay since Great Britain went off the gold standard now amounts to Rs. 2,84,11,59,149—*Associated Press.*

We have already said, gold is bad for India—though it is good for other countries!

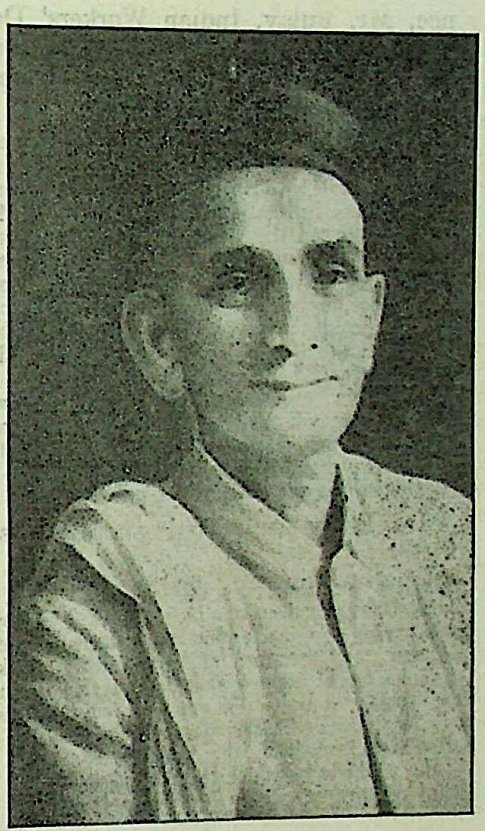
"Proposed Bengal National Museum"

We transcribe the following paragraph from *The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, of September 25, 1936 :

Proposed Bengal National Museum.—A Fellow of the Society, Mr. Mukul Chandra Dey, Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, has launched a scheme to found a Bengal National Museum in Calcutta in memory of the late King George V. The object of the scheme is to foster the arts and crafts of the Province by providing a home for Indian works of art, where they can be kept for exhibition or for sale and where lectures on art may be delivered. It is to be hoped that this useful effort may meet with the success which it deserves.

Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande

A desire has been expressed in many places to commemorate in a worthy manner the services rendered to the cause of classical Indian music by Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande whose death was recorded last month. What worthier memorial to him can there be than the schools and colleges of music which he was instrumental in founding in his lifetime? Let such be established now by those who appreciate his life work.



Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande

Twentieth Session of the International Labour Conference

International Labour Review of Geneva for September last, just received, writes :

The Twentieth Session of the International Lobour Conference was held at Geneva from 4 to 24 June, 1936. Its agenda was as follows :

I. The regulation of certain special systems of recruiting workers.
II. Holidays with pay.
III. Reduction of hours of work on public works undertaken or subsidised by Governments.
IV. Reduction of hours of work in the building and civil engineering industry.
V. Reduction of hours of work in iron and steel works.
VI. Reduction of hours of work in coal mines.
VII. Reduction of hours of work in the textile industry.

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VIII. Safety provisions for workers in building construction with reference to scaffolding and hoisting machinery.

The full report of this Conference published in the above Review deserves fuller consideration than we are able to give it in this issue owing to its publication before the due date on account of our annual autumnal holidays.

Among the resolutions adopted at the Conference, Mr. Fulay, Indian Workers' Delegate, and Mr. Kono, Japanese Workers' Delegate, jointly submitted the first resolution considered by the Committee.

It dealt with the question of the improvement of conditions of work in Asiatic countries. After referring to the successful results of the Labour Conference of American States held at Santiago in January 1936, this resolution requested the Governing Body to consider the desirability of giving effect as soon as possible to the resolution adopted in 1931 relative to the calling of an advisory tripartite labour conference of Asiatic countries. It also suggested that an Asiatic Committee should be set up within the framework of the International Labour Office, which would hold meetings at regular intervals in the Asiatic countries. This resolution, which is further evidence of the desire of the Organisation to develop its activities in extra-European countries, so frequently expressed during recent years, was adopted by the Conference without opposition.

Mr. Fulay submitted another resolution also.

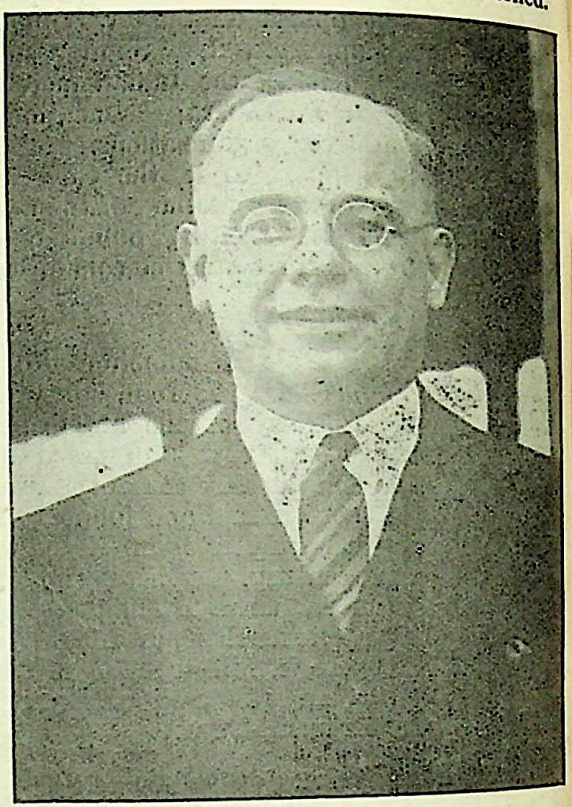
Finally, on the proposal of Mr. Fulay, Indian Workers' Delegate, the Conference adopted without opposition a resolution concerning the effect on the wages, employment, and standard of living of the workers due to the placing of large quantities of the manufactured goods of one country in another country, especially at very low prices. This resolution requested the Governing Body to investigate the problem concerned and to study the methods by which the normal industrial development of all countries may be promoted with a view to raising the standards of living generally.

Departure of South African Goodwill Deputation

Before sailing to South Africa from Bombay, on the 14th October, Mr. Hofmeyr, leader of the South African Goodwill Delegation, said :

"We are glad that the purpose of our visit, namely, the establishment of good-will and better understanding between India and South Africa, has been achieved and we are able to take back with us a message of goodwill to our people from the people of India."

Mr. Hofmeyr added that during the tour he and his colleagues had an opportunity of knowing something about India at first hand and coming in contact with its people. The determining factor in the success of the visit had been the readiness with which all sections of the community welcomed them. Mr. Hofmeyr paid a tribute to the Government of India for the excellent arrangements for the tour. He said that his colleagues and himself valued the hospitality of the receptions accorded to them and expressed gratefulness to all concerned.



Mr. Hofmeyr

"The members of the delegation leave the shores of India with hearts full of gratitude and appreciation and with a rich stock of memories of friendship. Our experiences during this tour we shall never forget and the friendships formed will certainly not be merely individual in character, but must inevitably enrich the relations between the two countries."

The Delegation's thanks and gratefulness to all concerned, particularly to the Indian Press, were conveyed by the leader, who said that all sections of the press had treated the Delegation with the greatest courtesy and consideration, thereby contributing greatly to the universality of the people's welcome.—*Associated Press.*

At a largely attended farewell luncheon given to the delegation at the Bombay Rotary Club Mr. Hofmeyr said, in part, that

He came from a happy land where people were cheerful and contented but they gathered on their tour that the people of India were not a happy people. In an eloquent manner he outlined what he would do if he were an Indian. He would be consumed by love for India as a whole as he was consumed by love not for any particular spot in South Africa but for South Africa as a whole and he would work with all his energies for the social uplift of the Indian people. He prayed that some great spiritual force would arise in India which would convert the country into a smiling happy land.

We will not here raise the question of the

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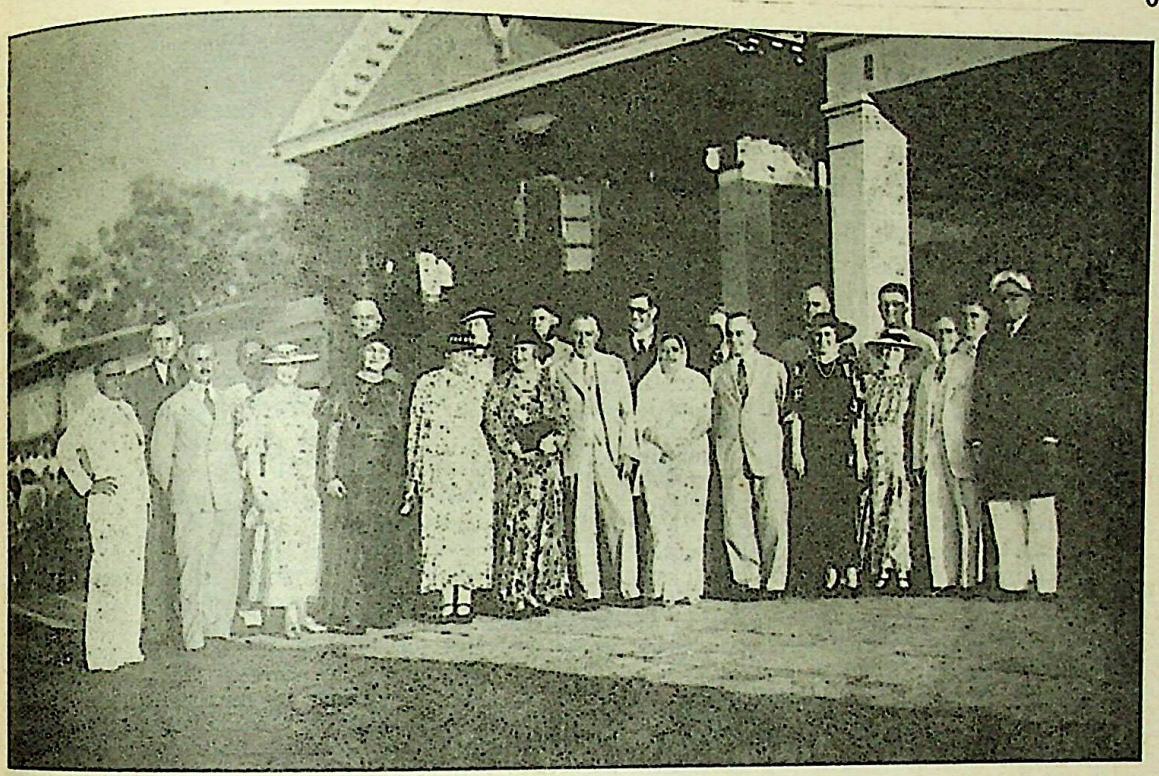

The South African "Good-will" Delegation welcomed in Bombay

happiness or unhappiness of the African and Indian population of South Africa.

Being a shrewd and observant statesman, Mr. Hofmeyr must have arrived at his own conclusions as to why the people of India were not a happy people. Perhaps some day he will share his conclusions with the public.

His speech contains a few hints for Indians. In his opinion, Indians should work for the whole of India. That is to say, provincial or parochial patriotism should not get the better of pan-Indian patriotism, and communalism and other kinds of sectionalism should not get the better of nationalism. Social uplift of the Indian people means the educational and economic advancement of all illiterate and poor people, whether they be called "depressed" or not. It means the advancement of the womanhood of India. And it also means the recovery of the self-respect of all classes and castes by the removal of untouchability and of the wrong belief that men and women of some castes are innately superior or inferior to those of other castes.

Three Books Relating to India

Hans Kohn reviews three books relating to India in the current September number of *Political Science Quarterly*, published for the Academy of Political Science of Columbia University, New York. They are not quite recent, but have not for that reason lost interest or importance. Of these three, one is by Mr. Subhas C. Bose. The reviewer says about it that it "shows that the Indian people, or at least some of its leaders, have entered the age of political maturity." In the reviewer's opinion, "This is by far the most important publication on Indian politics in recent years." It is stated that "It is not strictly up to the highest historical standards, as it was written without the necessary documents at hand and in haste.....

But notwithstanding its defects, this book should be read by everybody interested in India. . . . Its tone is entirely different from the ways of writing, speech and approach characteristic of Indian authors and politicians until very recently. It is without verbosity, without invocation of moral principles, without self-righteous incriminations against imperialism or the British. It is realistic, sober, mature. It is naturally and frankly opposed to ny form of British rule or influence in India, but it is not bitter or full of complaints."

Of *India, Minto and Morley*, 1905-1910, by Mary, Countess of Minto, the reviewer says :

Lord Minto was faced with two problems: the pacification of India and the relations between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, who was then Lord Morley. The first was solved by a method which has since governed British policy in India: to suppress with a stern hand all violent agitation for far-reaching reforms, but at the

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same time to try to win moderate opinion by progressive reforms which, although more in appearance than in reality, transfer a certain limited part of the powers and benefits of government to the people of the country or rather to its upper classes. Lord Minto had an open mind. "At the same time everyone, who thinks at all, feels that there is change in the air," he wrote. In his policy he had to overcome the resistance of the British official in India, "always ready to obstruct anything which can be twisted into meaning interference with British official rights." The correspondence and the diary published in this book show the reasons why the reforms came so slowly, slowly not from the point of view of the complicated governmental machine in India and in London, but slowly, from the point of view of an excited and expectant Indian public opinion. Lord Minto had a strong preference for the Mohammedan community in India and for the native princes and chiefs, and the policy of considerate friendliness towards them which continues today was started by him. While the reforms were discussed between Calcutta and London, the government of India resorted to rigorous "repressive measures which followed one another in rapid succession, chilling the public life of the country, and stunting its growth and development" (S. Bannerjee, *A Nation in Making*, p. 249). Hand in hand with repression came the reforms which were destined to rally the princes, the landholders, a group of the moderates and, more important than the others, the Mohammedans. The theory of "counterpoise of natives against natives" was first made a constitutional policy by Lord Minto. The All-India Muslim League, founded in December 1906 and representing the conservative Muslim landholders and magnates, co-operated with Lord Minto in creating Muslim communalism in India, which many Indians regard as India's Ulster.

The third book reviewed in *Political Science Quarterly* is *The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India*, by Daniel Houston Buchanan (New York, The MacMillan Co.). It is said of this book :

Professor Daniel Houston Buchanan has given us a detailed and scholarly study of the development of capitalistic enterprise in India and a careful appreciation of its effects on the life of the people. Mr. Buchanan has lived for many years in the Far East and spent more than a year in India with the help of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University. In India, as in all other Oriental countries, a rapid progress of Europeanization is destroying the order of many centuries. As was the case in Europe at the dawn of the modern age, "easy going, self-sufficing agriculture and handicraft are being forced out by a system of high-speed specialized machinery and communication. A new world is replacing the old, and the factory system is the skeleton upon which it is gradually and very irregularly taking form." What is happening at present is described by Professor Buchanan very aptly as an "amalgamation of East and West." From his experience in Japan he can compare the Europeanization and modernization of India under British rule with that conduct in Japan by a strong national government. He reaches the same conclusions which any observer will reach in comparing the modernization of Turkey and of those mandated territories which had formed parts of the former Ottoman Empire. "There is a striking difference between what has been done along this line (public health) in India and what has been accomplished in Japan. In spite of British rule, India has remained more like China," like a misruled backward country. The same is true of industrialization and economic progress. India, with a superabundance of raw material, cheap labour and an immense hoard of gold and silver, continues in extreme poverty and *is less nearly self-sufficient in manufactured products than she was a century ago.* Mr. Buchanan points out that the main reason is the fact that the British government in India, like colonial governments elsewhere, have acted on the old belief that the native's nature is fundamentally different and that he does not want improvement. The greater progress of the Japanese and of the Turks has been due to a large extent to the fact that the people trusted the government and the government understood and believed in its people. Colonial governments even though animated by a certain sympathy with the subject populatons, are generally incompetent to tackle the fundamental problems and are afraid of thorough-going reforms.

Hans Kohn continues :

British officials in India believed in *laissez faire*, a political economy more in agreement with England's than with India's needs. India needed the introduction of a diversity of occupations, a training in industry, technical skill and the spirit of enterprise, all of which could be achieved in backward Oriental countries only with the active and sympathetic help of a government which identified itself with the people. The government of India not only did nothing to develop modern production in India and to teach the Indian better ways of production, but many governmental measures, especially the recent currency policy of the government, have run counter to the true interests of India, as did the whole educational system sponsored by he British in India. Professor Buchanan is right in pointing out that the transplatation of the methods of English education to India has been ill adapted to the needs of the country. "The literary and legal training once thought suitable for the ruling class in England did not meet the needs of a poor non-English-speaking country, ruled by aliens, and in want of economic reorganization."

It is said in conclusion :

There is no fundamental difference between Orient and Occident. Europe, in the middle ages not different from the Orient, has entered the modern age two or three centuries ahead of it. India and the East remained much longer in the medieval stage. Since their contact with the dynamic modern civilization, which orginated in Western Europe but was universal in scope and aim from its beginning, the countries of the Orient have undergone a profound change. "Every people has its particular character, but similarities are far more marked than differences" (p. 11). The social, economic and political problems today confronting nations in East and West tend more and more to become similar.

Wanted, A "Voter's Handbook"

In view of the coming elections in America *The New Republic* of New York has published a "Voter's Handbook" prepared by its editors. It contains histories of the Parties, Biographies of the candidates, Analyses of the Platforms, Illustrative Charts, and The New Republic's analysis of the campaign and advice for voters.

As we are going to have elections in the Provinces soon and as brisk canvassing has

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been going on, it would be a great convenience to the voters to have a similar book for each province. But who are going to prepare and publish such books? Meanwhile, votes are being pledged in advance to particular candidates without perhaps sufficient knowledge of the qualifications, achievements, antecedents and principles of the candidates.

The World Economic Situation, and India

The League of Nations Fortnightly News, dated October 1st, 1936, states that the attention of the Assembly has been specially drawn to the world economic situation in an annex to the report of the Secretary-General and in a report of the Economic Committee of the League to the Council, which was communicated by the latter to the League Assembly.

The Economic Committee takes the view that there are marked signs of improvement in the increase of agricultural and, still more, of industrial production and of a rise in prices. Stocks of raw materials are being consumed and trade, though much reduced, is no longer sinking but slowly and painfully developing. Above all, several millions more human beings are gainfully employed today than a year ago. But the recovery is uneven and perhaps insecure. So far, it has taken place chiefly within countries, and there is urgent need for a revival of international trade if the progress already made is to attain its full development or even be able to continue at all. Moreover, in many countries, economic recovery is hampered by political difficulties which, "particularly in Europe, cause a feeling of unrest, paralysing confidence and the spirit of enterprise. The fear of international conflicts lies at the root of the rapid increase in armaments, which is one of the principal causes of budgetary and financial difficulties. This fear constitutes the most serious obstacle to the normal development of undertakings of all kinds, both in international and even in national spheres. A revival in economic activity brought about by the large-scale production of new implements of war cannot, however, be anything but illusory and precarious. It imposes an ever-growing burden on the taxpayer, already sorely tried by the persistence of the crisis and the almost automatic increase in social expenditure."

The Economic Committee believes that a general conference would not lead to any agreement in view of the great differences in the positions and interests of different countries. But it stresses the urgent desirability of consultations between the countries whose Governments feel that something ought to be done, and particularly between the principal countries of the world. It suggests that the first object of these consultations, if they were judged desirable and opportune by the countries concerned, should be for the readjustment of internal and international price-levels, which means some kind of agreement between the States that have, in one form or another, maintained the gold standard, at least nominally, and those which have devalued their currencies. It points out that any international readjustment of price-levels, if it is to be effectively maintained, must be supplemented by the lowering of trade barriers and the abolition of currency restriction.

This in turn, the Economic Committee believes, can be possible only if the matter is taken up from a broad point of view. Action, says the Committee, "should not simply be left in the hands of technicians and interested parties," but "should be detached from purely economic interests and should be raised from the outset to the level of a work on behalf of peace and conciliation, in their turn the most powerful influences of economic life." A programme for normalising economic conditions should "be devised and submitted with a twofold aim, material and moral, economic restoration and political restoration, recovery and relief of tension. Approached from this angle, as a work of peace and a constructive effort to bring about the economic restoration of Europe and the success of national programmes of social progress, it would probably obtain the necessary support in all countries which realise the gravity of the present situation."

That is the summary of the World Economic Survey of the League published by its Information Section.

There has not been any economic improvement in India. No proper effort can be made for such improvement unless India has autonomy in economic matters. This she cannot expect to have before being politically autonomous.

The economic condition of India has worsened in recent months owing to devastating floods in several provinces and the prevalence of famine or at least scarcity of food in a few.

Bombay Riots

As we go to press (October 18, 1936), we read in the Calcutta morning papers distressing news of rioting going on in Bombay with unabated fury on the 17th October, the third day of the outbreak. The casualties were: first

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day, 14 dead and 170 injured; second day, 21 and 180; and third day, 5 and 70; total, 40 dead and 420 injured.

The riots originated in Hindus beginning to build a *bhajan mandap* (a hymn-singing pavilion) as an adjunct to an already long existing temple, which was close to a mosque. Muhammadans objected. Hindus have had the legal right to build the pavilion. On the failure of negotiations between Hindu and Moslem leaders for an amicable settlement, coolies engaged by Hindus began digging the foundations of the structure under police protection. Then the Moslem attack began.

Such sanguinary and cruel conflicts, with incendiarism to add to their savagery and horror, are deplorable beyond words.

Enquiry into Agricultural Indebtedness

In the last session of the Legislative Assembly Mr. N. C. Chunder's motion for the institution of an enquiry into agricultural indebtedness was carried. There have been similar enquiries in the past. The reports remain shelved. If that be the fate of such enquiries, why waste time and money on a fresh one?

Lahore Session of the Hindu Mahasabha

As our present issue is published before the commencement of the Lahore session of the Hindu Mahasabha, the only comment that we can make on it is that the election of Dr. Kurtkoti, the Sankaracharya of Karabir Peeth, has been a happy choice. His orthodoxy cannot be questioned. At the same time he is a man of enlightened and liberal views and a staunch Nationalist. The keeping of the depressed classes within the pale of Hinduism is a vital problem. These classes have the full sympathy of the Sankaracharya. It is not mere lip sympathy.

Hindu Women's Right to Property

Dr. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Right to Property Bill has been referred to a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly. It ought to find a place in the statute book.

Award of Lands in the Panjab for Farming by Graduates

LAHORE, OCT. 17.

An interesting function took place at the Lahore Civil Secretariat yesterday when 60 youths, all university graduates in agriculture, received at the hands of the Revenue Member awards of lands under the Government's plan of encouraging educated young men to take to agriculture and farming.

All the selected recipients were present and appeared very happy at commencing their careers as farmers.

In the course of his speech the Revenue Member said: "It was the beginning of the experiment which, if successfully worked, might very likely be extended further and help in solving the problem of unemployment among our educated young men."

Under the scheme 40 plots of land are being given to the graduates who are being intentionally scattered in different areas so that they may be able to impart to their fellow-villagers by practical example the gains that are to be derived from modern methods of farming. There will be at least two graduates in each area.

—*Associated Press.*

Similar grants of land should be made in all provinces where arable land, at present uncultivated, is available.

Civil War in Spain

The rebels in Spain are steadily advancing towards Madrid. They are meeting with fierce resistance.

The Soviet press is clamouring for immediate intervention in the Spanish war.

That is not to be wondered at. For it is known far and wide that the hopeful position of the insurgents is "primarily, perhaps exclusively, the result of assistance from Italy and, particularly, from Germany."

Greed, Land-hunger, Pride and Pleasure of Possession

The Manchester Guardian writes:

The Antarctic is being partitioned as quickly as it is mapped. Australia has just definitely accepted about three million square miles of land lying for the most part within what is known as the 'Australian quadrant' of the Antarctic. This is merely setting the seal on a step that was taken three years ago when these territories, which had mostly been discovered by Sir Douglas Mawson, were transferred to Australia by an Order in Council. There has been in the past a surprising amount of rivalry among various nations over these uninhabited regions, probably more because of their predominantly sentimental value than because of any imperialist dreams of mineral reserves or aeroplane bases. When, for example, Admiral Byrd announced that his discoveries had been made in the service of international science, there was considerable huffiness in the United States and zones of traditional British and American interest had to be carefully delimited. Whether there will ever be more value in these Antarctic wastes than is at present provided by the whaling industry it is impossible to say. Coal was found by Byrd 180 miles from the South Pole, but it will be a long time before it can be economical to work it. Sir Douglas Mawson himself once suggested the possibility of gold and also of harnessing the high winds to manufacture the products of atmospheric nitrogen. Perhaps he was on safer ground when he pointed out that the Antarctic in any case provides excellent Winter Sports.

Australia has an area of 2,974,581 square miles and a population of 6,629,839, or 2.23 per square mile. Her white men have not been able

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to people it. Nor will they allow Asiatics to do so. She pursues a dog-in-the-manger policy. Yet she must have more land, and that in the uninhabited and uninhabitable Antarctic!

A Liberal Leader's Interpretation of "Working the Constitution"

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, a Liberal leader of Bombay, said in the course of an interview to the "United Press":

"When I recommend the working of the new Constitution I say that I do not mean that the ministers with a majority in the legislatures behind them should, in any manner, be subsurvient to the Governor. They should not surrender any principle and should honestly and fearlessly carry out their policy for good people, and if they are unreasonably interfered with, they should not hesitate to rsign and create deadlock if that becomes necessary. But I entirely disapprove of the Congress statement of the policy that their men are to enter the legislatures and even accept office for the avowed object of wrecking the Constitution, if by that is meant that they themselves will deliberately act unreasonably and want only for the purpose of creating deadlocks."

The public will have an opportunity of seeing who will do what.

Currency Policy Not To Be Discussed

The opposition in the Legislative Assembly wanted to discuss the currency policy of the Government by an adjournment motion. But the Governor-General disallowed it. Other countries may have recourse to devaluation, deflation, inflation, or anyother device according to their needs as understood by them, but India's rupee must continue to be linked to the sterling in British interests. The devaluation of the franc by France will have repercussions not only in Europe and America but in India, too. But we are not even to discus the new situation. Many Indian economists, publicists and men of business have said again and again that the lowering of the exchange rate of the rupee would benefit various sections of the population of this country, but to no effect.

Anti-Protectionist Finance Member of Professedly Protectionist Government

Some dozen years ago the Government of India accepted the policy of protection. Its policy of protection was based on the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission, who observed that they had carefully considered the weight of arguments on both sides and were satisfied on economic grounds that the temporary loss, caused by protection, would be more than made good by the ultimate gain, and that the balance of advantage was heavily on the side of the policy of protection.

But Sir James Grigg, the present Finance Member of the Government of India, said in the course of a speech made early this year in the Legislative Assembly:

I have several times in this house mentioned 27 crores as the amount of money provided by the consumers of cotton piecegoods and sugar for the indigenous producers of these articles as a consequence of the purely protective part of the duties levied upon them. I stick to this figure and I am undeterred by the argument that the prices of goods are in some cases no higher than they were when protection was imposed. What consolation is that when, in the meantime, prices have generally fallen catastrophically?

If the Indian consumers of these articles say to Sir James Grigg, "What is that to you, Sir James, if we pay 27 crores or more to industrialists who are our own countrymen? Your heart and the hearts of other British imperialists did not bleed for us so long as many times more 27 crores had been going to the pockets of British and other foreign industrialists for generations;"—if they say this, what will be Sir James Grigg's reply?

And why does a professedly protectionist Government allow its own Finance Member to denounce its policy in this way?

An Allahabad Professor on Indian Soil Fertilisers

At a meeting of the National Academy of Sciences, India, Prof. N. R. Dhar described his researches showing that paper, plant leaves, finely divided wood, straw, saw dust, and even cow-dung, when mixed with soil, could add nitrogen to the tropical soil from the air by fixation.

The addition of nitrogen to the soil with the above substances was greater in sunlight than in the dark. Even cow dung, which had been used as a manure for its nitrogen content from time immemorial, had been found to supply not only the nitrogen it originally contained but it could also add nitrogen to the soil from the nitrogen of the air by fixation. These substances also added humus and increased the water retention capacity of the soil and protected the soil nitrogen.

The nitrogen in Indian soils would have been exhausted long ago and the fertility decreased but for this type of nitrogen addition to the soil through the oxidation and decomposition of plant residues, leaves, etc., always occurring in soils. Fortunately, the other plant food materials, lime, potash, phosphates, etc., were abundant in most Indian soils. The chief defect of Indian soils was the smallness of nitrogen and this was met by the fixation of nitrogen through the agency of callulosic and carbohydrate material.

Dr. Dhar is carrying on these researches in collaboration with his pupil, Mr. S. K. Mukerji.

Another paper presented to the Academy by Dr. Dhar described his researches, which he was carrying on along with his pupils Messrs. S. K. Mukerji, E. V. Seshacharyulu and N. N. Biswas, on the reclamation of alkali soils by using different oil cakes and press mud.

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Oil cakes, which are avilable all over the country even in rural areas, containing 4 to 5 per cent. nitrogen, oils, cellulosic substances etc., readily neutralized, Dr. Dhar said, the alkali of *Usar* (Alkali) soils. Moreover, as there was plenty of nitrogen in all oil cakes, the nitrogen deficiency and other defects of alkali soil were remedied by the addition of oil cakes. Oil cakes, 10 to 20 maunds per acre, had been found to be effective in reclaiming alkali land for the growth of rice.

Press mud, which was a solid substance containing calcium salts, carbohydrates and nitrogenous matter. and was available to the extent of about 400,000 tons from the Indian sugar factories, had been found to be an excellent reclaiming agent for even bad alkali soils. Mixtures of press mud and mollasses were also very effective. Dr. Dhar stated that using one ton of molasses per acre, the Mysore Government obtained 1,200—1,800 lbs. of rice grains per acre where the crop failed previously. The normal production of rice in India was 1,295 lbs. per acre. Alkali land had also been reclaimed at Soraon (Allahabad), Shahjahanpur, Unao, Cawnpore and in Behar, using molalsses at the rate of 3-10 tons per acre of alkali soil.

Biggest British University Endowment

LONDON, OCT. 16.

Terms of a letter in which Lord Nuffield, head of the Morris Motors, has made his great gift to Oxford University, are announced.

He is to give £1,250,000 in trust to the University for the development of the University's medical school and the Nuffield Institute for Medical Research so as to provide the great post-graduate school with senior posts for men and women not subject to distractions of private practice, under whom would be a body of salaried clinical assistants and house officers.

Since Lord Nuffield's gift will lay an entirely new responsibility on the University without relieving it of any of its present expenditure, he has promised to contribute a further £100,000 to the forthcoming appeal for funds to endow the future maintainance of the Bodleian Library and a new laboratory for physics and geology and for other developments.

Lord Nuffield, who thus makes the largest gift ever made by one man in this country leaving out of account the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie benefactions, has already given over £1,000,000 to hospitals and other causes.

His fortune is estimated at over £20,000,000. Forty years ago he started in business with a capital of £5.—*B. O. W.*

Indian billionaires should emulate this British example.

Bankura Medical School

Rai H. P. Banerjee Bahadur, a resident of this town and a businessman of Dhanbad in Manbhum district has donated a sum of Rs. 10,000 towards the erection and upkeep of an operation theatre in the Bankura Medical School in memory of his father, the late Sj. Prasanna Kumar Banerjee.—*United Press.*

Solitary Congress-minded Muslim Candidate in Bengal

According to a statement published in the press, for the 119 seats in the Bengal Legislative Assembly reserved for Muhammadans no Muhammadan candidate has applied to the Congress for nomination, except one Congress-minded person. It is some consolation that the non-communal attitude of the Congress has appealed to at least one Muhammadan in Bengal.

Jawaharlal Not To See Aurobindo

It is reported in the papers that the French Governor at Pondicherry refused Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru permission to see Sri Aurobindo.

We are not surprised. Whether France be or be not under British influence at any time, French men in authority in French territory in India stand in awe of the British Government in India.

Apprehensions of Conflict in Asia

For years Sino-Japanese relations have been such that occasional clashes and even undeclared wars between the two countries have ceased to cause surprise. Japanese demands on China are, similarly, not surprising.

Clashes between Soviet Russia and Japan on the Manchurian border, recently reported, are a different matter. Soviet Russia is organized and prepared for war. It would not be easy to defeat or intimidate that Power.

Religious Education in Bengal Primary Schools

We have said several times that we are opposed to religious education in schools attended by pupils of different religious communities. Schools are not parliaments of religion. Nor are they crusaders' battle-fields. Children had better learn religion at home—preferably from the example of their parents and other elders.

In our country are to be found the followers of all the principal religions of the world in appreciable numbers. That is not the case in Japan. Yet in Japan, according to the *Japan Year Book*, 1934, page 783,

Religion is, on principle, excluded from the educational agenda of schools. In all schools established by the Government and local public bodies, and in private schools whose curricula are regulated by laws and ordinances, it is forbidden to give religious instruction or to hold religious ceremonies either in or out of the regular curricula.

The curricula include morals.

Mr. Chaman Lal writes in his book, *Secrets of Japan*:

"Let us learn a lesson from Japan, where religion is rigorously excluded from the curriculum of the school.

"No religion of any sort is taught in public schools."

—Page 54.

Our Autumnal Vacation

The Modern Review Office will remain closed from the 21st October to the 3rd November, both days inclusive. All orders, letters, contributions, &c., received during this autumnal vacation will be dealt with when the office reopens on the 4th November next.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY MANIK CHANDRA DAS, PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA

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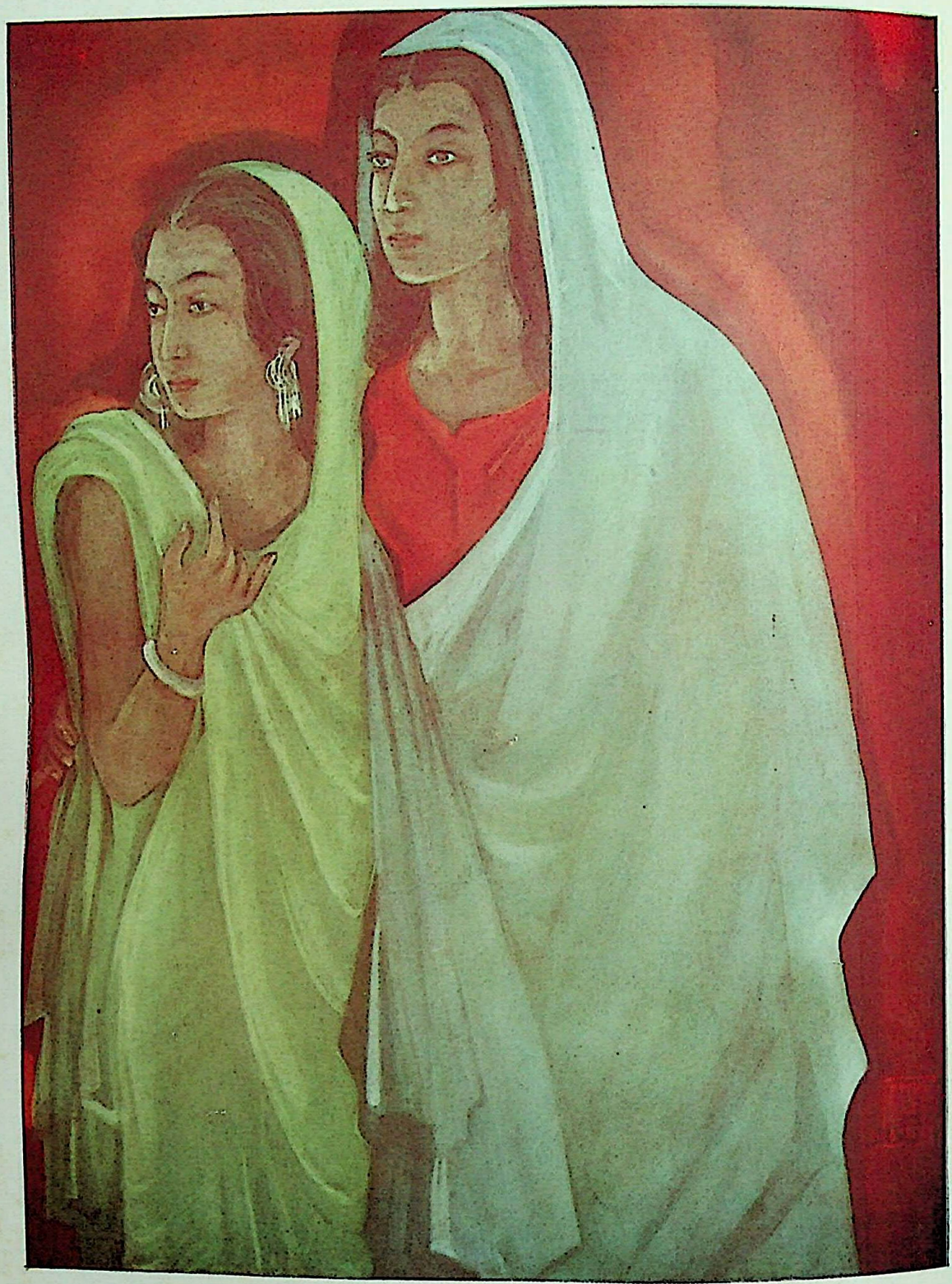

SISTERS
By Prabhat Niyogi

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1936

VOL. LX., No. 6 WHOLE No. 360

SOCIAL INSURANCE IN INDIA

BY RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.SC., PH.D.

AN IMPORTANT indication of the growing solidarity of community interest among the people is the rise of social insurance. In prehistoric times, a man was a part and parcel of a tribe, and his economic interest was taken care of by the tribal group; in ancient and medieval times, as an integral part of the patriarchal or joint family system, he enjoyed almost the same economic security, but in modern times the family system has been reduced to a man, his wife and unmarried children and his economic security has fallen entirely upon himself or upon his wife. This gradual transfer of economic responsibility from the tribe to the individual, whether the husband or the wife or both, has made a person economically insecure in modern society.

This economic insecurity has affected all classes of people, but no class has been exposed to it to such a large extent as the workers, who have scarcely any property worth the name and whose scope of earning is limited and income very small. Moreover, modern industrialism, with its complicated power machinery and mechanical process, has increased industrial risk to a large proportion of workers. The growing sense of economic insecurity is the fundamental cause of the rise of social insurance, or the device of a mechanism for the distribution among many of the losses suffered by a few, as it is generally defined.

As economic loss is easily detectable in the case of property or goods through such accidents as shipwreck and fire, marine and fire insurances were the first schemes in social insurance, the scope of which has also greatly increased in recent times.[1] But the insecurity in intangible property or labour power through accident, sickness, invalidity and old age, which is the main source of income among an increasingly large number of population, has been progressively realized, and there has grown up a large series of a social insurance schemes against accident and sickness, invalidity and old age, orphanhood and widowhood and unemployment.

While social insurance aims at giving protection to individuals, it is nevertheless a supreme device for the solidarity of society itself. First, in the schemes where the workers themselves are contributors, social insurance encourages compulsory savings on their part. Secondly, insurance against accidents and sickness is a means of inducing employers in providing safety devices and sanitary improvements. Finally, by distributing the losses of the few among the many, and by preventing destitution and disease among a large portion of the population, a community finds in social insurance an effective means of self-protection.

At first, most of the insurance schemes were voluntary, but the insecurity and inadequacy of voluntary schemes and the lack of such schemes among the lower classes of wage groups, especially unskilled labourers, has led to the development of compulsory schemes, which have made great progress in recent years.

(1) *Cf.* John R. Commons and John B. Andrews, *Principles of Labour Legislation*, New York, 1916, p. 354.

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The objection against the compulsory insurance of all classes of people is that some classes have independent means and do not need social insurance. The well-to-do and upper classes are scarcely in need of social insurance and even the lower middle classes are often insured against old age and death for the benefit of themselves or of their dependants. Moreover, social insurance may be detrimental to the growth of independent spirit and individual initiative in the case of some people. The scope of social insurance is, therefore, limited in most cases to the working classes or only to those who are regarded to be unable to earn a living wage.

Contribution to the social insurance fund may be derived from the employer alone, or from the employer and the employee, and even from the employer, the employee and the State. In the first case, the main object is to make the benefit of insurance a part cost of production, which is ultimately distributed among the consumers. Since most of the wage-workers have no means of making contribution, partly due to the limited income and partly due to the lack of foresight, the best way is to insure the largest number or all of the working population. Under the other two schemes, both the employer and the employee, or even the State, are contributors. The advantage of the last two systems lies in the fact that it gives the workers a claim upon the benefit to which they themselves are contributors.

Social insurance has a long history, and might be traced to the middle ages, when the guild system made various provisions for mutual help among their fellow members, with special reference to sickness and death, *e.g.*, medical aid and funeral expenses. The rise of modern industrialism in Great Britain was followed by protective legislation, and by employers' welfare institutions, including insurance against accidents in the first part of the nineteenth century, and by the growth of mutual aid among friendly societies, trade unions, and private associations or insurance companies about a generation later. The mutual aid movement was the precursor of the modern insurance schemes, which were later on supported, subsidised or even undertaken by the State. The modern system of compulsory and universal insurance against industrial risk originated in Germany in 1883. At present almost all the industrially advanced countries have some kind of social insurance. In recent years, the growth of social insurance has been accelerated by the Draft Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organization.[2]

Social insurance in India is of very recent growth. Both the caste and joint family system had long taken care of the old, sick, orphaned, widowed and invalid relatives, however distant. Even the old village system developed charity as a part of its religious function for the benefit of the needy. But the breakdown of the old family institution, the increasing pressure upon land, the growing consciousness of individuality and the rising standard of living as well as the gradual industrialization of the country with its consequent industrial accidents and occupational diseases, have brought about the economic insecurity of a large number of people and there has thus been a growing demand for security through social insurance.

I.—Accidental Insurance

The most important branch of social insurance in modern times is that against accident. The original of accident insurance may be traced back to the middle of the eighteenth century, when the British workers in mining and navigation developed mutual accident insurance for their own benefit. With the increase of accidents in factories, the common law was resorted to for granting some compensation, but was soon replaced by the Employers' Liability Act of 1880, which, however, proved to be complicated, and even disadvantageous to the majority of the workers. The first accident insurance Act was passed by Germany in 1885, and a similar Act was passed in Great Britain 1897, which was amended in 1906. Since then most of the industrially advanced countries have passed accident insurance acts.

Employers' Liability

The need for granting security against industrial accidents in India was first realized by the workers themselves over a generation ago, when many of them were subjected to temporary or permanent disability and death. Since the effects of these accidents were easily detected and the causes located, the public were also impressed of the necessity of such insurance. Moreover, many factory inspectors were convinced that the only way to control

(2) From 1919 to 1935, the International Labour Conference has adopted 16 Draft Conventions and 13 Recommendations against various kinds of risks. *International Labour Organization and Social Insurance*, Geneva, 1936, p. 20.

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industrial accidents was to make the employers responsible for them. The necessity of accident insurance being realised, the first question came as to the means for achieving the end, and following the British tradition, the Employers' Liability Act of 1880 was regarded as one of the suitable means and the Bill for Workmen's Compensation of 1922, contained provisions for it. But the Select Committee on the Bill eliminated the clauses for such provisions.[3]

The difficulties of securing any compensation under the Employers' Liability Act are obvious. Under the common law, an injured person was not entitled to any compensation from his employer under the doctrine of common employment and assumed risk, the former implying that the injured person had fellow workers in the same employment and under the same master, and the latter that no legal wrong was committed in exposing a person to a risk which he voluntarily accepted. The British Employers' Liability Act was passed in 1880, in order to give a workman the same right as a member of the public in suing his employer, where injury had been occasioned by defect in the plant, by reason of negligence or act of omission of his superintendent or of any person working in that capacity. But since the employer had also the same defences against his employee such as that the injury was incurred wilfully or through the negligence of himself, or it was outside the scope of his own employment, or he was a trespasser, the worker could scarcely get any adequate satisfaction.

Workmen's Compensation

The Workmen's Compensation Act was first passed in 1923 and amended in 1924, 1925, 1926, 1929 and 1933. Under this Act it was no longer necessary for a workman to prove negligence against the employer. He is entitled to compensation for any injury which might arise out of or in the course of his employment. The Act provides speedy procedure whereby a workman can obtain compensation from the employer after the first seven days of his disablement. The enforcement of the Act is entrusted to the provincial Governments. The Act is administered by full time and specially appointed commissioners in the important industrial centres, and by the judges of the small courts as *ex-officio* commissioners in other places.[4] The clerical staff in these services as well as those workers whose salaries exceed Rs. 300 a month, are explicitly excluded from the scope of this Act, but the number of workers covered by it amounts to 6 million.

The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, as finally amended in 1933,[5] is applicable to the following industries: (1) Factories (including those using power machinery and employing 10 persons or more, and also those not using power machinery but employing 50 persons or more); (2) mines; (3) plantations (cinchona, coffee, rubber and tea) employing 25 persons or more; (4) shipping; (5) the loading and unloading of ships; (6) shipbuilding; (7) building of houses (more than one-storey high); (8) construction of roads and highways; (9) operation of mechanical vehicles; (10) manufacture and handling of explosives; (11) generation of gas and electricity; (12) production and exhibition of cinematographical pictures; and (13) keeping of elephants and other wild animals. Among the accidents are also included a few occupational diseases, such as (*i*) anthrax; (*ii*) lead, phosphorus, mercury and benzine poisoning; (*iii*) chrome ulceration and (*iv*) compressed-air illness.

The scale of payment is determined by the rates of wages as classified under 17 categories ranging from a minimum of Rs. 10 a month or less to a maximum limit of Rs. 200 a month or more. These scales may be classified under the three following headings: (1) in case of temporary disablement, compensation is payable half-monthly, (*a*) at one-half of the monthly wages, subject to a maximum of Rs. 30 to a minor; (*b*) at a rate varying from full wages in the lowest wage classes to a maximum of Rs. 30 in the other wage classes to an adult. The maximum period for compensation for temporary disablement is 5 years.

(2) In case of permanent disablement, compensation is payable in the form of a lump sum, from which is deducted any payment which might have been made during temporary disablement. Where the disablement is total, the compensation is fixed at Rs. 1,200 for a minor and varies from Rs. 700 to Rs. 5,600 according to wage rates for an adult. Where the disablement is partial, the compensation is paid at a scale proportionate to the loss of the earning capacity.

(3) In the case of death, compensation is payable in the form of a lump sum, and is

(3) Royal Commission on Labour in India: *Evidence*, Vol. XI, pp. 311-12.

(4) *Labour Gazette*, July, 1933, p. 31; May, 1934, p. 26; May, 1924, p. 814.

(5) *Cf.* The Workmen's Compensation Act (No. VIII) of 1923 and Workmen's Compensation (Amendment) Act (No. XV) of 1933.

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fixed for the death of a minor at Rs. 200, but that for the death of an adult varies from Rs. 500 to Rs. 4,000 according to the variation of the wages rate.

II.—Sickness Insurance

The second important series of social insurance relates to sickness. Although modern industry is not directly responsible for ill health among working classes, sickness insurance has gained ground for several reasons: first, the best part of the wakeful life of an increasingly large number of people is spent in industrial occupation, which, apart from occupational diseases, indirectly affects the health of the workers; secondly, the health of the workers is a national asset and its preservation as well as its improvement are essential for national efficiency and industrial success; and finally, the cure of sickness is in the long run more costly than the prevention, and so long as sickness insurance is also a preventive measure, it is both economical and beneficial to society in general.

General Insurance

Like accident insurance, sickness insurance may also be traced to the medieval guilds which were later followed by trade unions, friendly societies, and even insurance companies. All these insurance schemes were voluntary. But the inadequacy, instability and also costliness of private enterprise led to the intervention by the State for subsidy and control and gradually paved the way to compulsory insurance. The foundation of the compulsory system was laid by Germany as early as 1883 as already referred to. The German system has been a model for compulsory insurance in most of the modern States. While the voluntary system of insurance against sickness still exists,[6] the compulsory system has been gradually introduced in most countries. There are three different kinds: (1) compulsion applying to industrial workers and certain categories of dependent workers; (2) compulsion applying to all wage-earners without regard to occupations; and (3) compulsion applying to any person engaged in gainful activities but not possessing sufficient resources.[7]

Although a beginning of social insurance has been made by the enactment of a Workmen's Compensation Act, as noted above, the question of sickness insurance is still a great problem in India. In no other country is there a greater need for insurance against sickness than in India. Grinding poverty and colossal ignorance among the masses, absence of adequate sanitation and medical protection as well as tropical climate, make sickness a constant factor in Indian life, causing premature death of a large number of the population and devitalizing a still larger number for efficient work. Sickness insurance will not only bring economic security but will also prevent sickness itself in many cases. Sound health is, in fact, the greatest national asset.

The question of compulsory sickness insurance was first brought before the Indian public in 1928, when the Government of India was asked to ratify the Draft Convention and the Recommendation of the International Labour Conference of 1927 concerning sickness insurance. But both the Chambers of the Indian Legislature refused ratification, and the Government of India pointed out the difficulties in the way of introducing in India a scheme of compulsory sickness insurance for workers in industry, commerce and domestic service, and in agriculture, on the lines contemplated in the Draft Conventions and the Recommendations on the following grounds: (1) migratory character of labour; (2) habit of going home whenever they are seriously ill instead of submitting themselves to treatment in industrial centres; (3) lack of a sufficient number of qualified medical practitioners to take care of them when ill; (4) the existence of the indigenous system of treatment; (5) the opposition of workers to compulsory reductions from their pay; and (6) absence of self-governing institutions like trade unions for the administration of the insurance law. The Government of India expressed, however, a desire to explore more fully the possibilities of some system of sickness insurance for a particular class of workers.[8]

That the introduction of insurance against all kinds of sickness among the whole working population is not feasible in India may be readily admitted. But a beginning should be made and legislation should be undertaken for

(6) International Labour Office: *Voluntary Sickness Insurance*, 1927. The list of countries consists of some 21 States, including Great Britain, France, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Denmark and India.

(7) International Labour Office: *General Problems of Social Insurance*, 1925. By 1925 under the first category of the insurance system there were seven countries, under the second, seven countries, and under the third, only one country, namely, Portugal.

(8) *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 23rd November, 1933, pp. 2083-2103; *Council of State Debates*, 14th December, 1933, pp. 466-468.

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sickness insurance for workers in organized industries, and its scope should be gradually extended to those in other industries and occupations. The very fact that sickness insurance is an investment rather than a mere expenditure is an important argument in favour of its early introduction and it is hoped that Government will soon take the initiative in that direction.

Maternity Benefit

An important system of social insurance in modern times is the grant of benefit to prospective mothers, both before and immediately after child-birth. The principle of maternity benefit is the same as the compensation for accidents, that is, to make the benefit a part of production cost, which ultimately will be borne by consumers. There is still another phase to maternity insurance, inasmuch as the labour of women is in most cases "sweated," they being paid less wages than men for the same kind of work, the consumer ought to bear the expenses in case of maternity. The immediate object of maternity benefit is to grant compulsory and needed rest to prospective mothers for the welfare of themselves, as well as that of their infants. The importance of such a benefit has been more and more realized owing to the increased dependence of many young women upon wages for the maintenance of themselves as well as of their families, and to the growing severity of the work in which they are often engaged.

Maternity insurance exists in some form or other in most of the industrially advanced countries. In some countries not only working women, but even the wives of workers, receive maternity benefit. It is generally a part of sickness insurance, but where sickness insurance is absent, *e.g.*, Italy, a maternity benefit Act has been passed irrespective of the health of the insured. Payment is generally made either in a lump sum or on the instalment plan.

In India, maternity benefit schemes have existed among Government employees as well as among the employees of several private industries, such as plantations; but that the voluntary system does not work well is indicated by the fact that during depression, many planters did not think of paying benefit, and that the jute mill industry of Bengal, employing considerable numbers of women, did not carry out its projected maternity benefit schemes due to industrial depression. Moreover, the voluntary system has no uniformity either in rates or methods of payment.

The importance of maternity benefit legislation was first realized in India after the adoption by the International Labour Conference of a draft Convention in 1919. But the Government of India opposed a private Bill to that effect introduced into the Legislature in 1924. The question was, however, soon taken up by provincial Governments and a Bill, introduced in 1928, was passed by the Bombay Legislative Council in 1929. A similar Act was passed by the Central Provinces and Berar in 1930. The Bombay Maternity Benefit Act was amended in 1934 and was extended to Ajmere-Merwara. A similar Act was passed by the Government of Madras which came into force on April 1, 1935.

The essential features of the Maternity Benefit Acts[9] are as follows: (1) all of them relate to women working in factories, and in Madras the Act is specifically limited to non-seasonal factories; (2) in all cases the entire cost is to be borne by employers; (3) the maximum period for which the benefit is available is eight weeks in Bombay, the Central Provinces, and Ajmere-Merwara and seven weeks in Madras, being four or three weeks before and four weeks after the birth of the child; and (4) the amount of benefit is 8 annas a day in the Madras Presidency as well as in the cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Karachi in the Bombay Presidency; in the rest of the Bombay Presidency and in the Central Provinces the benefit is at the average rate of the woman's daily earnings calculated on the wages earned during a period of three months preceding the day on which she is entitled to receive the benefit, or at the rate of eight annas a day, whichever is less; (5) the woman must be in the service of the employer, from whom she claims benefit, for nine months in all the provinces, and she must not work in any other place during the period in which she receives the benefit. Moreover, she cannot be discharged from her employment within the period during which she is entitled to the benefit.

The importance of extending the present Acts to all the provinces of British India was realized by the Royal Commission on Labour, especially in the case of perennial factories. It is quite understandable why seasonal industries should be excluded from the scope of the legislation, as most of the seasonal industries work for a short period in the year. Infant mortality, which is highest in India, indicates the necessity of granting maternity benefit to all women,

(9) Bombay Maternity Benefit Act (No. VII) of 1929; Bombay Maternity Benefit (Amendment) Act (No. IV) of 1934; Central Provinces Maternity Benefit Act No. VI) of 1930; Madras Maternity Benefit Act (No. VI) of 1935.

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especially among the working classes, and the immediate objective should be to extend the scope of the Act to women workers in all organized industries, and gradually to other industries as well.

Among the questions of minor importance may be mentioned the distribution of the cost of benefit and the form in which the benefits should be given. It is now borne by the industry, but this very provision makes it difficult to extend. It would be better to adopt a general scheme of insurance in which the cost should be shared by the State, the employer and the employee. While the payment in cash is preferable, as is actually the case in factories at present, a part of the benefit may be granted in the form of medical service, such as clinic and hospitals, physicians and midwives, and care and nursing. Child-birth is surrounded with so much superstition in India, especially among the lower class Indians, that a part of the maternity benefit in the form of nursing and medical service would raise the confinement of women to a rational basis and would do immense good to both mothers and their newly born.

III.—Invalidity and Old-Age Insurance

Another form of social insurance is that against invalidity and old-age, both of which are contingencies inasmuch as nobody is certain of ever reaching them. While most of the upper middle classes, having nothing to worry about old-age and many of the middle classes are insured against these contingencies, the majority of the working classes have to depend either upon savings, charity or insurance. But since most of the working classes are not in a position to save sufficiently or any at all, they have to fall back upon either charity, which is both insufficient and degrading, or upon social insurance, which is the only dignified way of taking care of countless toiling population.

Invalidity and old-age insurance are of various kinds:—First, Governments, municipalities and other semi-public institutions have generally pension systems or provident funds for their salaried or often also for their wage workers. Moreover, certain large-scale undertakings have also provident funds and even pension systems for their retired officers or workers. Secondly, there are voluntary associations, such as fraternal societies and trade unions, which grant assistance to their fellow members on such occasions, but due to the insufficiency of funds and the narrowness of the scope, they benefit very few people. Thirdly, in some countries there are unassisted voluntary associations which subvent or otherwise assist a certain number of people. But they have also proved to be insufficient. And finally, there has developed the modern compulsory system of invalidity and old-age insurance, which was first established in Germany in 1889. Under this system, all wage workers between 17 and 70 are obliged to insure their lives and to contribute a certain amount of their salary to the unemployment funds to which the employer contributes a similar amount and the State contributes its share at the time of granting the principal. From Germany this compulsory system against invalidity and old-age has spread to almost all industrially advanced countries.

The importance of insuring against invalidity and old-age is as great in India as any other country. The cult of ancestor-worship has been fast decaying and the old family system disintegrating. Due to the struggle for existence it is becoming more and more difficult for younger generations to take care of their old parents and the system of local charity is also becoming scarce. The only hope of dignified, although modest, life for millions of Indian toilers depends upon some kind of insurance scheme. That voluntary sickness insurance cannot solve the problem is indicated by the fact that up to 1925, there were only 21 trade unions, mostly among railway and postal employees, with only 100,000 members, which had established voluntary insurance schemes against death and retirement. Except in the two cases, the members themselves were contributors to these funds. The scale of benefit is very low; for instance, the Bombay Postal Union with 1,250 members paid only 50 rupees in case of death; and the Bombay Presidency Postmen and Lower Grade staff were paid during six years ending 1925 only 27 rupees in 74 cases of death and retirement.[10]

In spite of the meagreness and insignificance of voluntary schemes, no compulsory scheme has yet been developed in India for insurance against invalidity and old-age. The question of introducing the insurance scheme to invalidity and old-age was brought home to India by the Draft Conventions and Recommendations for invalidity, old-age, and widows' and orphans' insurance adopted by the Seventeenth International Labour Conference in 1933.

(10) International Labour Office: *Voluntary Sickness Insurance*, Geneva, 1922, p. 254.

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It must be remembered that there are six Draft Conventions and one Resolution. The first Convention provides a scheme of old-age insurance for industrial, commercial, professional and other workers, and the second Convention seeks to do the same thing for agricultural workers. The third Convention relates to the scheme for invalidity insurance, that is, for compensation to those who are permanently incapacitated by ill health in industry, commerce, professional and other occupations, and the fourth Convention does the same thing for workers in agriculture. The fifth Convention is designed to seek insurance for widows and orphans of workers employed in industry, commerce, professions and other occupations, and the sixth Convention seeks to do the same thing in the case of agriculture. The maximum starting age for old-age pensions is fixed at 65, and orphans are to get pensions in respect of the death of either parent up to the age of 14 at least. The schemes are contributory, the employer, the employee and the State contributing to the funds. It is evident from the articles of the Conventions that it is a very comprehensive insurance scheme covering workers in almost all occupations, except seamen, for whom there still exist separate arrangements.

The question of ratifying these Conventions and accepting the Resolution was taken up by the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in 1933, but both of them refused to ratify the Conventions and the Recommendation on the grounds of the administrative and financial difficulties involved in a country like India, where the numbers of such beneficiaries would amount to over forty millions of old people, incapacitated people, widows and orphans. It is estimated that even at the low rate of Rs. 5 a month or 60 a year, India would have to undertake an expenditure of 30 crores of rupees.[12]

One can easily understand the difficulty of a Government like that of India to give effect to such a broad scheme of social insurance. In the first place, there is not sufficient money in the Government treasury for realising such an expensive scheme. In the second place, the taxable capacity of the people is so low that it is difficult for the Government to raise sufficient taxes for the purpose. In the third place, there is not any strong public opinion in favour of this scheme nor any strong conviction on the part of the Government to undertake such a scheme on borrowed funds. But the importance of such a measure cannot be denied and the practical solution of the problem lies in undertaking some such schemes for workers in organised industries in the first instance and gradually to extend its scope to other industries and occupations until the time when the whole working population may be brought under the scope of national social insurance.

IV.—Widows' and Orphans' Insurance

Closely connected with invalidity and old-age insurance is the insurance for widows and orphans or what is generally called life insurance. Life insurance is a common method for the economic security of the survivors of a person. But the scope of such an insurance system is limited to the lower or upper middle classes and the people who are in most need of such insurance are deprived of it because of its costliness. It is for this reason that the necessity has arisen for insurance for the protection of widows and orphans among working classes.

The origin of widows' and orphans' insurance may be traced, as in the case of other insurance schemes, to fraternal societies, trade unions, and life insurance companies, which were gradually taken up by State insurance schemes in some countries.[13] The life insurance for workers was started by voluntary schemes under the name of industrial and prudential compulsory scheme in most of the countries. The invalidity and old-age insurance also pro- insurance, but they have been superseded by vided for widows' and orphans' in some countries such as France, Germany, Holland, and Austria. There is still another system, *e.g.*, mothers' pensions, which were also granted in some countries, especially in the American States.[14]

As in the case of invalidity and old-age insurance, the importance of widows' and orphans' insurance was also brought home to India by the International Conventions and Recommendation of 1933, which were rejected by both the Chambers of the Indian Legislature in 1933. It is difficult for the Government of India to give effect to such a broad scheme, but the time has come to begin the compulsory widows' and orphans' insurance, for which the best opportunities are again offered by organised industries.

(12) *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 23 November, 1933, pp. 2083-2103; *Council of State Debates*, 14 December, 1933, pp. 466-468.

(13) *E.g.*, Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Canada, and the States of Wisconsin and Massachusetts.

(14) *Cf.* Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labour Legislation*, p. 408.

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V.—Unemployment Insurance

The last, but not the least important, insurance scheme is that against unemployment. Unemployment is the greatest defect of the modern industrial system. The inevitability of unemployment under the capitalistic system of production has long been predicted and the last world war has accentuated the situation. Since 1929 the whole world has seen the greatest industrial depression and the largest increase in unemployment. In some countries there is a sign of recovery, but in countries like the United States where over 12 million workers or about one-fifth of the total population employed gainfully remain without any means of earning their livelihood.[15] This is true in the case of many other countries. In fact, with the sole exception of Russia, unemployment has become a permanent problem in industrialised countries.

The compulsory idleness of a large number of able-bodied and willing workers is a great calamity to society, economic, social and political. First, it deprives society of a great contribution to national wealth, which they might have produced and added. Secondly, enforced idleness is demoralising, as it leads to, not only deterioration of their productive and creative power, but also to the loss of their self-respect. Thirdly, not only the workers themselves but also their dependants including children are deprived of the necessary nourishment and adequate education for developing their manhood and womanhood. And, finally, unemployment is bound to lead to discontent and disturb the political solidarity of any State.

The origin of unemployment insurance may be traced back to about the middle of the nineteenth century when British and other continental European trade unions began to pay allowances to their members when out of work. As in the case of other insurance schemes, this voluntary system could not meet the growing demand of unemployed workers without outside or public help. The first public unemployment insurance organised by public authorities was that of Bern in 1893, which was followed by a number of similar systems at St. Gall in 1895 and at Cologne in 1896, and in many other cities in France and Germany. The most successful system of unemployment insurance was that of Ghent, generally known as the Ghent System, which was organised in 1901 and under which a regular subsidy was granted to the employment funds of the trade unions granting unemployment insurance. This system was rapidly copied by many other cities in most of the Western European countries.[16]

The unemployment insurance on a national system was, however, first introduced by Great Britain, which passed the National Insurance Act of 1911 introducing a system of compulsory unemployment insurance for workers in certain selected industries. Under this system, the employer and the employee make an equal contribution to the national unemployment funds and the Government adds one-third of the combined contribution. The benefit is, however, limited to only 15 weeks in the year for each insured person. The Act was amended in 1916 and re-enacted in 1920, increasing the number of insured persons to about 12 million.[17] While the voluntary systems with State subsidies are still in existence in several countries, the British compulsory system has been adopted by a number of countries.

The question of unemployment insurance has raised a very important issue in India inasmuch as a large proportion of the population remains either unemployed or underemployed throughout the year.[18] Although no statistical data are available on the question, unemployment among the educated classes has become very acute in recent years and investigations into the question have been undertaken by most of the provinces and the problem has also been debated by both the Central and the Provincial Governments. Following the recommendations of the Unemployment Committee of 1933, the Government of Assam has carried into effect the schemes for the development of cottage industries with the help of a grant from the Government of India.[19] The last and the most important investigation was that of the United Provinces, which was appointed in 1934 and which made its report in 1935,[20] recommending, among other things: (1) the collection of unemployment statistics by different authorities; (2) the increase in the scope of employment in Government and professional services, farm and estate managements, and small

(15) Refers to the figure estimated by the American Federation of Labour for March 1936. C/o. *International Labour Review*, August 1936, p. 326.

(16) International Labour Office: *Unemployment Insurance*, 1925, pp. 5-6.

(17) Minister of Labour: *A Report on National Unemployment Insurance*, London, 1923.

(18) According to the estimate of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the number of unemployed in India would amount to about 40 millions, but he has not given the basis of his estimation. *Cf.* his book on *Unemployment in India, its Causes and Cure*, 1932, p. 6.

(19) *The I. L. O. Year-Book*, 1935-36, p. 343.

(20) *The Report of the United Provinces Unemployment Committee*, 1935, Allahabad, 1936.

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industries. Moreover, Governments should make a survey of industries, establish research work-shops and facilitate the marketing of the products of these industries; and (3) the re-organisation of the whole educational system, primary, secondary and university, with special reference to industrial, technical and vocational education and with provisions for compulsory primary education, vocational guidance and an appointments board for educated young men and graduates.

While these schemes and recommendations, if fully given effect to, may bring temporary relief to certain classes of the unemployed, unemployment is bound to remain a very complicated question in India as in any other industrially advanced country. The only method of solution of the problem is the organisation of the whole industrial system on the basis of use economy rather than of profit economy, a step too bold to be undertaken by Government under its present system.

The real question in relation to unemployment is not how to eliminate it, but how to bring it under control. There is no doubt that the revival of international trade through monetary stabilisation and tariff reduction will be a great help to national production; but in a country where the bulk of the goods and services are for domestic consumption, industrial revival becomes largely a national question. The revival of Indian industries and an increase in production may be brought about by several methods, such as: (1) economic planning, regional, provincial and national; (2) the rationalisation and reorganisation of agriculture and industry, and (3) the rapid industrialisation of the country in the production of those commodities in which India has natural advantage.

The rationalisation of agriculture and industry may tend to reduce the volume of employment in certain occupations, but the fuller utilisation of natural, human and capital resources, considerable portions of which are at present wasted, as the present writer has shown,[21] and production for domestic market for which there is a great potentiality, will increase the net volume of employment. The most important effect of industrialisation and revival of agriculture and industry will be, (1) the allocation and systematization of unemployment and (2) the augmentation of national dividend with which it is possible to build up the national fund for unemployment insurance.

A start should, however, be made in unemployment insurance and the only industries which offer such possibility are those which are organised. Such a scheme was recommended by the Fawcett Committee of 1928-29 on the ground that large industries should take care of those workers who had lost their jobs through rationalisation and reorganization.[22] No employer is in a better position to introduce such insurance as the Government, which owns a large number of industrial enterprises, such as railways, engineering work-shops and ordinance factories. A successful experiment by Government will pave the way to its extension into private enterprises, such as cotton and jute mill industries and other perennial factories. The most suitable system to India will be that of Great Britain with which the Government of India is more familiar. Moreover, it is based on a solid basis of divided responsibility among the worker, the employer and the Government.

Conclusion

An important problem of modern society is the economic insecurity among an increasingly large number of social population, especially among the wage workers who depend solely upon labour as a means of livelihood and are easily exposed to privation, destitution and misery through the loss of income arising from accident, sickness, invalidity, old age, premature death and involuntary unemployment. While the problem of this insecurity has been brought about the several forces, such as modern industrialism with its power machinery and complicated processes, as well as the capitalist system of production which is based on profit motive and on distant and international market, thus increasing physical risk and industrial depression or unemployment, the development of the means of solving the problem by social insurance is due mainly to the increasing sense of social justice and the growing importance of the masses in the social, political and economic organisation of a modern nation.

The origins of social insurance may be traced to the guild system, employers' welfare work, trade unionism and friends' societies. Most of the earlier schemes were voluntary, but the inadequacy of voluntary schemes and their absence among those who need them most, has led to the development of the compulsory system in most of the advanced countries. The insurance against accidents has, for instance, been adopted by fifty-four countries, that against

(21) *Cf. The Modern Review, April* 1927 : *Production in India*, Calcutta, 1924; and *The Industrial Efficiency of India*, London, 1930.

(22) *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, 1931, pp. 33 and 35.

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sickness and maternity by thirty-one countries and that against invalidity, old age, widowhood and orphanhood in thirty countries. Other forms of social insurance have also developed in many countries in recent years.[23]

India is as much in need of social insurance as any other country. The number of wage workers alone amounts to over 56 millions,[24] but the economic conditions of the peasants, artisans and the small traders in a poor country, which is constantly subjected to drought, flood, epidemic and famine, also deserve serious consideration. There are however several obstacles in the way of extensive social insurance in India such as :—(1) the immensity of population; (2) the extreme poverty of the masses; (3) unorganised character of most industries; (4) the absence of adequate provision for public health; (5) the lack of any data on insurance incidence; and (6) the absence of any effective demand on the part of the public, and of a bold initiative on the part of the Government, for extensive social insurance schemes.

A satisfactory beginning has however been made in maternity benefit schemes for factory women in a few provinces and also in workmen's compensation schemes in organised and semi-organised industries all over British India, the latter covering about six million workers and showing the possibility of its extension, as well as of introducing other social insurance schemes on a wider national basis. None of the obstacles in the way of development of social insurance is unsurmountable. The industrialisation of production and the rationalisation, reorganisation and revival of agriculture and industry will not only increase the volume of employment, but will also supply larger funds for social insurance schemes. Moreover, the economic surveys and the collection of data on insurance incidence will help in creating new social consciousness. While Government initiative is a stepping stone, the most important factor in the growth of social insurance is the intelligent public opinion in realising the importance of economic security of the masses for the political solidarity, economic prosperity and social progress of the whole nation.

Geneva, November 6, 1936.

(23) *International Labour Organization and Social Insurance*, p. 188. The total number of insurance laws in different countries has been estimated to be about 400.

(24) Consisting of 31.5 million agricultural labourers as recorded by the census of 1931 and 25 million industrial workers as estimated by the Indian Franchise Committee of 1932. C/o. *Report of the Indian Franchise Committee*, London, 1932, p. 91.

Whence is this delicate scent in the rose and violet? It is not from the root—that smells of nothing; not from the stalk—that is as scentless as the root; not from the earth whence it grows, which contributes no more to these flowers than to the grass that grows by them; not from the leaf, not from the bud before it be disclosed, which yields no more fragrance than the leaf, or stalk, or root; yet here I now find it: neither is there any miraculous way but in the ordinary course of nature, for all violets and roses of this kind yield some redolence; it cannot be but that it was potential in that root and stem from which the flowers proceed; and there placed and thence drawn by that Almighty Power which hath given these admirable virtues to several plants, and induces them, in His due season, to these excellent perfections.

Bishop Hall.

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DICTATORS OR DEMOCRACY ?

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

I remember Philip Snowden remarking once that some people called this the age of speed and others the age of progress but he sometimes thought that future generations might well consider it the age of waste. It is some six or seven years ago since that speech was made but I often think how prophetic it has proved. He was speaking then of the way men misuse the material resources at their disposal. But in the world today we see men misusing, see them throwing away, not so much their material resources as all the intangible things that have come down to them from history. A hateful spirit of extremism is in the saddle and everything that does not conform with that spirit is discounted and t r a m p l e d on. Hard-won liberties, age-old values that have come down from Christendom to us in Europe, are sneered at and persecuted. Europe, and even America, is dividing along the lines of black and white, Fascist and Communist, Right and Left.

What should be the reaction of the ordinary man to the alternatives of Fascism or Communism ? Surely it should be in the spirit of the Shakespearean retort: "Faith, there's small choice in rotten apples ! " But unfortunately it too often is not so. The have-nots tend to see in Communism the common people coming into their own. And the haves to see in Fascism the ruling classes ruling again. And the truth is that as a man is circumstanced so does he choose and allow his sympathies to go to the Left or to the Right. When it is far more important that he should stand firm in the democratic way . . . .

It is extraordinary how easily even responsible men and women allow themselves to seek after one or other of these false gods. A well-known Liberal remarked recently that if he had to choose between life under Fascism or under Communism he would choose Communism. In saying this no doubt he was prompted by good feeling. Communism, though resting on dictatorship, is at least government in the interests of the common people. But anyone who cares for freedom today must steadfastly refuse to take sides or to choose between dictatorships. For it is not a matter of choice or of degrees of freedom; it is a matter of *principle*. At the risk of being a bore, may I repeat the words I have often quoted in these Letters: "It is not safety that I seek but freedom. I will be guided by my own unfettered spirit, not by the false tyrant from without."

But perhaps a well-meaning Liberal should be forgiven if once in a while he is betrayed into expressing a preference for Communism. Because the truth is that at the present time the Fascist dictatorships are saying and doing exactly what they like and circumstances, as the Americans say, are all going their way. Signor Mussolini has founded an Italian Empire in Abyssinia. Herr Hitler at Nuremberg the other day animadverted as to what Germany could do with large tracts of Russian territory. Because England annoyed Italy by objecting to the rape of Abyssinia, Italy has chummed up with Germany and they are concerting ways of annoying England beginning in Spain and now on to a general Mediterranean question (a Mediterranean question spreading out to and embracing the Near East). Germany, into the bargain, through the mouth of General Goering, has begun animadverting about England's colonies. "England," he said in a broadcast the other day, "owns one-third of the world's colonies and we have nothing. Our colonies were stolen from us . . . If we had just a small part of England's one-third of the world we would not complain." When the new German Ambassador arrived in London the other day, his first words on getting out of the train were an attack on Russia and Communism. "The Fuhrer is convinced," he said, "that the only real danger to Europe and the British Empire is the spread of Communism." Certainly the Fascists say what they like, how they like, where they like, and when they like.

On the same day that the German Ambassador, Herr von Ribbentrop, made this provocative announcement in London, the leader of the Spanish Workers' Party, Mr. J. G. Gorkin, should have made a speech in London at the Kingsway Hall. He was not however allowed into this country and the police told him the reason was that the British Government wanted to observe strict neutrality and "did not want the working class of Britain to be stirred up by his speeches." There is of course always a case for neutrality. But has

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anyone, and above all any Government, ever succeeded in observing it? The present British Government certainly has not. It is a moot point whether the Spanish Workers' leader might not have been very circumspect in what he said. But in any event propaganda from the other side is freely allowed in this country. Quite apart from the tendencious attitude of the principal popular daily newspapers, the Fascist rebels in Spain have just published here, through Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode, a book of atrocity stories. "A few atrocities can help us more than tanks," a Spanish rebel commander is reported to have observed. And here are the atrocities. Whether they were ever committed or not is not the point. The point is that England is avowedly neutral and yet it allows the publication of a book which is described as "the First Report issued by the Committee of Investigation appointed by the National Government at Burgos." (Burgos, of course, is the rebel headquarters).

It is a pity that while it is the essential attribute of the Fascists to bluff and bluster all over the place—and thereby often get away with the assumption that the earth is theirs and they can do what they like with it—democratic leaders for their part concern themselves with the niceties of policies of non-intervention. If instead of taking a purely negative and sterile line they got together and re-stated in plain and unvarnished style the eternal principles of democracy they might do the world some service! Why should the dictators be the only positive people about? As General Booth remarked when he set some of his hymns to contemporary dance tunes: "Why should the devil have all the best tunes?" Why? Why cannot we steal some of their manner—particularly when we have so much better a *matter* to make a song about?

At the moment of writing the Dictators of Italy and Germany seem to be taking it upon themselves to talk at Great Britain. Italy tells us to re-orientate our policy in the Mediterranean and Germany tells us to disgorge part of the British Empire. For the moment they are leaving France out of it, France who for years and years has had the leadership of Europe—but who now sees that leadership passing from her because Fascism is closing in on every frontier and Fascism outside her borders stirs up Fascism within her borders; and the tragedy that seems to be overwhelming the Left forces in Spain is making the Left forces in France discontented with the Popular Front Government—and so the whole fabric of government is torn. If the policy of non-intervention which France initiated in the end plunges France in dissensions and perhaps reaction, are we still going to cling to the plea that we must be "neutral"?

France, encircled by Fascists armed to the teeth, has only one powerful ally—Russia. Are we going to allow German Ambassadors to come here preaching pseudo-crusades against Russia?

The future of democracy on the continent is the future of France. One of the wisest of contemporary Europeans, M. Titulescu, has always tried to get the Balkans to follow France because, as he has said, experience has shown that they are not able to stand alone: they must either follow France or Germany. Are we going to let them follow Germany?

When we talk of non-intervention, and remaining neutral, or isolated, how ungrateful we are to France! Think what we owe to French culture—and then let us think of the kind of brutal ideology the Dictators are thrusting on the world. There seems to be little in the German mind at present except a morbid pre-occupation with Communism. "It is the most terrible of all diseases," wailed the German Ambassador on Victoria Station platform. While the Italian mind, inflamed by its successes and excesses, is already painting pictures of more wars, Signor Mussolini, in a recent speech at Bologna, said, he offered "a huge olive branch . . . firmly held by young and intrepid hearts from a forest of 8,000,000 bayonets." Even the Tory *Morning Post* remarked that it seemed to be more of a cactus than an olive! And in a speech yesterday—that same speech in which he envisaged war with Britain—he scornfully demolished the ideology of the League of Nations. The League of Nations, that last flower of equalitarian and liberal sentiment, is anathema in his eyes because it stands for the equality between the nations. Equality before the law, equality in the eyes of God, has been a characteristic of European culture. But the Dictators, of course, have changed all that. "The League of Nations," said the Dictator yesterday, "is based upon the absurdity of a standard of absolute juridicial parity between all the member States." This, of course, means that he thinks it is absurd for the League to have tried to get justice for Abyssinia. "The League," he said, "must renew itself or perish." And he concluded: "As far as we are concerned it may quietly die."

Well, the Dictators may kill the League,

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but they cannot kill the idea of the League . . . That is what always annoys Dictators. The elusiveness and immortality of ideas! They try to banish ideas by means of maintaining a strict censorship of the press. But ideas are immortal although Dictators, thank God, are not . . .

This Letter has just been interrupted by a visit from the traveller who sold me my steel files in the office. He tells me they have the utmost difficulty now in getting the steel they require because it is all going to the re-armament manufacture. From this he went on to say that re-armament had put an end to the Depression. I asked him where he thought re-armament itself would end. Surely it must end in war. If it does not end in war, it must end in a new Depression—because, obviously, men cannot go on piling up iron and steel for ever. I reminded him that Germany is now spending at the rate of £800,000,000 a year on armaments. To what end if it is not a war with Russia. He said he thought it was merely for prestige—merely the long-drawn-out reaction to the attempt by France and the other victorious Powers to keep Germany in the position into which she was thrust by the Treaty of Versailles. It would be a great comfort to be able to believe that Germany was straining every nerve to increase her armaments merely in the interests of prestige! And of course one remembers that when, the other day, Germany protested to France at a speech made by a Communist leader there, critics pointed out that this was the first time that Germany had been in a position strong enough to make protests to France. But why, if it is only a matter of prestige, is there this everlasting propaganda against Russia? The traveller said one other thing which is of some interest. He said that anyone who has business relations with firms in Germany knows that there is a strong anti-Hitler current in that country. That, he thought, was another safeguard against Germany's going to war—because if she did so, revolt would break out at home. But of course history is against him. When revolt is threatening at home, then is the time to make war abroad, to create a diversion outside . . .

To return to the Dictators and the way in which they are trying to impose themselves on Europe. The background is of course that Italy wants to down England and Germany wants to down the Franco-Soviet Alliance. Signor Mussolini's son-in-law and heir-apparent, Count Ciano, has therefore been visiting Germany to see if the two countries can hit together and arrive at an understanding. The results of this visit have now been outlined in a communique published in Munich. And roughly speaking Germany's price is that Italy should join the Anti-Soviet bloc—while Italy's price is that Germany should recognize the Italian Empire in Abyssinia and co-operate generally in an Italy-over-Europe programme. Signor Mussolini, of course, embroidered the subject in his speech at Milan last Sunday, the speech already referred to. Listen to the way in which these Dictators proclaim that if there is to be peace on earth it shall be peace on their terms:

> "The meetings at Berlin have resulted in an understanding between the two countries on unspecified problems, some of them particularly urgent at the present time . . . This vertical line between Berlin and Rome is not a dividing line. It is rather an axis round which all European States animated by the will to peace and collaboration, can colloborate."

So peace must revolve round the Italo-German axis. But Signor Mussolini also spoke about some urgent problems. Perhaps it would be well then to ask what are these urgent problems.

First of all there is Abyssinia. We must all presumably recognize Italy's annexation of that ancient kindgom. Apart from the terrible wrong that constitutes in itself we must by that very act betray the League of Nations. We must, it seems, subscribe to Signor Mussolini's scornful assumption that all that the League has tried to do, all the hope and inspiration it has brought to an unsatisfactory world, was so much dope. In the Dictator's words "it is necessary to wipe the slate clean of all the illusions, commonplaces and conventional falsehoods which still constitute the remains of the great shipwreck of the Wilsonian ideologies." Germany, certainly, is ready to co-operate as regards Abyssinia. To that end she is already planning to run an Air Zeppelin Service to Addis Ababa *via* Italy.

Italy and Germany are next to co-operate in Central Europe. There was a time when Austria strove to remain independent while Germany strove to swallow her up. But Austria elected instead to pass under Italian tutelage. So that now that Italy and Germany are come together the Dictators have her under their thumb. Germany has given up the first lusting after Austria for the second lusting against Russia and Communism.

But in his speech last Sunday Signor Mussolini made a special reference to Hungary and Italian sympathy with her revisionist ambi-

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tions. And this, of course, has created consternation amongst the Little Entente—amongst Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania and Jugo-Slavia —amongst those who will suffer from any attempt to put back parts of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. France always upheld the Little Entente and, as I said before, M. Titulescu, Rumania's great Minister, always believed that the Balkans must follow the French Star. But Signor Mussolini is out to obtain the political overlordship of Europe. To bring this about, indeed, he is even trying to make up to Jugo-Slavia, Jugo-Slavia whose territory he has always coveted—part of Servia's territory it will be remembered was pledged to Italy in a Secret Treaty which brought Italy into the World War on the side of the Allies—but with whom it may be useful now to pretend friendship.

Where will all this end? On the European mainland Italy and Germany are bestriding the frightened nations. In the Mediterranean Italy is all but inviting England to go to war with her. In that same speech last Sunday he said :

"For Britain the Mediterranean is only a short-cut to her outlying territories; for Italy it is life. We do not intend to threaten this route, but we demand that our rights and vital interests should be respected. The reasoning brains in the British Empire must realise that the accomplished fact is complete and irrevocable. The sooner they do so the better. There is only one solution —a complete understanding on the basis of the recognition of mutual interests. If this should not come about, if it is really being thought to suffocate the life of the Italian people in that sea which is the sea of Rome, then let it be known that the Italian people would jump to it as one man, ready to fight with a determination which would have few precedents in history."

Well, that is plain enough. And what nonsense it all is. What rights and vital interests do we fail to respect? The ordinary man and woman feels in fact that the rights of other nations are not respected by Italy—and that the British Navy stands tamely on one side while the Mediterranean is used for any gun-running purpose that Italy likes. At the moment of writing, for instance, Italy is massing aeroplanes at Majorca, aeroplanes designed to attack the Spanish Government stronghold at Barcelona when the Rebels attack Madrid. For months Italy has been gun-running across the Straits of Gibraltar.

But Signor Mussolini dreams of an Italian Mediterranean. From Gibraltar to Suez he would like to oust the British ships. With one eye on Suez of course he has for years been fermenting trouble for Britain in Egypt and Palestine.

Isn't it time for someone to call the bluff of the Dictators? Because bluff, if it isn't called, is just as successful as valour. Let it never be forgotten that the Fascists in Italy gained their position by bluff. In the autumn of 1922 the Fascists marched on Rome. They had only 35 seats out of 535 in Parliament. The Prime Minister wanted the King to declare martial law but he refused to do so and instead called on Signor Mussolini to form a government. 35 seats out of 535. What a bluff! Perhaps Signor Mussolini had a pretty good idea it was a gamble because he did not take part in that now much-publicised march. He waited to see what happened in Rome and then followed in a sleeping car.

Let us before it is too late stand up to this spirit of aggression and extremism that is making so much trouble in Europe. It is a mistake to be afraid to speak out lest worse befall. No war will ever be averted by right-minded people keeping mum. Nor is it necessary to imagine that only by re-arming and frightening the Dictators in turn can we say our say. We do not believe in any dictatorships, we stand for democracy because we believe in the inherent goodness of man and so in his inherent right to make his own laws and in his inherent ability to reconcile his interests with those of his neighbours.

Then let Britain call on her neighbours to consult together and to see if they cannot together arrive at peace. If the time for conference has past, if the Dictators will no longer come to Geneva and will do nothing but pour scorn on Geneva, then let Britain and France and the Scandanavian countries and all the rest who still believe in the Geneva way, issue their own conciliatory programme—and if the Dictators will have none of it then, at least, history will know how to judge them. As things are, if we let things drift on into war, history will judge us.

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CRIME AGAINST WOMEN

By SUCHETA DEVI, M.A.

Sometime back the press published certain figures of crimes against women committed in Bengal. The published figures show that last year there were 338 Hindu and 404 Muslim victims of these crimes. The press expressed some mild criticism of the Government attitude of "more drift" in this matter. For some years past it has been noticed that not a day passes when on opening the newspapers we do not come across few of these hideous crimes. We do not know whether they are on the increase, or they have become more marked of late owing to the publicity given. In any case the impression created is that, the crimes have assumed such alarming proportions, that it is high time that a vigorous measure both by the public and the Government were adopted to check the evil.

From the police and Government reports of Bengal we have the following figures. From 1926 to 1931 the number of such crimes were 915, 919, 1053, 908, 935 respectively. In 1932 the Government did not give the total, but its comment on the Police report of the year shows that the numbers were on the increase. "His Excellency-in-Council notes that case of offences, committed against women under Sections 366 and 354 I.P.C. showed an increase of 94 over the figure of the previous years—Burdwan, Nadia and Hooghly being the main contributors." There is a similar comment by the Government the following year, "It is deplorable that offence against women coming under sections 366 and 354 of the I.P.C. again show an increase. There were 52 cases more compared with the figures of the previous year." It has not been possible to secure the figures of the years following. Last year figures are already given. The figures merely show the extent of the evil. They don't warrant any conclusion whether the crimes are increasing or decreasing. They fluctuate from year to year. One thing is certain that the figures published do no credit either to the province or to the Government concerned.

This about Bengal. The figures from other provinces are not available. The absence of statistics does not indicate that the crime is unknown elsewhere. Newspapers dispel all such optimism. Their lurid headlines show the extent of the evil in other provinces. There is a very wide prevalence of these crimes in the U. P., the Punjab, N.-W. F. P., and Sind. They also frequently occur in rest of India. What appears in the press is but a fraction of what actually is perpetrated. Many cases do not reach the press or the police. However that may be, the extent of the prevalence of the crime must, in a society that is vigilant about its social health, cause serious anxiety. It is a serious menace to the social order involving the purity, sanctity and safety of our homes.

The factors accountable for the occurrence of these crimes are many and various. The greatest factor is the degraded position of Indian womanhood. India, a bullied and slave nation, has in its turn become a stronghold of various social tyrannies and inequities. The slave avenges himself by playing the bully to the weak and helpless. Even as this national slavery has been growing with centuries, has the freedom of the poor and the more helpless classes of Indian society been progressively diminishing. India today shows an hierarchy of oppressions in which woman occupies the lowest rung. She is the very symbol of the lowly condition of Mother India. She is the Harijan of Harijans.

Political degradation has brought social retrogression and moral degradation. In this dual bondage, social and political, woman has come to lose the dignity and status that was hers in freer times. She has come to be the chattel, the plaything, the drudge, to be treated with scant consideration and courtesy. Denied all educational facilities she is submerged in darkness, ignorance and superstition. She neither earns nor owns property. Confined behind the four walls of the home she has lost all her freedom of movement and has become weak and stunted. Phisically weak, mentally ignorant, economically dependent and morally declining, she falls an easy victim to the worse parasitic passions of society. Even in today's clamour of revival her hushed and half-articulate voice is hardly heard. Hence her problems receive very superficial and cursory attention. When she is outraged and trampled society raises its faint and ineffective voice and

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slides back to its usual self-complacency. Nay it even attaches the stigma of shame on the injured and unfortunate.

Besides the low economic, intellectual and physical condition of women, social customs are also responsible for these crimes. In Hindu society the number of young and unprotected widows is bound to be high. These are the easy victims of these crimes. Mussalmans allow their young widows to remarry and thus find a shelter. Today law allows Hindu widows to remarry yet social odium makes it hard for them to get husbands. A very insignificant number of Hindu widows get remarried. Being uneducated and unable to earn or protect themselves they are often led astray and allowed to sink to the lowest strata of society.

Hundreds of girls and young women fall easy victims to traffic in women. Young innocent girls from the remote villages and from the bustle of the cities are stolen, kidnapped, seduced, carried hundreds of miles away from their homes and compelled to lead a life of the utmost degradation and misery. Sometimes even babies are stolen and brought up in the vicious atmosphere of public houses and their innocent lives dedicated to sin.

As in every species of human crime so in this the foulest, religion makes its contribution. Not unoften are the crimes helped and perpetrated from false and fanatical idea of proselytizing. Every year a number of Hindu girls, married, unmarried and widows, are waylaid or forcibly taken away. The religious and communal leaders fail to condemn these crimes oblivious of the fact, that such practices, by lowering the moral tone of society harm not one, but all communities including their own. That a perverse sense of religion and morality should find human lust, passion and crime an easy way to everlasting bliss is the saddest commentary on religion. The way to heaven even, is strewn with lacerated hearts and broken homes! Is it any wonder then, that a new morality hates the very name of religion that allows and sanctifies such atrocities.

The Hindu religious zeal expresses itself in a different form. Week and pious the Hindu flocks in thousands to holy places to dip in sacred rivers at auspicious moments, or catch the glimpse of an idol and win salvation. In this hurry and hustle for winning easy grace does he count how many pure and innocent girls lose their life and more than their life, their honour, at the hands of the goondas and ruffians that frequent these places? Ah! no, he is too busy, the *mantra* must be repeated, the ceremony performed, the Brahman appeased. It does not matter if the Pujari is known to be vicious and immoral, he is useful, and the irony of it all, religiously so. The viciousness and cruelty of the 'Pandas' at the holy places are notoriously well-known but society winks at these and Government takes shelter under religious neutrality. Yet neither are society or the Government helpless, both have missed their obligation and duty. A society that refuses to purge itself of evil because it is sanctified by custom and protected by religion is bound to perish. So also Government that finds its strength in the degradation of the citizen lest a reformed citizen prove a danger to its authority.

The large numerical disparity between men and women population of the country is also responsible for these crimes. Bengal, even the whole of India, suffers from this disadvantage. Over this society has perhaps little control. Yet even this problem can be tackled to some extent.

Finally, the indifference or absence of sufficient zeal on the part of the Government and police is responsible for the continued occurrence of this crime in such large numbers. Had the Government taken up the matter seriously, surely by now the number would have appreciably diminished.

Presentation

The problem then is what methods should be adopted to combat the evil. Neither the public nor the Government alone can cope with it. The active co-operation of both is essential.

The first thing necessary is that society should be made so sensitive to the crimes that nobody would tolerate such offences. If a case occurs anywhere it should be the business of all irrespective of denomination to see that the woman in question is protected and the ruffians brought to book. Nobody should look on with indifference if the thing did not concern him or his community. Where legal remedy is not possible the perpetrators should be socially ostracized. Their wealth and position should afford them no protection. It should be the duty of the friends to make it plain to them, that such conduct will not be tolerated. On the other hand the injured women should neither be shunned nor outcasted. The doors of home and society should not be closed against her. Very often the victim failing to find her proper place is compelled much against her will to lead a degraded life. Sympathy, not contempt, should be the due of her, that is more sinned against than sinning. So all possible help should be

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rendered to her to resume the course of her normal life.

In each village and ward of a city vigilance associations should be formed to prevent and detect the crimes. Very often people hesitate to interfere from the fear of getting embroiled in legal proceedings and dragged as witness in sordid criminal cases. Therefore the need of philanthropic associations and organizations. They will be in a better position than an ordinary citizen to tackle the cases. There should be more homes for the rescuing of women, where they may be kept for a time and taught some useful art or profession to earn their livelihood or be married off.

As most of the suffering of women is due to their weakness and ignorance, physical, intellectual and moral, the problem of women's education should receive even more attention than it has been receiving of late. Only with advance of education will they be less the dupes of rogues and crooks and better fitted to move about in the society without losing their bearings. Sometime back the great Bhai Permanand in this connection said that as long as Hindu society could not protect its women it was better to keep them confined behind the purdah and to give them no education. What can be more senseless than the combating of an evil by another and a greater! Will the Purdah system and ignorance help women and protect them? Is it the educated women or these uneducated and purdah-ridden that are most often the victims? One hears of instances of women walking behind their husbands with the faces muffled. The way is known only by watching the footsteps of the husband through the little opening in her veil. Another pair of footsteps intervenes between the husband and the wife undetected. Women have been known to walk behind this new pair of feet to their evil and foul destiny. Perhaps these are extreme cases, but does not the purdah system stand more than condemned, in these few instances. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has pointed out in his paper that many of these cases occur in the villages where there is little purdah. Any how it is too late in the day even for Bhai Permanand to extol the purdah and ignorance. What is needed is not these but enlightenment and education. Women need to be given some knowledge of the world, some knowledge of the geography of the locality and some amount of physical training, so that if need be she may know her way about and protect herself. Proper moral training should fit her to resist temptation better and not be dupe of clever rogues.

Greater effort is needed to get the young widows remarried and thus given protection. When widow remarriage has been made legal it is the duty of the society to work it up and take full advantage of the reform.

The problem of numerical disparity is harder to tackle. Yet something here too can be done. Generally there is proportionately a larger number of women in higher castes while among the lower the reverse is the case. Inter-caste and inter-provincial marriage can to some extent mitigate the difference. Men often marry more than one wife. In a country where women are numerically less such a practice is bound to create difficulties. Add to this that widows do not marry and widowers often do once and again. Widows therefore should be encouraged to marry while polygamy should be stopped by legislation. In the big cities and industrial centres, hundreds of men from all over the country come and live very often without families. If the municipalities and the big industrialists are obliged to provide adequate housing for their labouring population they can live with their families. This will also help to diminish the figures of crime in general in big cities.

Finally the main responsibility must lie with the political authority. Public effort can only supplement the efforts of the Government, because the final power and authority rests with the State. The most elementary and fundamental duty of the State is to give protection to the citizen. That is its primary justification. A State is not worth its name if it fails to do this. Punishment for injury to woman should be sufficiently severe to have a deterrent effect. In Australia at one time when combined attacks on women had become frequent, the Government did not hesitate to impose capital punishments. The firm attitude of the Government soon stopped the crimes. We do not advocate capital punishment for any offence. Yet the law should provide more severe punishment for persons convicted of offences against women,—whipping, long term imprisonment and even life sentences should be awarded where necessary. The Government does not hesitate to give heavy punishments for all sorts of petty political crimes. The law in this case, drastic as it is, is supplemented at a moment's notice by all sorts of ordinances to meet imaginary danger. The whole machinery of the State is mobilized. Why then so much hesitation and delay when giving protection to the innocent is concerned?

But if an alien administration will not see

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its plain duty it should be the concern of the general public and all women organisations to carry on incessant propaganda till the Government brings in the necessary changes.

We are not such idealists as to hope for a perfect nation and a flawless society. Civilization cannot altogether eliminate the beast in man. Such crimes have always occurred and will occur in future. Yet we may not despair to reform society and remove some of its glaring inequities and make life a little more worth living. The condition in India in this respect is not unique. Other countries suffered from like distempers. They have been eradicated in other lands. Why then not in this?

THE INFINITE NEARNESS AND REALITY OF GOD

Voices of Poets, Prophets and Seers

By the Late Rev. Dr. J. T. SUNDERLAND

Poets (poets, prophets and seers—they are all one) are even more competent and trustworthy finders and revealers of God than are scientists, philosophers or theologians. This is so because their search and their discoveries are wider, deeper and more vital; they seek for and find God in and through man's whole nature and being, his whole experience, his whole life; whereas scientists, philosophers and theologians deal primarily, if not exclusively, with a single part of man, namely, his intellect, his logical faculty, his reasoning faculty.

In other words, poets (poets, prophets and seers) open up not only a greater number of paths to God, but paths that are often clearer, easier to find, more direct, richer in their revelations, and surer, because they lead to God, not through man's intellect alone, but also through his moral nature, his emotional nature, his esthetic nature, his spiritual nature—through his deep heart, his conscience, his sense of beauty, his love, his ideals, his soul's longings, visions, instincts, intuitions—that is, through *his entire self*, instead of through *only a part*, and a part which in several respects should not be regarded as the highest. It is for thinking men to judge whether it is possible, in the nature of things, for evidence of the existence and reality of God to be more trustworthy than these.

Many persons who try to find God—not only ignorant and uneducated persons, but many scientists and men of large intelligence, make the strange and fatal mistake of seeking Him through the physical senses, and by means of telescopes, microscopes, test-tubes, scales, weighing and measuring instruments, and the like, as if mind, as if spirit, could ever be found in that way! We never try to find thought, ideals, beauty, love, hope, faith, justice, honor, or any spiritual qualities, in that manner. Then why do we think to find God, the Infinite Spirit, by seeking Him along this blind and misleading path? The poets do not make this blunder. They know that spiritual things are spiritually discerned; that only mind can find mind; and therefore that, if we would discover the Infinite Mind at the center of things, it must be by agencies finer, subtler, more penetrating and more sure than the coarse, bungling, unadapted, misleading instruments of the chemist, the physicist and the astronomer.

Two men stand and look together at a beautiful sunset. One of them is thrilled, almost entranced, by the beauty and splendor. The other, unaffected, declares: "I see nothing in it." The first replies: "Don't you wish you could?"

One man finds no charm or uplift in the finest music, or the noblest art, or the wonders of nature, or the most inspiring religion. What should we say to him, only, "Don't you wish you could?"

Jesus said: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." He might well have added: He that hath eyes to see, let him see. It is the mission of poets—poets, prophets and seers, to open the eyes and ears of men's *souls*, so that they may see and hear. The following are some of their great messages.

> It is they, the Poets,
> Who utter wisdom from the central deep,
> And, listening to the inner flow of things,
> Speak to the age, out of Eternity.
> *James Russell Lowell.*

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Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?
If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in the grave, behold, thou art there.
If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea,
Even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.

Ancient Hebrew Poet.

In holy books we read how God hath spoken
To holy men in many different ways;
But hath the present worked no sign nor token?
Is God quite silent in these latter days?

The word were but a blank, a hollow sound,
If He that spake it were not speaking still,
If all the light and all the shade around
Were aught but issues of Almighty Will.

So then, believe that every bird that sings,
And every flower that stars the elastic sod,
And every thought the happy summer brings,
To the pure spirit is a word of God.

Hartley Coleridge.

I said, "I will find God," and forth I went
To seek Him in the clearness of the sky,
But over me stood unendurably
Only a pitiless, sapphire firmament
Ringing the world, blank splendor. Yet intent
Still to find God, "I will go seek," said I,
"His way upon the waters," and drew nigh
An ocean marge weed-strewn and foam be-sprent;
And the waves dashed on an idle sand and stone,
And very vacant was the long, blue sea.
But in the evening as I sat alone,
My window open to the vanishing day,
Dear God! I could not choose but kneel and pray,
And it sufficed that I was found of Thee.

Edward Dowden.

I took a day to search for God,
And found Him not. But as I trod
By rorky ledge, through woods untamed,
Just where one scarlet lily flamed,
I saw His footprint in the sod.

Then suddenly, all unaware,
Far off in the deep shadows, where
A solitary hermit thrush
Sang through the holy twilight hush—
I heard His voice upon the air.

And even as I marveled how
God gives us Heaven here and now,
In a stir of wind that hardly shook
The poplar trees besides the brook—
His hand was light upon my brow.

At last with evening as I turned
Homeward, and thought what I had learned
And all that there was still to probe—
I caught the glory of His robe
Where the last fires of sunset burned.

Back to the world with quickening start
I looked and longed for any part
In making saving Beauty be . . .
And from that kindling ecstasy
I knew God dwelt within my heart.

Bliss Carman.

Why should I wish to see God better than this day?
I see something of God each hour of the twenty-four, and each moment:
In the faces of men and women I see God, and in my own face in the glass;
I find letters from God dropped in the street, and every one is signed by God's name,
And I leave them where they are, for I know that wherever I go
Others will punctually come forever and ever.

Walt Whitman.

Someone says, If God is so near, why is it so difficult for some persons to realize His presence? The reason seems to be, it is His very nearness. We may well imagine the fish as having the same difficulty in realizing the presence of the sea in which they live, and the birds in realizing the air by which they are upborne.

Oh where is the sea? the fishes cried,
As they swam the crystal clearness through;
We have heard from of old the ocean's tide,
And we long to look on the waters blue;
The wise ones speak of the infinite sea,
Oh, who can tell if such there be?

The lark flew up in the morning bright,
And sang and balanced on sunny wings;
And this was his song: I see the light,
I look over the world of beautiful things;
But singing and flying everywhere,
In vain I have searched to find the air.

So it is that men ask, Where is God? when the clear answer is that great utterance of Saint Paul:

In Him we live and move and have our being.

There is enough of God
In the heart of a rose,
In the smile of a child,
In the dewy blossoms of dawn,
To prove
That Beauty is the Soul of Him,
That Love is His scepter,
And that all things created by Him
Do face, not the night,
But *Eternal Morning.*

Author Unknown.

The way to God is by the way of men;
Find thy far heaven in near humanity;
Love thy seen brother as thyself
Thereby
Thou lovest Him who is the All.

Edwin Arnold.

Writes a devout Mohammedan poet of Persia:

If thou wishest to see the face of God,
Look into my face, I am His mirror.

Am I asked how I found God? I answer: I found Him much as I found my wife. How did I find my wife? I was not in the market for a wife, and she was not in the market for a husband. We just met and talked and sang and fell in love, and after a while we kept house together and had babies together and for forty-eight years we have been going together, and we like it, and we are going on that way, always.

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It is that way about God. God met me long, long ago and we fell in love, and we have been going on together ever since. My mother introduced us—she was very intimate with God. And the more I know about God, the more I see of the way He does things, the more I like Him. I rather think He likes me, because He lets me stay by Him and work with Him and watch Him work in the north woods—by the Lake Shore, and in the streets and homes of Cleveland, and in all the world.

My wife sees my faults and sometimes speaks of them. I am glad she does. She has helped me improve my way of living. So does God. He is all the time checking me up—calling me down—but He does it so kindly, I even like that. I think I know God better than I know anybody else. I speak with all reverence. And knowing Him as I do. I am willing He should do anything He likes with me, for anything He asks me to do is a delight. But I know so little about God really. I should like to live long enough—here or elsewhere,—to ask Him some questions about many mysterious things. But I am not at all sure that I would understand the answers to my questions. I don't understand enough to even ask questions of my friend, Robert Millikan, much less God. So I shall just wait, and let God help me—when He gets ready. But it is all wrong to think that God is hard to find.

Daniel F. Bradley.

The rise, not the fall, of the race, is the wholesome
belief of today.
Onward and upward, from darkness to light, from the
slime of the past,
From the animal heritage slowly but surely emerging at
last,
From the cave, from the chase, into fostering home, from
war into peace,
From tribes into nations, where law and religion and
knowledge increase,
Where in commerce, in culture of fields and of flocks, in
art and in song,
In faith and in fellowship blended, in justice and hatred
of wrong.
All agencies, human, divine, with gathering wisdom unite
To lift the dim ages beyond their past into glory and light,
Till the nations are born in the power of a heavenly birth,
And the kingdom of God descends and embraces the ends
of the earth.

Christopher Cranch.

A fire-mist and a planet—
A crystal and a cell—
A jelly-fish and a saurian,
And caves where the cave-men dwell;
Then a sense of law and beauty
And a face turned from the clod—
Some call it Evolution,
And others call it God.

A haze on the far horizon—
The infinite, tender sky—
The ripe, rich tint of the corn-fields,
And the wild geese sailing high—
And all over upland and lowland
The charm of the golden-rod—
Some of us call it Autumn,
And others call it God.

Like tides on a crescent sea-beach
When the moon is new and thin,
Into our hearts high yearnings
Come welling and surging in,—
Come from the mystic ocean,
Whose rim no foot has trod,—
Some of us call it Longing,
And others call it God.

A picket frozen on duty,—
A mother starved for her brood,—
Socrates drinking the hemlock,
And Jesus on the rood;
And millions who, humble and nameless,
The straight, hard pathway trod,—
Some call it Consecration,
And others call it God.

W. H. Carruth.

One summer day I sat reading a book on the varanda of a country house belonging to a friend. My friend is a hard-headed lawyer, who finds his chief enjoyment in cultivating a garden. Just then, armed with hoe and pruning-knife, he was ministering to a bed of rose-bushes in front of the house. He paused, mopped his steaming brow, and came and sat on a step, hoe still in hand.

"What do you parsons mean," said he, "when you talk about knowing God, listening to God, helping God, finding God in nature, and all that?"

Said I, "I notice that you are fond of roses."

"Ye-e-es," said he, looking up in surprise, thinking probably that I was trying to avoid the subject.

"Expect to have some beautiful flowers before long?"

"Sure," said he.

"Did you make those bushes?"

"Make 'em? No."

"But there they are. Some power made them, or produced them, or evolved them. Use what word you will."

"Certainly."

"And you are helping that creative energy (Him or It as you please) to produce bigger and better roses?"

"Why—yes.

"And you are getting a lot of satisfaction in doing that?"

"I certainly am."

"You feel that you are assisting Nature (some of us spell it God) to produce finer flowers than he could produce without your help."

"That's true."

"Well, that is what I mean by being conscious of the presence of the Great Companion, knowing God, working with God. Said Zoroaster: 'He who drains a swamp, clears it, cultivates it and plants grain has uttered a thousand prayers.' So the teacher who stimulates boys to become worthy men, the architect who out of raw stone builds a cathedral, are laborers together with God."

"Is that what you mean by religion and God?" cried he.

"That's what I mean," said I.

"Then I have got religion and I have found God." And he seized his hoe and went at the weeds in his flower bed with amazing zeal, all the time whistling "Nearer My God to Thee," not as a funeral hymn but as if it were the "Marseillaise."

Frank Oliver Hall.

I pluck an acorn from the greensward, and hold it to my ear and this is what it says to me: "By and by the birds will come and nest in me. By and by I will furnish shade for the cattle. By and by I will provide warmth for the home in the pleasant fire. By and by I will be shelter from the storm to those who have gone under the roof. By and by I will be the strong ribs of

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the great vessel, and the tempest will beat against me in vain, while I carry men across the Atlantic." "O foolish little acorn, wilt thou be and do all this?" I ask. And the acorn answers, "Yes, God and I."

Lyman Abbott.

"Show me your God!" the doubter cries.
I point to the smiling skies;
I show him all the woodland greens;
I show him peaceful sylvan scenes;
I show him winter snows and frost;
I show him waters tempest-tossed;
I show him hills rock-ribbed and strong;
I bid him hear the thrush's song;
I show him flowers in the close—
The lily, violet and rose;
I show him rivers, babbling streams;
I show him youthful hopes and dreams;
I show him maids with eager hearts;
I show him toilers in the marts;
I show him stars, the moon, the sun;
I show him deeds of kindness done;
I show him joy, I show him care;
But still he holds his doubting air,
And goes his way; for he
Is blind of soul, and cannot see.

John Kendrick Bangs.

I saw the beauty of the world
Before me like a flag unfurled,
The splendor of the morning sky
And all the stars in company:
I thought, How beautiful it is!—
My soul said, There is more than this.

Sometimes I have an awful thought
That bids me do the thing I ought:
It comes like wind, it burns like flame,—
How shall I give that thought a name?
It draws me like a loving kiss:
My soul said, There is more than this.

I dreamed an angel of the Lord,
With purple wings and golden sword,
And such a splendor in his face
As made a glory in the place:
I thought, How beautiful he is!
My soul said, There is more than this.

That angel's Lord I cannot see
Or hear, but he is Lord to me;
And in the heavens and earth and skies,
The good which lives till evil dies,
The love which I cannot withstand,
God write His name with His own hand.

W. R. Rands.

JAPAN'S DREAM OF WORLD EMPIRE

By ALFRED E. PIERES

A VAST drama is unfolding in the Far East. Japan, to use the words of Mr. David Grenfell in Parliament recently, is on the march and a bloody cataclysm may be let loose. History is being written by the Tokyo war-lords with bomb and bayonet, fire and sword, in China. Japan is laying in the Far East her plans for a new world. She is definitely out to dominate and make a vassal of China, while it is an open secret that she also aspires to at some future date, cast her mantle over all Asia.

What is behind the intensive moves that Japan is making today in the Far East? Of course, there is the desire for aggrandizement, for securing ample supplies of raw materials, for exercising hegemony over the Chinese market which is potentially the richest single market in the world, the need for expansion and the spreading of the *Pax Japonica* over as vast an area as is possible. But the immediate moves of the Tokyo militarists are all directed with one clear motive in mind, this being to prepare and facilitate the way to tackle the Soviet Union.

The writer, when in Japan, often spoke to military officers on the possibility of a Soviet-Japanese clash of arms. "Possibility?" they queried, "rather say inevitability." And this opinion is held by the average man and woman in the street in Nippon. They contend that the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 was only the first chapter, and that the second and concluding one has yet to be written.

When the present Foreign Minister (Mr. Hirota) took office in 1933, he declared to the ultra-nationalistic "Kokumin" ("Nation") that the complete sealing up of Russian ambitions in the Far East, with the expulsion of all Russian influence from that region, if not from all Asia, would be his main task during his tenure of office, and that he was certain that the continuity of policy, made possible by the fact that Japan today is being run really by a junta of the military and naval hierarchy of that country, would be an assurance that this particular facet of her foreign policy would be adhered to and resolutely carried out. Mr. Hirota and the embattled and embittered Japanese military clique see eye to eye on this matter and on that of making a serf of China. One of the first requisites which the Japanese have regarded as essential to ensure the realization of this objective is the total and complete liquidation of all Soviet enterprises in the Far East. This began with the purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway (since re-named the North Manchurian Railway) by Japan's puppet

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State, Manchukuo. Japanese military officials and die-hard politicians have often said since that this must be followed by extensive and perpetual concessions to Japan in Russia's Far Eastern Maritime Provinces, in Kamschatka and in Saghalien, the northern half of which still belongs to Moscow.

Fierce denunciations were thundered by the younger fire-eaters in the Japanese Army recently at a celebration of the anniversary of the capture of Mukden by the Japanese. One phrase used struck me as being extremely significant.

This was: "Even in the naming of their towns, the East has been humiliated. Vladivostok, for instance—though many may not know this, means in the Slav tongue: 'Conqueror of the East.' Can we Japanese permit this? Yet our politicians are servile to, and hobnob with, the West."

That, then, is the feeling in Japan towards the Muscovite, and the Nipponese military, who were mainly responsible in bringing about this bitter feeling, have, with the adroitness and cunning which characterises them, utilised the Russian bogey for enormous appropriations. The actual relations between Tokyo and Moscow today appear calm on the surface, but are really tense, in proportion to the advance of Japanese influence towards Chahar, Mongolia and the Soviet frontiers, and the Russian move towards Outer Mongolia. The westward thrust of Japan on the Asian continent coincides with an eastward thrust by the Soviet Union. This has brought Manchu and Muscovite face to face on a long front. The former buffer, Manchuria, has disappeared.

On both sides of this enormous frontier, railroads and roads, aerodromes and munition dumps, are being rushed to completion. On both sides tens of thousands of armed men, with all the necessary implements of war, have been massed. The balance of physical force is nearly even, each side having some 200,000 trained troops, though it is said that the Russians are better equipped than the Japanese in regard to aeroplanes, which, so some declare, is the main reason why the hot-headed younger element in the Japanese army did not already precipitate hostilities. But a serious border incident can very well be the spark that will set alight the powder magazine of the Far East. The Soviet Union has abandoned the attitude of forbearance that has, for years, characterised Moscow's utterances towards Japanese military insolence and is increasingly challenging and aggressive today. Stalin's declaration to Mr. Roy Howard, the well-known American newspaper man, that the Soviet would fight to preserve the "independence" of Outer Mongolia is one instance of this and perhaps the best. This Russian attitude is due to the greater military strength of the Soviet Union today and to the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Pact which ensures its western frontier, if Russia should be locked in mortal combat with Japan. It is absurd to think that Hitler would launch an attack on Russia when there is every possibility of France and her allies taking sides with Moscow.

Japan, as a result of her geographical propinquity, could reinforce her armies on the mainland of Asia much more quickly than could the Soviet Union, which would be handicapped by the long distance from which it will have to transport troops and the drawbacks of a notoriously-defective transportation system. Japan possesses yet another advantage. Since she created "Manchuku," she has lost no time in building strategic lines to link up the bigger railways in that territory, while she has also converted the railways of Manchuria to one standard guage. The Russians have only the Trans-Siberian railway, double-tracked, it is true, but which an active and determined enemy may cut.

On the other hand, Russia possesses a distinct advantage in the air. Not only is she credited with having a far more modern air arm than that of the Japanese, but her Far Eastern bases are also so situated as to enable giant bombers to wing their way to Japan and lay waste Japanese cities, thus bringing the war in deadly earnest right into the heart of Japan. When one considers the combustible nature of the material with which most Japanese cities are built, it is dreadful to imagine what havoc a few war 'planes, raining down incendiary bombs, could wreck. Russia has hardly anything worthwhile in the Far East that Japan could bomb, with the exception of Vladivostok. The only other great Soviet town in this region is Chita, near Lake Baikal, but this is admitted to be beyond the range of Japanese bombers.

Japan is not likely, however, to make war on Russia without some prior understanding with certain nations in Europe, principally Germany and Poland. If they are prepared to attack Russia on her European frontier simultaneously with a clash in the Far East, Japan is likely to make the gamble. Her designs on Russian Far Eastern territory, as part of her aggressive Far Eastern plans, can hardly be doubted, and though Moscow has repeatedly

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urged the conclusion of a non-aggression pact, the Tokyo Foreign Office, taking its cue from the War Office, has persistently refused. To the Japanese army, Russia is the sole nation capable of seriously challenging Japan's plans, and to eliminate this by a non-aggression pact would result in a considerable paring of the army's appropriations, as it would convey the impression that Japan is in no danger of a conflict on land. This would, in turn, mean the whittling down of the Army's influence in the domestic sphere, something that the Army will not tolerate. Hence, to paraphrase a famous phrase, the Russian army would have to be created if it did not exist.

The new move of Japan in China, to make an "autonomous" unit of the five northern provinces of Cathay which would take its orders from Tokyo, even as Manchukuo does today, cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged by Russia, especially when Japanese military influence pervades Charhar, which is on the border contiguous to Inner Mongolia. On the other side of Inner Mongolia is Outer Mongolia which, to all intents and purposes, especially as regards military affairs, is a Russian dependency. The threat here to Russia is very real, for it would enable the Japanese military to take Russia on the flank, cut the Trans-Siberian railway and isolate General Bluecher and his men in the Far East.

If Japan can exercise control over Mongolia, as she does over Manchuria, whether by a fusion of the Mongols and the Manchus or otherwise, it would enormously strengthen the Japanese position when—and it is believed that the Japanese ultimately intend to do this—the Emperor Kang Teh (Mr. Henry Pu Yi) reascends the Dragon Throne of China in Peiping (Peking).

The essence of Japanese strategy in the Far East in regard to Russia is to roll her back and to close the gates by which she may, at some future time, advance to the attack. One of these gates is Vladivostok which, military experts believe, cannot be held in the face of a concerted attack by sea, air and land, especially with the Japanese cutting the trans-Siberian railway at a point between Manchuli, on the Manchukuo-Siberian border, and Vladivostok. The other gate is Mongolia. The Japanese General Staff regard this as an even more important route of attack and believe that in this region will be decided the next "inevitable" Russo-Japanese war, with undoubted victory for Japanese arms, if Russia can be taken on the flank.

The latest Japanese move in China is undoubtedly being closely watched by the Kremlin and is bound to lead to a "show-down," to a day of reckoning, before long. It is recalled that Moscow has notified Tokyo that the Soviet Union will not allow any encroachment on Mongolia. Hence Japanese moves in North China, particularly in Charhar, are being watched with especial interest by yet another Asiatic Power.

Japan's indecent haste in imposing her will on China has been prompted by the fact that other nations are not prepared to allow her to have a Monroe Doctrine policy (non-interference of the West and the East in each other's policies) in East Asia. She hopes to present them with a *fait accompli*...Russia is one and Britain, by the sending of the Leith-Ross mission to China to organize that country's finances, is another, while recent vast naval and aerial manœuvres of the United States—exercises that covered 5,000,000 square miles of the Pacific and skirted the fringes of Japan's Pacific possessions—have been interpreted as serving notice on Japan that she is going too far. The reaction in Japan to the Leith-Ross mission has been definitely hostile, and resulted in an "unofficial" declaration by the spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office, Mr. Amau, warning the Western Powers to keep out of a sphere of interest that belonged to Japan, and claiming for Japan a monopoly in helping China or in setting that ancient land on her feet. This claim was promptly repudiated by the British Foreign Secretary, then Sir John Simon.

Russia, or rather the Soviet system has also made important gains in China, several of whose provinces have changed from Chinese yellow to Soviet red. The Chinese "Red" army, which Japan alleges is actively assisted by Soviet agents, is estimated at about 150,000, and it takes all the ability and power of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, virtual dictator of Nanking, to stem the flow of this red tide into more provinces. It is utterly out of the question for Nanking to contemplate seriously tackling Japan. The situation is further complicated by Japan declaring that if Nanking cannot put down communism in China, Japan can, is prepared to do so, and will take direct action when she thinks the danger too great. That has been one of the excuses she has advanced in seeking to make a protectorate of North China from the Yellow River to the Great Wall and from the China Sea to Mongolia.

Behind these immediate aims of Japan exist

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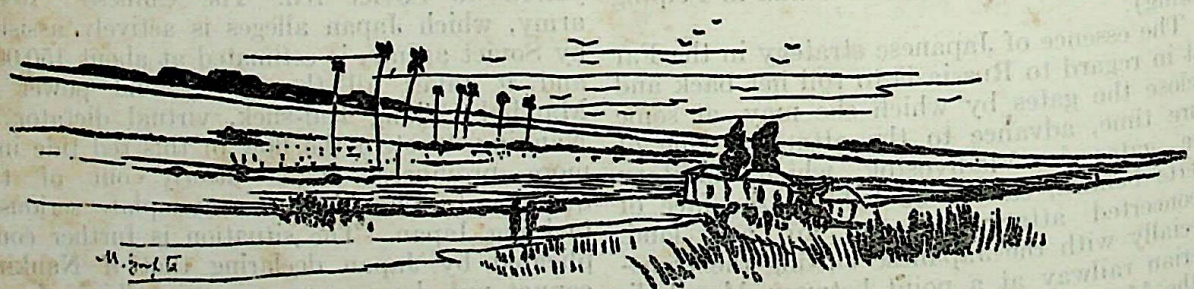
others. They were outlined by the Black Dragon Society, a reactionary association to which nearly every military officer of importance of the Far Eastern Empire belongs and which is really the "Shadow Cabinet" of the Army. These aims constitute a vast plan of conquest with five main phases :—

1. The seizure of Manchuria. This has been accomplished.
2. The seizure of North China. This is in process of accomplishment.
3. The seizure of Changhai, Nanking and the Yangtse valley and simultaneous occupation of the Canton littoral.
4. The seizure of Indo-China, and
5. The conquest of India.

Some may smile at the immensity of the plan and its naivete, but I have been in Japan, have lived there for years, and have heard this discussed with all seriousness by persons like University professors. Should Europe be involved in another war, what is there to prevent the Japanese from realizing the major part of this programme? The British Empire came into existence largely as an accident of circumstances, but Japan is hoping to acquire her empire by carefully-considered planning and with an intense conviction, such as England has never held that she is divinely appointed to rule the world through her Emperors, direct descendants of the Sun Goddess, whose Throne, says an article in the Japanese constitution, "is, and should be, co-eval with Heaven and earth." Nothing is allowed to impair the efficiency or to weaken the pursuit of her aims. Britain and America have been handicapped for long by post-war illusions that moral force can, in the world as it is today, rise superior to mere strength. They, happily, seem to be shedding this belief, even if regretfully.

What can curb Japan? What can prevent "Asia for the Asiatics" becoming "Asia for Japan," especially when Japan exercises hegemony over the 400,000,000 of China and is in a position to be able to put, so her military men have computed, 40,000,000 men in the field? These are grave questions indeed, especially at this time when India is entering on a new era, with Britain gradually withdrawing her hold, while Japan is seeking to enslave. The only reply is: "Force." There can be no other. But who is going to bell the cat? Are the Powers most interested in China—Great Britain, the United States, Russia and France—prepared to present a united and common front, and really insist that the territorial integrity and administrative sovereignty of China, together with principle of the Open Door, must be respected.? And if Japan makes faces at the West, and proceeds to wreck her own sweet vengeance on an unoffending China, will the Powers see that laws and treaties are respected? On the answer to this depends the future peace of Asia and its destiny.



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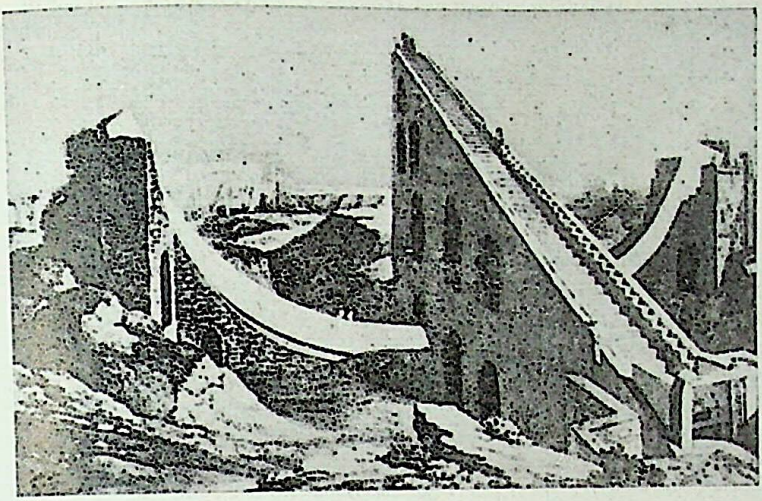

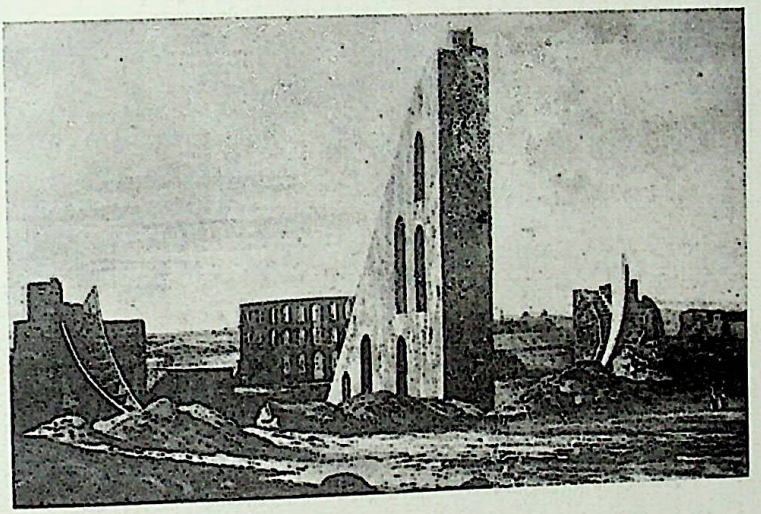

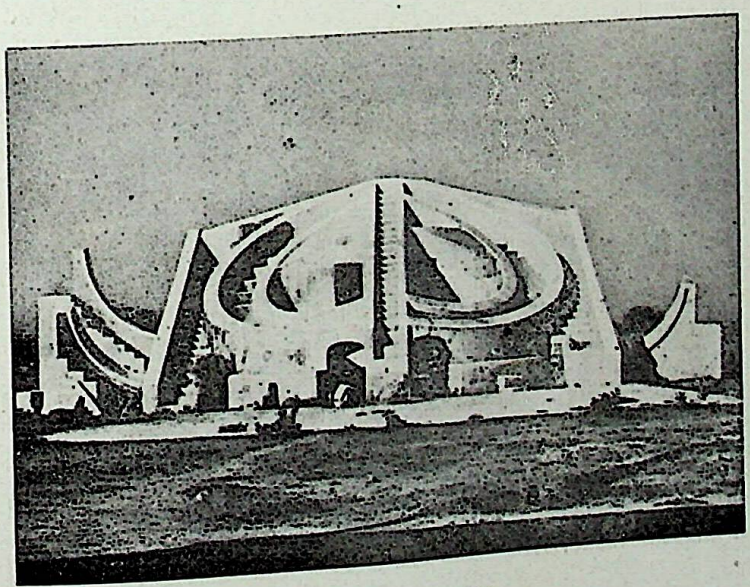

The Jantar Mantar—Delhi
The Jantar Mantar—another View
Misra jantar—Southern View

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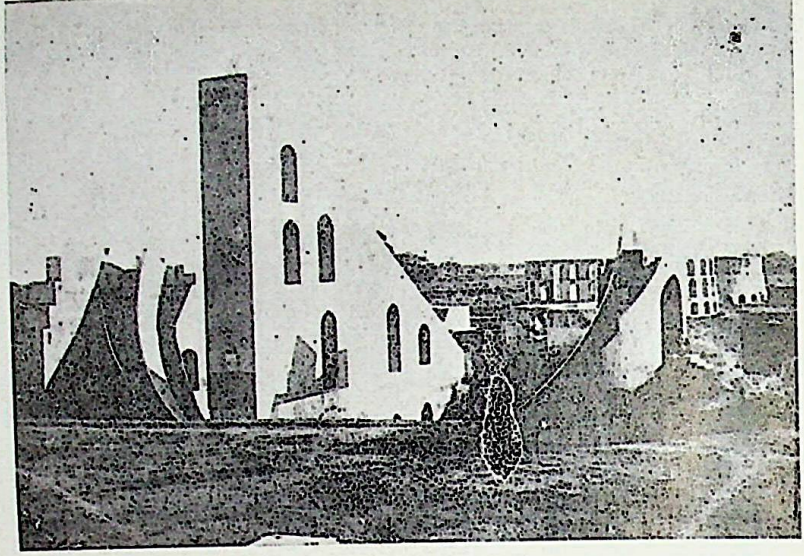

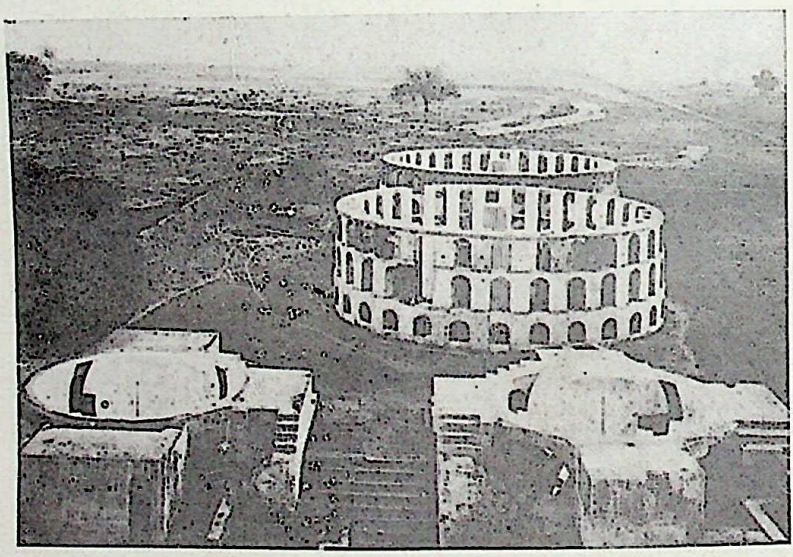

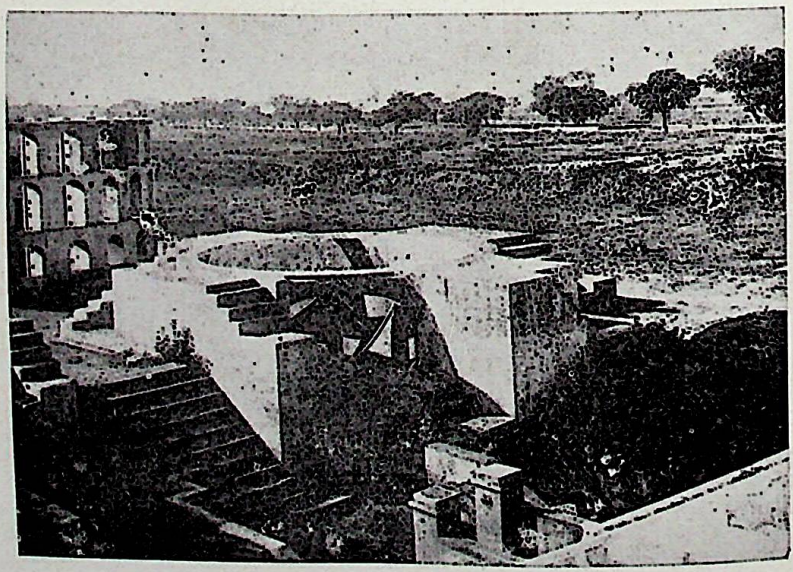

Samrath Yantra
A View from Sanko
Jaiprakash

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THE JANTAR MANTAR

A Descriptive and Historical Sketch

By K. C. PHILIP, M.A.

In the heart of the most modern city of New Delhi and right opposite the Municipal Buildings stands a group of structures in masonry spared and blessed by time. The structures are in all quaint and curious shapes, and to the uninitiated, these appear as the outcome of the imagination of a fantastic brain in one of its wildest flights. Going in, one finds a beautiful and well laid out garden surrounding these queer structures with footpaths lined with stately palm trees. It is the Jantar Mantar, though why it is so called and what those weird shapes in stone and lime signify, few will be able to explain. Many have however a hazy notion that these are in some way connected with astronomy and that the structures on the whole make up an Astronomical Observatory of a primitive type.

Meaning of Jantar Mantar

The name Jantar Mantar means "Magic instruments." It comes from the Sanskrit word *yantra* meaning machine or instrument and *mantra*, magic. The instruments are the various queer masonry structures spread out over the site and no wonder magic came to be associated with them when they came to serve the purpose of revealing the mysteries of the firmament above. In the days when these were built, the giant telescopes of the present day were not even dreamed of; their place was perforce taken by these structures and the way they served their purpose brings the greatest credit to the skilled artisans who built them and the brains behind, steeped in the ancient Hindu lore of Varahamihara and his successors.

The Founder

The founder of the Jantar Mantar was Maharajah Sawai Jai Singh II who was the ruler of Jaipur from 1699 to 1743. His family claimed descent from Rama and the ancient Ayodhya ruling family. His ancestors had stood high in favour in the Mughul Court; one of them had helped Humayun to regain his kingdom; Akbar had married one of the Jaipur Princesses; the name of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh I of Jaipur appears in all the wars of Aurangazeb in the Deccan. Sawai Jai Singh II was held in the highest respect by Aurangazeb and his successors, one of whom, Mohammad Shah, conferred on him the title of 'Sawai' literally meaning 'one and a quarter' supposed to measure the superiority of the bearer to all his contemporaries whom the unit signifies. The title is retained by the Jaipur rulers to the present day. The Sawai was one of the most remarkable men of his age and nation. At a time when the whole of India was in turmoil and Emperors rose and fell in Delhi in rapid succession, Sawai Jai Singh was not only able to steer safe through all dangers but also elevated his state above all the principalities around. He founded the city of Jaipur in 1728 and transferred the seat of his Government from Amber to the new city. He was a brilliant Sanskrit scholar and an astute student of mathematical sciences. He caused many mathematical books to be translated into Sanskrit. Above all, he was an astronomer. He erected the observatories at Delhi, Ujjain, Jaipur, Benares and Muttra to correct the astronomical tables of De la Hire and to make tables of his own. These excelled in accuracy any then known and are widely used in India by numerous astronomers even at the present day. It is said that the Sawai was so anxious to be exactly accurate that he rejected instruments of brass made after the pattern of some in Samarkhand because he found the wear of the bearings to be excessive. As a monument of his astronomical skill, he has left lists of stars collated by himself known as the *Zij Mohammad Shahi* or the astronomical tables of Mohammad Shah, named after the then King of Delhi in whose favour he stood high.

The Delhi Observatory

Accounts vary as to the year in which the Jantar Mantar was constructed. Records in Jaipur show that it was built in 1710, being the first of the five observatories founded by the Sawai. It is also said that the observatories at Jaipur, Ujjain, Benares and Muttra were built to check the observations made at Delhi. Others have it that the Jantar Mantar was built in

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1724 at the bidding of Emperor Mohammad Shah in the third year of his reign. The Jantar Mantar received some damages in the vicissitudes that followed the downfall of the Mughul Empire, particularly during the invasion of Delhi by the Jats. They were restored by the present Maharajah of Jaipur in honour of the visit of the late King-Emperor in 1911.

Maharajah Sawai Jai Singh II

The Delhi Observatory contains four different instruments for astronomical observations. As stated above, the instruments are the queer shaped masonry structures and not the scientific instruments that we know of today. The instruments are named :

1 Samrath Yantra
2 Ram Yantra
3 Jayprakash
4 Misra Yantra

Numbers 2 and 3 are each built in two parts. The parts supplement each other and together they form a complete instrument. This division into parts has been resorted to for convenience in observation. Thus altogether there are 6 structures. With the aid of these instruments which are all graduated into degrees, minutes and seconds, it was possible to calculate the azimuth, altitude declination, right ascension, hour angle etc. of the heavenly bodies. It may however be noted here that the shadow played the most important part in all these calculations.

The Samrath Yantra

This consists of a giant right angled triangle in masonry called the gnomon with two arcs on either side known as the quadrants. The gnomon stands right in the centre of the structures and is surrounded by a moat about 10 feet deep. The triangle is placed exactly in the north-south direction and thus it is in the plane of the meridian with the longer side on the ground. The side is accurately levelled. The shorter side of the triangle is vertical. The hypotenuse runs parallel to the axis of the earth; its inclination to the larger side is 28°39′ which is also the latitude of Delhi and hence the hypotenuse points direct to the North Pole.

The quadrants are arcs of circles described in the plane of the Equator with their centres on the edge of the gnomon. The two quadrants as well as the gnomon are all graduated, the former to measure the time (hour angles of the sun) and the latter to determine the declination of a heavenly body.

How is it done ?

The time or the hour angle of the sun is found by observing the shadow of the gnomon. In the morning, that is before 12 o'clock, the shadow of the gnomon falls on the western quadrant ; in the afternoon it falls on the eastern quadrant. The motion of the shadow is regular

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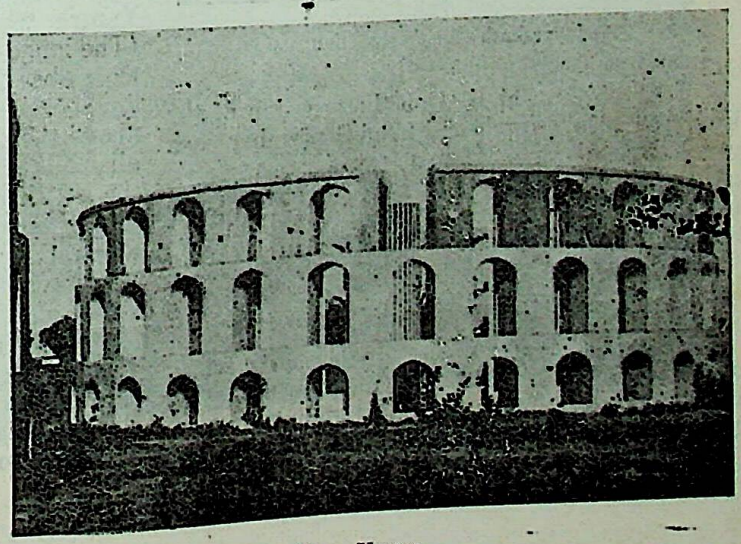
and is in proportion to the time that elapses before or after noon. The space on the quadrants is divided into degrees, minutes, and seconds and by observing the coincidence of the shadow with any of the graduations, time can be discovered, 1 hour representing 15 degrees on the quadrant.

The gnomon is graduated from the central points of the quadrants both upwards and downwards to indicate the declination of the sun north and south respectively of the Equator. The reading is obtained by means of moving an upright rod on the graduations on the gnomon till its shadow coincides with an edge of the quadrant. The graduation on which the rod stands marks the declination of the sun. The hour angle and declination of other heavenly bodies can also be discovered with the aid of the Samrath by holding a thread touching the graduations on both the gnomon and any quadrant till the body is in direct line with the thread. A horizontal sun-dial has been placed on a circular pillar of masonry on the top of the gnomon.

Another instrument called the Sasthansa Yantra existed at the bottom of the gnomon and was used to observe the altitude and declination of the sun. It is now lost.

The Ram Yantra

This consists of two circular structures, each with a masonry pillar in the centre, and stone and lime sectors radiating from the central pillar and ending at the circular wall. The structures supplement each other in that the vacant spaces in the wall and sectors of the one are filled up in the other. This is for facility of observation. Thus together they form one instrument which was used to measure the altitude and azimuth of heavenly bodies. For this purpose, the walls and sectors and the central pillars are all graduated, the top of the wall being marked 0°, its bottom 45° and then along the sectors to the central pillar which is 90°. The sectors of both jointly forming a circular floor are marked into 360 equal parts to show degrees from the North. Observation could be made in one or the other instrument according as the altitude and azimuth of the object observed happened to fall on the made portion of one or the other. The method of observation was by reading the shadow of the central pillar where it falls on the sectors or the wall, or by moving a thread along the graduations until it was in direct line with the object observed. It was also possible to calculate the duration of the moon with this instrument.



Ram Yantra

Jayprakash

This also is in two parts, one supplementing the other. It is in shape like a huge circular bowl, finely polished, giving a representation of the heavenly sphere with lines to denote altitude and azimuth circles, meridian, Equator, zenith etc. The circle forming the rim of the instrument represents the horizon. It is graduated into degrees, minutes and seconds. The zenith is marked in the lower centre most, and through it a circle passes from the north and south points. On this line, in the south direction is a point 28°39′ below the horizon to represent the South Pole. Similarly, 28°39′ above the horizon will give the North Pole. A circle around the South Pole with a radius of 23°28′ shows the maximum declination of the sun (Tropic of Capricorn). On this circle points are marked representing the rising of the 12 signs counting from the upper intersection of the meridian with this circle towards the east. With the 12 points thus marked as centres, and radius equal to the radius of the hemisphere of the instrument, circles are drawn to represent the different positions of the ecliptic.

The Equatorial circle is drawn with the Pole as centre and radius equal to the hemisphere of the instrument. The meridian circle is divided into degrees and minutes from the point where the

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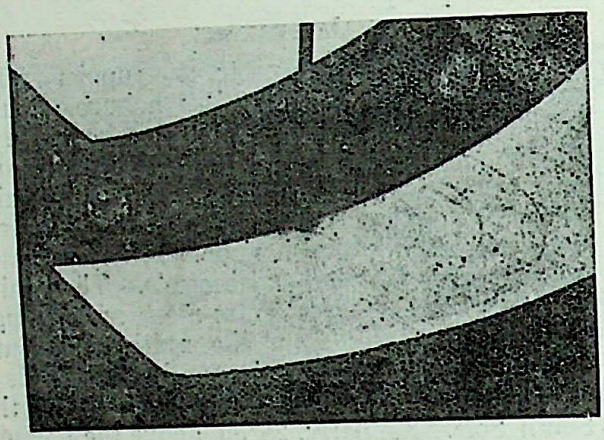
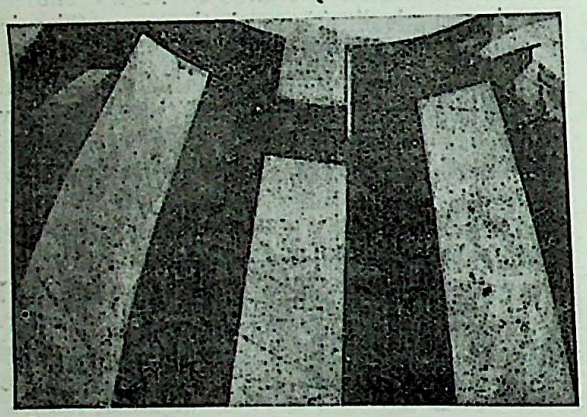
meridian and Equator intersect to show the angle of declination. Altitude circles are drawn with the zenith as centre. Azimuth circles are drawn for each degree with the centres on the horizon. Observing the sun's image falling on the graduation through the opening, we easily read its declination, altitude, azimuth etc.



Jayprakash—a section



Jayprakash—another section

It would appear that on the occasion of the Equinox, (21st March and 22nd September each year) the sun's rays will penetrate *for one minute only* at 12 in the day into a subterranean room through a hole ingeniously constructed in the wall of this instrument.

Misra Yantra

This is a complex instrument and consists of (*i*) a central gnomon and two semi-circles on its two sides and (*ii*) two outer gnomons on its east and west with their quadrants. The *yantra* consists of a variety of instruments called (*i*) Samrath Yantra (*ii*) Dakshinobhitti (*iii*) Niyat Chakra Yantra and (*iv*) Karkrashivala.

(*i*) The Samrath like the one explained previously is for finding time and declination of the sun. The method of observation is the same as in the other *Yantra*.

(*ii*) Niyat Chakra Yantra. This is composed of 4 semi-circles ending in the central gnomon, two each on the East and West sides, and all graduated. This instrument was used to find out the declination of the sun and the time of the day in foreign countries by observation of the shadow. It was found by such observations that at 6.52 and 7.24 at Delhi in the morning, it was noon respectively at Notke in Japan and Saritchen in the East and that at 4·36 and 5·8 in the evening, it was noon at Zurich and Greenwich respectively in the West.

(*iii*) The Dakshinobhitti is a graduated arc on the eastern wall of this instrument made exactly in the North and South line. This instrument was used to find out the altitude or zenith distance of a heavenly body when it came on the meridian. The method of observation was by aligning the object with a thread.

(*iv*) Karkrashivala. This is a semi-circle engraved in plaster east to west on the face of the back wall of the instrument. At the centre of the semi-circle, a peg is fixed. The arc is divided into degrees, minutes and seconds. It is used when the first point of the Cancer is on the meridian to know in what sign the sun is passing. As in the other instruments, the observation has to be made by alignment of thread.

Two pillars stand by the side of the Misra Yantra which serve to indicate the solstices. (The longest day June 21st, and the shortest day December 22nd.). At 12 o'clock in the longest day of the year, the sun will be immediately above the one casting not an inch of shadow at all while on the 22nd December at 5 o'clock in the evening, the shadow of this pillar will completely cover the other, denoting that it was the shortest day of the year.

Some condemn the Jantar Mantar as of no value at all; but the skill and ingenuity displayed in its construction and the tenacity with which the observations were carried on and calculations made deserve respect whatever the shortcomings may be. Surely, the structures are a tribute to the ancient Hindu *Jyotishya*.

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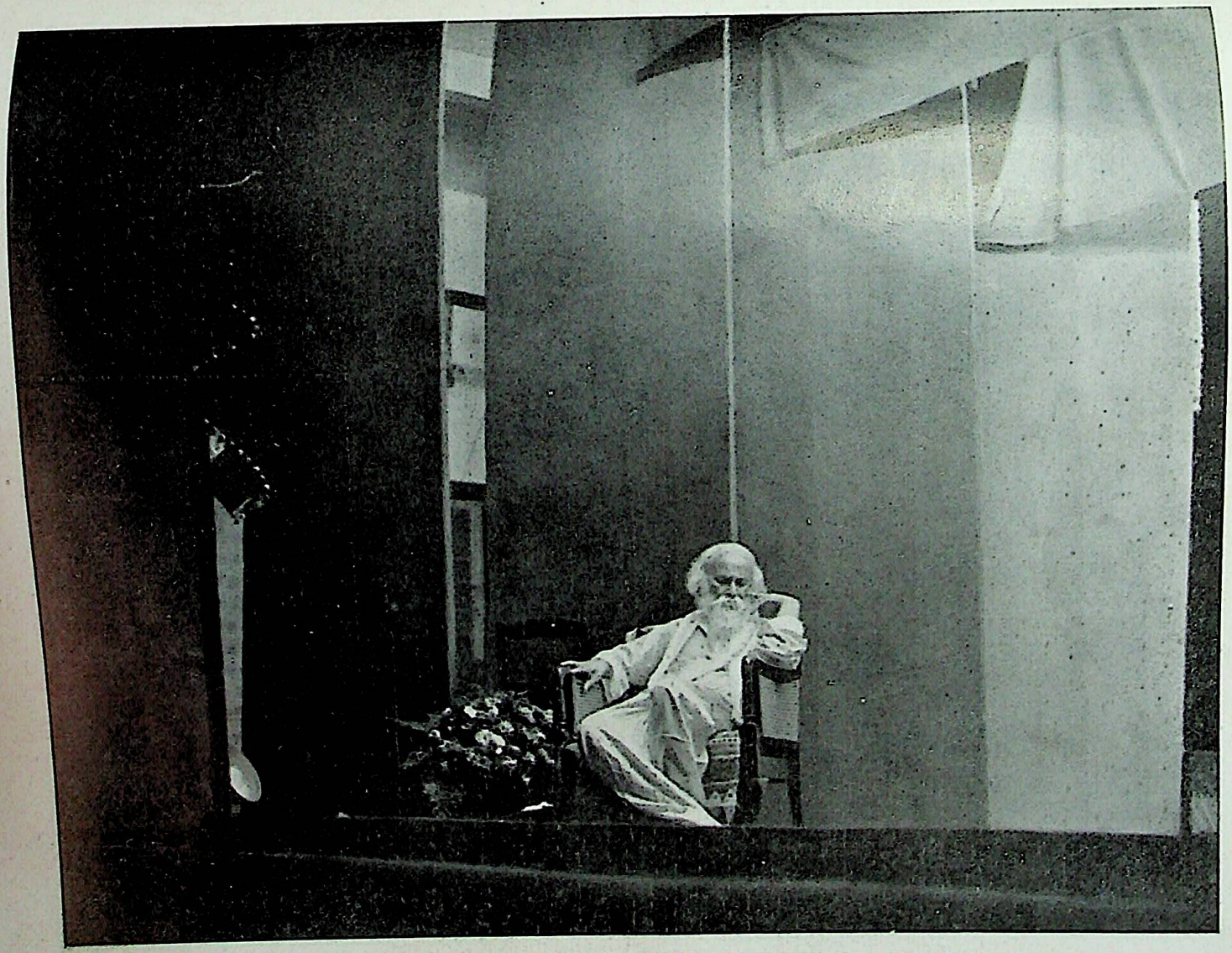

Rabindranath Tagore
Photographed during a recent performance at Calcutta of one of his dramas by the students of Santiniketan
[*Courtesy* : *Ramnarayan Singh*]

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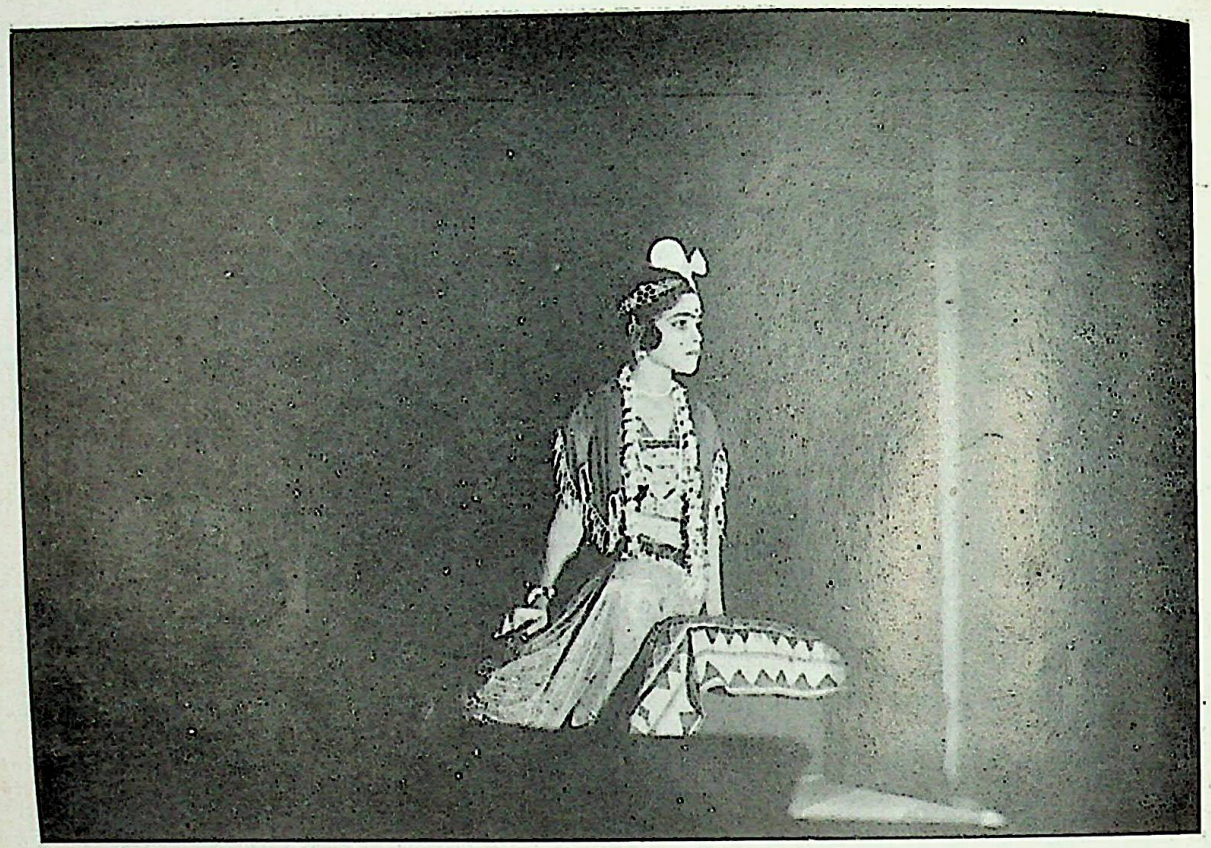

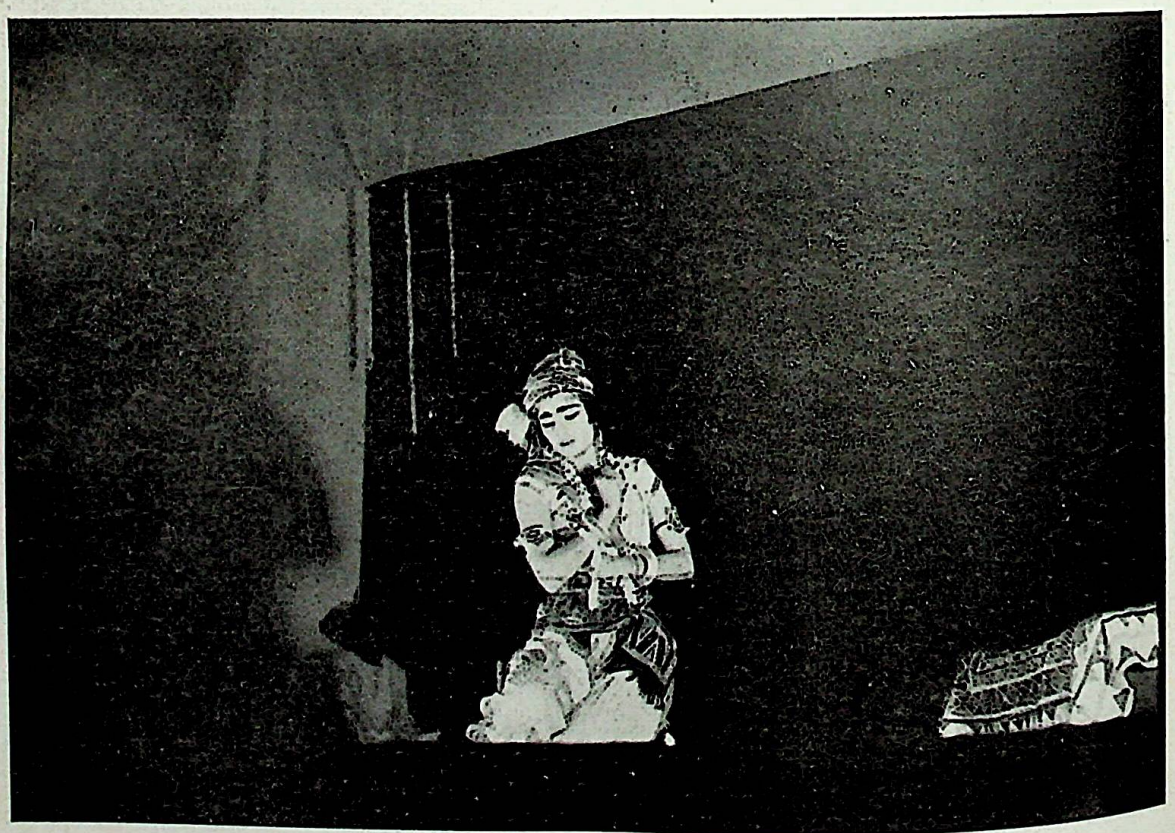

Scenes from *Parisodh*, a drama by Rabindranath Tagore produced recently at Calcutta by the students of Santiniketan

[*Courtesy* : *Ramnarayan Singh*]

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THE INTERNATIONAL P. E. N. CONGRESS OF BUENOS AIRES

By KALIDAS NAG

THE world war of 1914 not only demolished heaps of beautiful old churches and universities (I have seen Amiens and Louvain with my own eyes) but shattered many of the ivory towers and dream structures of the last century. It professed to be a war for Democracy and pretended to be a war to end war. When I entered Europe after the war, Europe was a devastated area of ruined dreams and pathetic idealisms. It was a veritable degradation of Christianity as frankly admitted by believing Christians who were sent to prison for the capital offence of broadcasting the "Sermon on the Mount," as the Gita of the conscientious objectors. It was a tragic betrayal of civilization as, right through and after the war, the victor as well as the vanquished betrayed a spirit of hatred, greed, vindictiveness and cruelty rarely paralleled in history. Carrying my modest luggage of copy-book maxims taught by 19th century Europe, I had to wade through, with staggering steps, the bloody mire of international murder in thought and action. And had I not the privilege of knowing personally and intimately select spirits like Romain Rolland and George Duhamel, Hermann Hesse and Stefan Zweig, Bertrand Russel and Gilbert Murray, Ellen Key and Jane Addams, I would have returned from Europe thoroughly disillusioned and convinced that all tall talks about international brotherhood were pious frauds and that the rebarbarization of the world were not only impending but a *fait accompli*.

Luckily for me and for the coming generation, there emerged out of the chaos of hatred, faint yet none the less significant and hopeful currents of genuine internationalism. These were represented by the "Society of Friends" and the group of "Conscientious objectors," the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a few ardent pacifist organizations and last though not the least the World Writers' Association or the P. E. N. Like Jane Addams, on the field of womens' activities the late Mrs. Dawson Scott (the 'Sappho' of the post-war generation of British writers) dreamt a noble dream of building a international brotherhood of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists. It was organized in 1921-22 on a modest scale with a group in London and I heard of its beneficial activities during my frequent visits to England from Paris. Several members of the P. E. N. Club stood on the same platform with me in Paris or Geneva, Lugano or Prague (1922-23) and I was happy to learn from Mon Romain Rolland that he was going to London at the invitation of Mr. H. G. Wells and others of the P. E. N. Club and that he would be made their Honorary member. Madame Louise Cruppi a friend of Mon Rolland, and a member of the Paris P. E. N. kindly invited me to a special reunion luncheon in honour of a Scotch novelist, the guest of honour, and I had the pleasure of being introduced to several distinguished P. E. N. members. Never could I

Miss Dita Bai Kalidas Nag Madam Wadia

dream however, that I should be called twelve years after (1934) by my esteemed friend and colleague Madame Sophia Wadia to organize the Bengal chapter of the Indian P. E. N. nor that fourteen years after I should have the privilege of representing the Bengal P. E. N. Club at the XIV International P. E. N. Congress in Argentine through the kind invitation of the P. E. N. Club of Buenos Aires.

It was not all plain sailing for Internationalist and 'things international' in those

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Carlos del Caril, Mme Guiraldes, Kalidas Nag, Ricardo Vivie, Dita Bai, Sophia Wadia, Mr. Dougal, Dr. Garcia

post-war days. I have seen with my own eyes, while reading Duhamel's "La Vie des Martyrs," many perfectly innocent Pacifists persecuted and sent to prison, Pierre Ceresole among others, for having refused to accept the condition of military service and for having dared to offer severer discipline of *Service Civile* in exchange, even in a liberal country like Switzerland. But they carried their point. I have watched the battle royal raging round College de France when Albert Einstein was invited to lecture on Relativity, the nationalists opposing and the internationalists, led by Prof. Langevin, asserting the right of Tolerance. Finally Einstein came to lecture in pure German in the College de France and in the ensuing International Congress of Philosophy, presided over by Bergson in the holy precincts of the University of Paris in 1921, there was a full-fledged and enthusiastic discussion and symposium on the *magnum opus* of Einstein. So, slowly but steadily, the forces of internationalism were gaining ground and Bergson ardently championed the cause of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. There were backslidings and regressions and shameful recantations on the part of several writers, scientists and philosophers, after the war just as during the cyclone of hatred. There were suspicious and cynical attacks also against internationalism as I found illustrated in the queer attitude of the newly founded Fascist Government in refusing the International League of Peace and Freedom to hold its session in Varese (near Como) which therefore, at the last moment, had to be transferred to the hospitable shore of the Swiss like of Lugano. I could not help remembering those days when I found Sig. Marinetti, the Italian delegate to the Argentine Congress, throwing the whole house into a convulsion of shrieks and shoutings when challenged by Jules Romain. Nationalism or Internationalism?, a pointed question ever throwing the West in a paroxysm of intolerance. Yet I felt most hopeful in the quiet meetings of select fraternities of artist, writers and pacifists, as I met them in Lugano or Prague, discoursing on The India of Mahatma Gandhi, or India and Internationalism, or India of Tagore. The same spirit prevailed in the enlightened groups of Geneva, the cradle of the League of Nations, and the venue of the Third

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Dr. Rayles, Sophia Wadia, Victoria Ocampo, President of the Republic, Tonson Shimazaki, G. Duhamel, S. Zweig, Kalidas Nag, Dr. Ibarguren, J. Romain Emil Ludwig, Dita Bai, Sg. Marinetti

International Congress of Education where I was privileged to address the public on the Humanization of History. History was degraded and Art and Literature prostituted to the service of ignoble politics of nationalism during the war. But the other humanitarian and ennobling forces of Peace and Internationalism were steadily gaining ground as would be illustrated by the history of several small but potent organizations and few of greater potentialities than the P. E. N. the World Association of Writers whose 14th anniversary I had the joy of witnessing as a participant and a collaborator.

The cross currents of post-war Europe or rather of the war-ridden Occident found their echoes in the far off shores of South America as we felt from the address of welcome of Dr. Ibarguren, President of the P. E. N. Club Buenos Aires and from the noble speech of His Excellency General Agustin P. Justo, President of the Argentine Republic. Dr. Ibarguren, while according a warm reception to the distinguished guests of different countries and denominations, could not help referring to "the hours of misery, of hatred and social warfares" demonstrating "the convulsions of a mechanical civilization of politico-economic materialism and of passions let loose threatening to swamp Humanity in that critical hour of history." He urged that the glamour of wealth in any country is not necessarily a mark of civilization. With regard to literature he maintained that while nationalism stood justified by a special vision of beauty given to each nation yet the "moral substance brought by the soul of each people goes to the patrimony of universal culture."

The President of the Republic who treated the delegates to a grand banquet at his Palace, greeted the writers as brother-spirits in the path of spiritual life, who were specially welcome to bring their spiritual effort to the pacification of mankind in that tragic period, "when the tempest of Hate and of Violence seems to have been let loose on this planet." The writers and artists according to the noble President cannot afford "to be cold spectators of events" but to realise their loftly social function, striving to hasten the approach of that epoch when "man will not see an enemy in his fellow-being and understand that hatred is barren and that violence ever breeds violence."

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Holding, as we did, the session of the Congress in this cultural capital of Hispanic America, where millions speak the Spanish language, (although asserting their independence of the Spanish State) we could feel that the atmosphere was tense with the tragedy of Spain and her fratricidal wars entailing awful destructions of life of property and works of art. Europe was threatened with individual violence of Dictators or group violence of parties and getting sharply divided into two warring camps. Fascist or Communist. This infection had reached the body-politic of many Latin American republics and even the gentle Argentinians now and then betrayed their party predilections from the galleries of the Congress. Mon Jules Romain in his first address at the inauguration of the Congress strongly pleaded for the autonomy of individual judgment and the maintenance of Liberty, incarnate in Democracy as the best defence against Dictatorship and he was loudly cheered. So when Emil Ludwig in a stirring address in German, referred to the tragedy of the German writers and when the Yeddish delegate Mr. H. Levic, to the persecution of Jewish authors, the assembly rose as one man to express its unqualified sympathy and support. Thus so far as the P. E. N. fraternity was concerned, the principle of liberty of speech and expression so ably formulated by Mr. H. G. Wells in the last Congress of Barcelona, was amply vindicated. Officially neither Hitlerite Germany nor Stalinite Russia was represented in this congress, these governments not having permitted the growth of free literary groups like the P. E. N.

Fascist Italy was represented by its chief delegate Sig. Filippo Marinetti but his over enthusiasm in speaking on any and every topic, (metaphysics not excepted) and by his combative assertion of the "Italian standpoint" furnished the only "incident" or 'scene' in this otherwise peaceful congress. A resolution supporting world-peace was passed in the morning unanimously by the Congress and for the afternoon session Marinetti was proposed to the chair. Mon Jules Romain, without any previous notice, virtually started an impeachment of the man in the chair by exposing how Marinetti had published only a month ago an article saying that "war was the only hygiene for the whole mankind," and yet he voted for the peace resolution! Pandimonium was let loose and there were no calm deliberation or debate but abuses and counter abuses between the French and the Italian delegations which were tactfully put an end to by the Argentine P. E. N. group playing real hosts and asserting that such aggressively political matters need not be discussed at all before the Congress. At the last banquet however, with characteristic Latin effusion the two delegations hugged and kissed one another and Jules Romain as President elect of the next year accepted the *venue* of the Congress in Rome, as per invitation of the Italian delegation. Thus a tragedy give place to a comedy, to the relief of all present.

Several important business items of the Congress deserve a brief mention : useful discussions followed the reports on (*a*) the literary Exhibition of an international character (*b*) the international P. E. N. Review (*c*) the social assistance to distressed authors and (*d*) the diffusion of literary works and their interchange in different countries. Several Eastern European delegates indulged in a mild mutual recremination on the censorship evil and its deterrent effect on the diffusion of literature. Again politics was about to invade the Congress and it was tactfully shunted. Sig. Marinetti made a few sensible suggestions in his report on the creation of an International Institute of Translations which would be fully, and let us hope, fruitfully discussed in the next Congress.

For so far as the non-European literatures are concerned there lies a vast and important field of work as I had the privilege of discussing with several delegates and especially with Mr. Herman Ould, the Secretary of the International P. E. N. He referred on his short yet telling report that we have so far 56 P. E. N. centres representing 44 national groups which is a brilliant record, deserving warm congratulations. But while translations from one to the other western language has fairly advanced, translations from the oriental to occidental languages, have made so far little progress. On this point I had valuable discussions with my fellow delegates from Japan and Egypt and Iraq and we hope a well considered report would be submitted on that subject to the next Congress from Oriental delegates. A few of the classics of India and Persia, China and Japan have been translated no doubt but so far as we could judge from India, very few of our post-classical Indian writers, really deserving a translator, have found their works translated into any western language and consequently the living languages of India, proud of having a history of about a thousand years, are largely ignored by the western public and publishers. This deserves the urgent and ready attention of the

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P. E. N. members of India as well as those of the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad (the All-India Literary Academy).

Yet there is a vast possibility of cultural collaboration as we felt, Madame Sophia Wadia and myself, representing India in that republic of letters. The very name of India and her great sons like Tagore and Gandhi evoked sincere and ardent enthusiasm. So much so that the local Catholic bigotry got nervous and started a veiled counter-attack against Madame Wadia for the capital offence of rousing a tremendous enthusiasm for India by her noble discourse on "Philosophy in the life of the Indian masses," by her radio talks, interviews and conversations, above all by her sweet and graceous personality—draped in the best Indian *saries*—all combining to create a very friendly atmosphere for India in Buenos Aires.

Over and above India, represented by two of us, there were two delegates from the Near East and two from the Far East. The Egyptian P. E. N. sent Dr. M. Awad of the University of Cairo. He is a sound scholar educated in Germany who has translated Goethe into Arabic and who is specially devoted to geography. Another Arab-speaking delegate was Prof. Mejid Khadduri of the Education Department of Bagdad, Iraq who, as I was glad to know, is a colleague of my friend Dr. M. Jemali of the Iraq ministry of Education and secretary to the Iraq P. E. N. Club. Both Dr. Awad and Prof. Khadduri participated in the debate on "Intelligence and Life" staged in the heart of the P. E. N. Congress. It is a pity that Persia and China were not represented in the Congress although the learned Minister of Iran in Buenos Aires, His Excellency Nadir Avastah gave me and my fellow delegates of Egypt and Iraq a very cordial reception at the Iranian Embassy. Japan was well represented by the eminent poet-novelist Toson Shimazaki and by the painter and story writer Ikuma Arishima with whom I had the pleasure and privilege of travelling in the O. S. K. ship "Rio de Jeneiro Maru," from Colombo to Buenos Aires. Through them I came to know many things about the latest cultural activities of Japan and I hope to publish something on them in a special article. Mr. Shimazaki enthusiastically supported the project of starting an International P. E. N. magazine, enabling the members to keep in touch with the literary movements of the various countries. Mr. Arishima moved a formal resolution, which was accepted, inviting the P. E. N. Congress to Japan in 1940 when there will be grand celebrations of the world Olympic and the 25th centenary of the Japanese Empire. Last year at the Barcelona Congress, Madame Wadia invited the Congress to India and therefore a compromise was suggested to the effect that after the congress of 1940 in Japan the delegates on return voyage would accept the hospitality of the Indian P. E. N.

This made me examine the history of the different sittings and I note here below, for the benefit of those interested, that so far the P. E. N. Congress met only once in North America (1924) and in South America (1936); so that out of the 14 sessions, 12 were in Europe: in London in 1923, Paris in 1925, Berlin in 1926, Brussels in 1927, Oslo in 1928, Vienna in 1929, Warsaw in 1930, Amsterdam in 1931, Hungary in 1932, Yugoslavia in 1933, Scotland in 1934 and Barcelona last year 1935 just before the tragic conflagration of the civil war. From 1923-1932 the P. E. N. was presided over by John Galsworthy who rendered a great service thereby to the cause of this author's federation and I was so happy to get some personal reminiscences of the great British novelist from his friend R. H. Mottram who is a novelist himself and who gave a fine discourse on "English novels" while in Buenos Aires. After the death of Galsworthy, Mr. H. G. Wells acted as President for 4 years (1933-36) and when he was replaced by M. Jules Romain, the Congress passed a resolution of thanks and of felicitations on the 70th birth anniversary of Mr. Wells which was celebrated while I was leaving London to catch my boat for India.

Thus we see that, so far, the P. E. N. has been busy developing the European field of letters and only twice could touch the two continents of the New world. It is very desirable therefore that a plenary session of the P. E. N. Congress should be held in Asia and thanks to the invitation of our friends of Japan it will we are sure, be celebrated with due solemnity. The hospitality of Japan is proverbial and on their way to and from Japan, our friends of the P. E. N. will have plenty of opportunities to break journey in China—India or any other country. Meanwhile between 1937-1940 we should try to push the cause of the P. E. N. in the linguistic and literary zones of Asia so poorly explored alas, so far. A 'Who's who' of the notable writer of modern India also should be made ready before 1940.

The host nation or the Buenos Aires Club, as might be easily guessed, showed infinite patience and admirable preparation on the material side and we all agreed that our colleagues of

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the Argentine P. E. N. have played their rôle perfectly, thanks to the generous support of their Government. Mr. Antonio Aita, the Secretary, and the local committee spared no pains to make each one of us as happy and comfortable as possible and our gratitude was as sincere as it was profound. The gigantic task which they undertook and which they completed so perfectly would be apparent when I mention a few facts regarding the invited delegates: 2 from Austria, 1 from Australia, 5 from Belgium; 3 from Bolivia, 3 from Brazil, 1 from Bulgaria, 1 from Canada, 2 from Colombia, 2 from Chile, 1 from Egypt, 1 from Scotland, 7 from Spain (but none unfortunately could attend except one) 2 from U. S. A., 1 from Esthonia, 1 from Finland, 6 from France, 2 from German writers, 2 from Holland, 1 from Hungary, 2 from India, 3 from England, 1 from Iraq, 1 from Ireland, 1 from Iceland, 4 from Italy, 2 from Japan, 1 from Lithuania, 1 from Mexico, 1 from Norway, 1 from New Zealand, 1 from Palestine and 1 from Yeddish authors, 1 from Poland, 1 from Portugal, 1 from Rumania, 1 from Sweden, 1 from Switzerland, 3 from Uruguay, 3 from Yugoslavia, over and above the 6 official delegates from the local P. E. N. Club of Buenos Aires and other friends. So that about a hundred ladies and gentlemen were entertained in the best style for about a fortnight in that Paris of Latin America—Buenos Aires.

I reserve for a separate article my impressions on the informal though none the less interesting contacts with the writers of diverse nationalities and temperaments. For myself these personal contacts and friendships counted more than the resolutions and discussions in the Congress. All the same I was happy when my friend of the Congress as well as the public warmly endorsed my plea for a better and closer understanding of India and her vast literature in my address before the final session of the Congress. Luckily it was arranged that the last item in the Congress agenda should not be mere "business" but a symposiun on "The Future of Poetry." In that connection I gave a panoramic survey of Indian literature and a few illustrative recitations from the Rig Veda, from Kalidasa, from Jayadeva, from Kabir and Chandidasa to Rabindranath Tagore,—showing the primitive, classical, medieval and modern trends in our Indian literature. In that connection I had the pleasure of presenting to the P. E. N. Club of Buenos Aires through the poetess Victoria Ocampo, the Vice-President the Bengali original of Rabindranath's *Purabi* which was dedicated to her and which as I showed them, were mainly composed on his way to and from South America in 1924. I could not help reminding the audience that Tagore came to South America as it were to celebrate the centenary of the grand response of (his grandfather's friend and colleague) Raja Rammohun Roy to the assertion of the Independence of Latin America which the Raja celebrated (and probably the Raja was the first to celebrate that historic event from India if not from the whole of Asia), with an international Liberty Banquet in the Town Hall of Calcutta.*

The whole audience cheered lustily when I made this communication and touching references to Rammohun Roy were made while I spoke again on "Indian Art and Archaeology" at the invitation of the University of Buenos Aires. There, Madame Adelina Guiraldes the venerable widow of the greatest writer of Argentine, Ricardo Guiraldes, said how she came to hear about that story of the Raja through my letter to Swami Vijayananda (Founder of the local Ramakrishna Ashram) when the centenary of Rammohun Roy was celebrated in India and how she was deeply moved by the cosmopolitan sympathy of the Raja. She also paid a warm tribute, while introducing me to the university audience, to Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, the Editor of *The Modern Review* which was already known there and his message as Vice-President of the Indian P. E. N., translated into Spanish was sent by her for publication in the leading paper "La Nacion."

Lastly, while drawing the attention of the Congress to the importance of the Bengali literature (a literature of about 53 millions), I invited that international gathering to participate in and co-operate with our Bengali P. E. N., preparing to celebrate the first birth centenary of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Starting his career as a poet amongst a galaxy of poets, Bankim gave us our first literary journal as the Editor of the *Banga Darsan* and came also to be the first

* Upon being asked why he had celebrated by illuminations, by an elegant dinner to about sixty Europeans, and by a speech composed and delivered in English by himself at his house in Calcutta, the arrival of the important news of the success of the Spanish patriots, the Raja is reported (*Edinburgh Magazine*, September 1823) to have replied: "What! ought I to be insensible to the sufferings of my fellow-creatures wherever they are, or however unconnected by interests, religion or language?" (Reproduced by Brajendranath Banerji in *The Modern Review* for March, 1932).

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"immortal" of our modern literature by his novels. He made the Bengali literature what it is today and he lived to greet and garland the "rising sun" of our literary firmament, Rabindranath Tagore, President of our Indian P. E. N. The novels of Bankim, now translated partly into English, and into almost all the important languages of India, induced new creative movements in our promising provincial literatures. Bankim combined in his protean literary personality, the Poet, the Editor, the Essayist, the Novelist and even indirectly (for his books still hold the stage) the playwright —thus an intriguing anticipation of our P. E. N. *credo* by the Pioneer of Bengali literature! Bankim, more than anybody else, deserves a centenary commemoration volume and I hope that it would materialize. Bankim has given to the new born nationhood of India, the national hymn: *Bande Mataram* sung at the opening of our National Congress and of all auspicious functions. This year France celebrated the centenary of Rouget de Lisle and his "La Marseillaise" and India as a whole should also rise to honour the immortal author of *Bande Mataram*!

While only a select few could get admission by cards to the P. E. N. Congress, thousands, eager to listen to us, could not be accommodated in the Town Hall. So we were very kindly taken by our friends to address different audiences outside. Swami Vijayananda, has been rendering great services to the cause of Indian philosophy and idealism through his "Ramakrishna Ashram" and its devoted group of Argentine workers. I was invited to address them on several occasion and I was deeply impressed by the earnestness of their enquiries and their eagerness to follow the trends of the higher life of India. They organized a huge meeting to celebrate the centenary of Sri Ramkrishna and Madame Wadia and myself were happy to address such a responsive audience. Several young authors and earnest students also came to ask me so many questions about India about her masses, her womanhood, her language and literature, above all about Gandhi and Tagore, both passionately admired in Argentine. Before our departure from Buenos Aires one of its best broadcasting station—the Excelsior, made special arrangements for Madame Wadia and for myself. I had the pleasure of speaking through the microphone, on the "East and West in Bengali Literature" with special reference to the P. E. N. Club of Bengal and the splendid contribution of our men and women writers to the literature of today, starting with the works of Sarat Chatterjee. To make this chapter of our literature known to the outside world is the great work before our Bengali P. E. N.

IS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS A FAILURE ALL ROUND ?

A Geneva Correspondent

The preamble of its Covenant states, that the League of Nations was founded, "in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." This objective was to be attained, among other means :

(1) by the acceptance of obligation not to resort to war,
(2) by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations,
(3) by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous regard of all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with another."

Japan and Italy have both broken with impunity the above solemn pledges, they gave in joining the League as original Members, with permanent seats in the Council, and the League has been powerless to restrain them. What has brought about this sorry state of affairs? Is it the machinery of the League that is fundamentally at fault, or is it the Members who have miserably failed in their duty towards the League? Let the Foreign Secretary of a Great Power give an authoritative answer to this all-important question. For on a just answer to this question depends the attitude one should take towards the so-called reform of the League that is exercising the minds of all the statesmen of the world. Speaking to the assembled delegates, last September, in connection with the question of the reform of the League, Mr. Eden said :

"Let us recognise clearly, that there are two essential elements to its solution : the League's machinery, and the will to work that machinery. Of the two the second is without doubt infinitely the more important . . . . . Reflection shows one thing clearly—there is nothing essentially wrong with our charter, the Covenant of the League of Nations. Its general principles are right : it forms a logical and reasonable system which should not be incapable of practical application. *Well then, the moral to be drawn is that its shortcomings have been due to the failure on the part of States Members of the League to*

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apply the system loyally and integrally. Unless the League evidently commands the complete and ultimate loyalty of all its Members, ... it cannot have the authority which the peace of the world so clearly demands."

May we hope, that these wise words would be taken to heart not only by the representatives of the Governments he was addressing, but above all by his own Government, whose vacillating policy in regard to the Italo-Ethiopian dispute has been the despair of all true friends of the League ?

Let us frankly admit, that in its chief aim of outlawing war and organizing the collective Peace System, the League has hitherto failed. But the main responsibility for it lies not on the League as such, but on the nations Members, who have not put their solemn promises into practice. The League, like all international oganisations, is an instrument, that was born out of the travail of the Great War, to promote peaceful collaboration among the nations of the world, and settle differences by conciliation and arbitration. If it is not used for that main political purpose for which it was created, it is the fault of the non-users, and it is not fair to blame the League for it. However perfect the articles of the Covenant may be, if the nations who compose the League are not truly inspired by the ideals of peace and amity, the League will remain ineffective in its main purpose of organising the peace of the world and bringing about a substantial reduction and limitation in the armaments of the world. But let us be clear-thinking and recognise where the main fault for the failure lies—in the insincerity of the politicians who pay only lip service to the ideals of the League. And let us avoid the mistake of throwing away the baby with the bathwater—for that is what it amounts to, when people are advised to scuttle the League and revert to the pre-war state of International Anarchy and Balance of Power System, when Europe was divided into two hostile camps, each arming feverishly against the other. The moral to be drawn from recent failures is that the progressive peoples in each of the countries belonging to the League, must work hard to bring only such parties into power which sincerely believe in the ideals of Peace as embodied in the Covenant, and who are ready whole-heartedly to work for the organisation of Collective Security within the framework of the League. Only then can the League become what its founders intended it to be—a Federation of Nations eager to promote world-unity through fruitful co-operation. But even so, dark as the prospects may seem in the political sphere, let us not loose sight of the fact, that in one province, the activity of the League has been extraordinarily successful, namely, in the sphere of international co-operation for social welfare. In matters of health, international labor legislation, child welfare, intellectual co-operation and in its fight against opium, slavery, prostitution, illicit traffic in dangerous drugs and other social evils, the League has achieved a measure of success of which it can be justly proud. And without the existence of the League these measures of social amelioration, dependent on International collaboration, could not have been carried through. And who but a bitter anti-League critic would assert, that these activities are not of vital importance to the whole of mankind ?

So, weighing the failures of the League in the political field (for which the League as such is not responsible) against its undoubted successes in the social and humanitarian sphere, let us come to a balanced judgment as regards the usefulness of the League of Nations to serve the ends of a higher synthesis in the forward march of humanity. And let us firmly hope and pray, that through co operation in the social field for the common good, the nations of the world will learn to co-operate also in the political field to establish a world community,—a world community to which each nation will make its own distinctive contribution born of its own culture and past heritage, and for whose good each will be ready to surrender a little of its own liberty. The voice of true religion has proclaimed through the Ages, " All ye men are brothers;"—and today the voice of Science is hammering into us the same truth, that unless we learn to live as one family and enjoy the fruits of the earth—which Science has made plentiful beyond the dreams of man—dire disaster will befall us. Both the voice of conscience and the voice of reason, admonish us of the same truth: in co-operation alone lies salvation, in isolation death. Will the nations at long last learn this simple truth ? If not, then Science, which could be a blessing to us, will turn out to be the greatest curse, and destroy us. And we shall have amply deserved it—for we let material prosperity smother our moral sensibility and prostituted science to the ends of destruction !

These have been my thoughts, my hopes and my fears during the three weeks, that I attended the sittings of the full Assembly and the various Commissions of the 17th Assembly of the League.

October 1936, Geneva.

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THE WAYFARING WOMAN

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I AM a writer; but the stream that flows from my pen does not seek the approbation of the multitude whence, in turn, the public comments on me and my work that sometimes reach my ears are more pointed than pleasant; and repeated pricks, however fit to ignore each one may be, have the result of keeping me in an assertive mood. That is why, in order to attain the peace of self-forgetfulness, I have to seek some quiet retreat where Mother Nature's ministering hand may smooth down the prickles.

There is such a spot, remote from Calcutta, where I occasionally live and work in quiet, relieved of the pressure of self-centred thoughts; for my simple village neighbours apparently have not arrived at any particular estimate of me. They cannot put me down as an epicure, for I do not spoil my nights in the manner of town voluptuaries; nor as an ascetic, for signs of wealth are not entirely wanting around me. I do not appear as a pilgrim, for my saunterings point to no goal; nor as a householder, for no evidences of family life are visible. Unable to place me, they do not bother about me, and I am left in peace.

At length, however, I have had reason to surmise that there is one person in the village who has come to a conclusion about me,—who, at least, does not ignore me as of no account. I first came across this person one afternoon in the rainy season.

Like wet eyelashes after a shower of tears was the look of the foliage, the feel of the breeze, during a lull in the rain. I was standing by the garden pool, watching a cow munching the lush grass. And as the sun lit up her sleekness, it struck me how wastefully needless were the numberless tailoring enterprises of civilization whose business it was to keep the sunlight off the body.

It was then that the woman came up from somewhere behind, and made me a profound obeisance. She had packets of fresh flowers,—gardenias, oleanders and others,—wrapped in leaves and carefully tied up in a corner of her ascetic's robe.

"My offering to my God," she said, as she handed me one of these with reverentially joined palms.

And she left as suddenly as she had appeared. So surprised was I, I could not even take a proper look at her.

It was a simple thing that she had done, yet it had a curiously rousing effect on my consciousness. The life-play of that same cow, relishing the succulent herbage with great gasps of tranquil enjoyment, her tail swishing in the wan light of the declining sun, was borne in upon me in all its wonder. The reader may smile; but, my whole being filled with ecstatic devotion, I made my obeisance to the Lord of my life, manifest in simple joy. And as I plucked some young shoots from a branch of the mango tree and offered them to the cow, I felt it to be an act of worship acceptable to my Divinity.

The next time I came to my retreat, it was early in Spring. The weather being still cool, I had not screened off the rays of the morning sun that fell on me through the open window. I was sitting in my room upstairs, engaged in writing, when my servant came and said that Anandi, the Vaishnavi woman, wanted to see me. With no idea who it could be I absently asked her to be shown up.

The Vaishnavi* came and took the dust of my feet, whereupon I saw it was the same woman who had accosted me in the garden last time. She had passed the age for inquiring whether or not she was good looking, but she was well modelled, slightly taller than the average, and had a frank, unhesitating manner. Her features and figure, however, were all softened to a degree by an expression of constant devotion. Most striking of all were her eyes—through which some penetrating power within seemed to bring the distant near to her.

Piercing me with such glance of hers she said: "What is all this I see about you? What made you bring me to the foot of your lordly seat? The sight of you I used to have under the trees was better for me."

It appeared she had often watched me, without my knowing it, while I was in the

* The sect of wandering Vaishnavs in Bengal have no fixed abode, nor do they follow any set religious or social usages. *Tr.*

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garden, or walking outside. Latterly I had caught a cold which had made me stay in, content to hold my communion with the evening sky from the little terrace in front of my room. So she had not seen me for some days.

After a pause she said: "Gour, my Lord-incarnate, give me a message."

I was in a quandary. At length I replied: "It's not for me to give or receive messages. My business is with what I get when I sit in silence with closed eyes. Now that I've seen you, it's been both seeing and hearing for me."

This pleased her. "Gour! Gour!" she cried. "Indeed the Lord does not speak with tongues, but with His whole being."

"When we are silent," I continued, "we can hear Him with our whole being. That's why I come here to listen."

"I know it," she said, "and so come to sit by you."

I had felt a curiosity to know the kind of family she came from, but my inquiries had not led to anything very definite. Her mother was well off, I learnt, and still living, and had come to know of the impression her wayfaring daughter had been making on the villagers. The mother now wanted the daughter to return to her husband's home, but Anandi would not hear of it.

"How do you make your living?" I asked her.

In reply I was told that some admirer had made her a gift of land,—a wonderful piece of land, which yielded sufficient not only for her own needs, but for many others as well. Then with a smile she said: "I had everything I wanted. I gave it all up. And now I beg for what I want. Can you tell me why?"

Had this question been raised in Calcutta, it would have led to an argument. I could not but have pointed out the harm done to the social system as a whole by such mode of life. But in this kind of place, one's mask of book-learning drops off. And well-worn economic maxims refused to pass my lips in the presence of the Vaishnavi's naive simplicity. I remained silent.

"No, no," she went on, as if replying to my unspoken thought. "This is ever so much better. The alms I receive are nectar to me!"

I could see what she meant. A vested right is claimed to be one's own as a matter of course: what is received by asking serves to remind one of the Giver.

I wanted to ask about her married life, but since she had not spoken of her husband I could not bring myself to do it.

The Vaishnavi did not frequent the respectable quarters of the village. "They give nothing to the Lord," she explained. "They only know how to take."

The people of the locality in which she now happened to be staying had an evil reputation. "It's better to be amongst them," I said tritely, "for by showing such people the way you will be serving the Lord."

But this did not seem to appeal to her. "You mean," said she, fixing on me her revealing eyes, "since the Lord is also amidst sinners, I shall be with Him, if I be amongst them?"

"Yes," I agreed.

"No doubt," she continued, "the Lord is with all that is. But what's that to me? I have to search for my own God where *He* is." With which she made me her obeisance.

I hope it is not necessary for me to make the entirely superfluous disclaimer that I did not take this as directed to me personally, so that I neither accepted nor returned her salutation. She clearly meant that it was all very well to assert the opinion that God is omnipresent, but He truly exists for me only where I actually feel His presence.

I am one of those who suffer from the touch of Modernism. I read the Gita, and listen to religious discourses by men of wisdom. But all they have taught me is so much hearsay—I have come by no realization. For the first time now I found my veil of self-complacence removed, and through the eyes of this untutored woman I obtained a glimpse of Truth. A wonderful way was this, of teaching by her own faith!

When the Vaishnavi came again the next morning, I was writing as usual. This seemed to annoy her. I could see that the numberless coverings in which she finds me encased perturb her grievously. She has first to mount the stairs to get near me. When she wants to take the dust of my feet, she comes up against my socks. Then I am always immersed in my writing.

"I wonder why my God makes you waste your time, working so hard!" she remarked.

"Being a good-for-nothing person," I replied, "the Lord keeps me at it, lest I go wrong. And so all the useless tasks seem to have fallen to my lot."

"Gour!" she exclaimed ecstatically with folded hands. "This morning, as soon as I opened my eyes and sat up on my bed, I received the touch of your lotus feet. Ah, the coolness of it, the solace of it! I kept them clasped to my forehead, I know not how long.

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That was enough for me, more than enough. But why then do I come here? Tell me truly, Lord-incarnate, is there some illusion in it?"

When the next evening I was out on the terrace watching the evening star going down, till it disappeared leaving me in deepening darkness, the Vaishnavi came to sit by me, and this time she told me her story. I give it in her own words.

My husband was the simplest of men. Many thought he was too foolish to understand anything properly. But I know that those who understand simply, understand truly. I could also see that in his tilling and farming, his buying and selling, he never got cheated. He was methodical both in his home and in his business. He did not lose money because he was not greedy for profit. What he needed he was careful about: what was beyond his means he did not hanker after.

My husband's father had died before our marriage, and his mother's death followed shortly after. So there was no one over us in our home. But my husband could not do without having some one to look up to and—it shames me to say it—it was *me* he seemed to regard with reverence; though he really understood more, whilst I could but talk more.

The object of his supreme adoration, however, was his Guru,—his hereditary spiritual preceptor. For him it was not only traditional reverence, but a rare, surpassing love that filled my husband's heart. His Guru was of his own age,—and oh, of such divine beauty of form!

[Here the Vaishnavi's gaze seemed to wander off into some dim distance as she hummed the Vaishnav lyric about the body-divine made of the first beams of the dawning sun strained through the nectar of love.]

This son of his family preceptor had been his playmate when they were boys together, and from that time my husband's heart had been completely given up to him. The boy Guru, for his part, looked on my husband as a simpleton; and many were the mischievous tricks which he and his other companions played on this simple, unsuspecting soul.

When, on my marriage, I entered my husband's household, I did not see his boyhood's friend, who was away in Benares for his religious training,—of which my husband bore all the expenses. When our Guru returned home, I had turned eighteen.

Shortly before this a son had been born to me. So immature was I, I had no idea of how to rear a child. My time used to be spent in going about with my girl friends in the village, and I rather felt the child to be in the way,—the poor little creature even irritated me sometimes because it kept me tied down to the house.

Alas, what can be a greater calamity than that the child should arrive, and the mother lag behind! My Gopal, my infant-Krishna, came to me, to find me unready with my offerings of love, and He went away in a pet, leaving me to search disconsolately for Him high and low, ever since.

The boy was the apple of his father's eye. Grievously did my husband suffer to find me incapable of looking after the little one. But his heart was ever dumb—to this day it has never unburdened itself of its joys or sorrows to mortal man.

The father looked after the son with a mother's devotion. If the child cried in the night, that did not disturb the heavy sleep of my first youth. It was the father who warmed its milk, and comforted his darling, all so quietly that I never knew anything about it. My husband was just so quiet in all his ways. If there was a theatrical performance at the *zamindar's* place for some public festival, he would say: "You had better go, and let me have a rest at home. You know I can't stand keeping up at night." He knew that unless he stayed back, my duty to the child would not allow of my going.

And yet, strangely enough, it was on me that the boy lavished all his affection. He seemed to have understood that I wanted to keep away from him, and so was always afraid of losing me altogether. It was because he saw but little of me that there was no end to his yearning for me.

When I went for my daily bath to the lake close by, the child would beg to be taken along. But the bathing steps were the place for the village girls to assemble, and I did not care to be distracted by having to look after him,—so it was but rarely that he was there with me.

The lake, an artificial piece of water called Rani Dighi because it had been dug by some Rani of old, was brimming over at the height of the rainy season. So wide was it that only I amongst the girls could swim across it. That day, bank on bank of black clouds had completely enshrouded the mid-day sun. The boy cried piteously to come with me, but I said to the kitchen-maid: "Will you look after the youngster, my girl. I'll just have have a plunge and hurry back home."

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When I arrived at the bathing place, none of the others had yet turned up, so I started to have just one swim across and back. A good way out I seemed to hear a call of "mother!" Turning my head I saw my little one calling me as it came toddling down the steps towards the water.

"I'm coming!" I shouted. "Stop where you are."

But the truant, laughing in glee at my impotent words, continued its course.

Paralysed with horror, my limbs refused to move, as I closed my eyes to shut out the inevitable, till the childish laughter that rang in my ears came to a sudden stop after the first slippery step.

When at length I somehow managed to return, it was to lay on my lap the lifeless form which I raised from the watery depth, of the little Gopal that had thirsted so for its mother's arms. But it called me "mother" never more.

The grief of all the tears I had made my Gopal shed recoiled on me. I left him behind when he was with me. He now clings to my whole being by day and by night,—and yet I have Him not.

What the blow meant for my husband, only the Dweller-within knows. It would have been ever so much easier for me had he reviled me—but he only knew how to suffer.

While I was still wild with the shock of it, our Guru came home from Benares. My husband's loving reverence of the days of their boyhood was transformed into sheer veneration, now that he had returned after all this time, illumined with wisdom. Who could have thought that they had once played together, for the disciple now hardly dared to speak to his Guru!

My husband begged of the preceptor to give me consolation, and thereupon our Guru took to reading me words of wisdom from the *shastras*. I cannot say that the words by themselves did me any good; what value they had for me was because I heard them from his lips. God gives man to drink of His nectar through the voice of man,—what better vessel has He for offering such gift? Does he not Himself delight to taste from it?

The reverence of my husband for his Guru filled our household as the honey fills the hive. It overflowed in everything that was done,—in our home-life, in our neighbourly relations,—nowhere was it wanting in sincerity. Immersed in it too with my whole heart, I was at length consoled. And I beheld my God in the form of my Guru.

Every day at noon our Guru would come to receive our offering of food, which we would afterwards partake of as a blessing from him,—this is what we looked forward to, this is what we prepared for, from our first wakeful moment. When I peeled and sliced the vegetables for his delectation, my fingers tingled with joy. As we were not Brahmins, I could not have the privilege of doing the cooking myself,—which left my heart's hunger unappeased. Ocean of wisdom that he was, our Guru was sufficient unto himself, he had no worldly wants. But a simple woman like me could only serve him by ministering to his material needs, and even in that there was this gap.

My husband was immensely pleased at the devotion with which I served our Guru,—it also increased his reverence for me. When he further saw how keen our preceptor himself was to discuss the *shastras* with me, it seemed to him a gracious boon of providence that the simpleton, who by reason of his silliness had been deprived of such communion with his Guru, was at length permitted to make him spiritual offering through a more gifted wife.

In this way the years went by so smoothly that I was unware of how they passed. My whole life could have thus flowed on in peace. But some kind of thieving was going on in secret,—unrealized by me, but discovered by the Dweller-within. And then, all in a moment, everything toppled over.

It was a Spring morning. I was returning after my bath in the lake, in my wet clothes. At a turn of the road through the mango grove I saw our Guru approaching. He had a towel over his shoulder, and was going for his own bath, muttering some holy text.

Ashamed to meet him while thus scantily clothed, I tried to pass him by along a side track. But he called me by name, and I stood still, shrinking within myself, with eyes downcast.

He gazed at me fixedly for a while, and then said: "You have a beautiful body."

The birds were singing on the blossoming mango branches overhead; the scent of wild flowers came from every thicket on the wayside; it suddenly seemed to me that all nature was revelling in rapturous disarray. . . .

How I got home I know not. I went straight to my prayer-room, wet as I was,—but it seemed to me I could no longer behold the Divine Image there, for the checkered light and shade of the mango grove that kept dancing before my eyes.

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When the Guru came for his mid-day meal he asked : "Why is not Anandi here to-day ?" My husband went about in search of me, but could not find me.

Alas, Gour, that world is no longer mine ! That sunlight I cannot see any more. I call on my Divinity, but He turns his face away.

I knew the day would somehow be got through, but at night I would have to face my husband. All would then be dark and silent.

It was at such a time that my husband's heart was wont to sparkle forth like a star. In the darkness I have sometimes heard him give utterance to thoughts that showed me how simply this simple man understood things in their truth. I used to be late in coming to him after finishing my household work, and he would stay up for me. It was then that we usually had something to say to each other about our Guru.

That night I was later than usual. It was past midnight. I found my husband not yet gone to bed, but fallen asleep as he had been reposing on a bolster on the floor. I laid myself down noiselessly at his feet. He tossed about in his sleep, and I received a blow from his foot on my breast. I accepted it as his last gift to me.

The next morning when he awoke, I was already sitting up at the window. There was a faint tinge of colour in the sky to be seen at one edge of the darkness over the top of the mango tree, but the birds had not as yet begun to sing. I came up to him and touched his feet with my head, in final salutation. He rose hastily and looked anxiously at my face.

"I must leave the world," I said.

My husband must have thought he was still dreaming. He made no reply.

"By my head I adjure you," I cried, "marry another wife, for I must leave you and my home !"

"Whatever are you talking about ?" murmured my husband. "Who asked you to leave home ?"

"Our Guru," said I.

My husband was dumbfounded. "Our Guru !" he repeated numbly. "When did he tell you this ?"

"I met him this morning, when returning from my bath. It was then."

My husband's voice trembled. "What made him lay such command on you ?" he managed to bring out at length.

"I don't know," I said. "Let him explain it if he will."

"But surely you can renounce the world, even while you stay at home. I'll put this to him."

"*He* may accept your suggestion, but my heart will not. There's no longer any home for me."

My husband sat bemused for some time. When the sun rose and lightened the room, he said : "Let's go to him together."

"Forgive me," I said with folded hands. "It's forbidden for me to see him any more."

My husband looked me straight in the face. I lowered my eyes. He said nothing more.

I somehow knew that he had seen into my mind.

Two people in this world had loved me beyond all else—my boy and my husband. That love was my God, so it could brook no falsity. One of them left me : I left the other. Now I'm out in search of Truth. No more of delusion for me.

With this Anandi, the Vaishnavi, made me her parting obeisance.

(Translated for *The Modern Review* by Surendranath Tagore.)

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THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN INSTITUTIONS IN MYSORE: II

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

The Kaveri (generally anglicised as Cauvery) is South India's sacred stream. So holy is it, indeed, that *Ganga Mai* journeys through an underground channel once every year to Thala-Kaveri, in the ghats of southern Coorg, to free herself from the sins that, in the course of her flow from the Himalayan snows to the Bay of Bengal, she transfers to herself from persons of either sex and all ages who, with devoted heart, bathe in her waters.

Entering through the western frontier of Mysore State, the Kaveri traverses the whole breadth and passes on to the Madras Presidency, on its way to the sea, into whose arms it finally flings itself. Just as it crosses the eastern border of the State it branches into two streams which unite again a little further on. The beauty of the island so formed is greatly enhanced by two series of cascades that fall from rock shelves to the basin or bed below. Seen when the water brought down by the monsoon is rushing down the river, they present a sight the majesty of which lingers long in the memory of any one so fortunate as to behold it. Even in midsummer, however, neither waterfall dries up.

To our forefathers this scene suggested, no doubt, the Ganges running round and round in the matted locks (*jatta*) of Siva, the lord over the forces of involution, as she descended from the heavens (*swarga*). Or possibly the multitude of streams falling from the high rock suggested the long, flowing, ash-encrusted, matted hair of the god of gods. The place was, in any case, named Sivasamudram—Siva's Sea. Both falls have been regarded from time immemorial as sacred and pilgrims coming individually and in large and small parties worship at the Saivite temple, built on an island.

II

The vast quantity of water rushing with tremendous force down the mountain side set the Madrasi Brahman, Mr. K. Sheshadri Iyer by name, who, for eighteen years (1883-1901) was the Dewan of Mysore, to thinking. In the course of his vast and varied reading he had noted that in Europe and America persons gifted with ingenuity had harnessed waterfalls to yield electricity to light cities and turn the wheels of industrial machinery.

Why, he asked himself, should not a similar attempt be made at Sivasamudram. The flowing of the sacred water through huge, strongly made, steel tubes into mechanical contrivances that would catch its force and convert it into electric current, would, he felt sure, be no act of sacrilege. It, on the contrary, would directly and even more so indirectly, furnish people with employment and feed the hungry mouths of tens of thousands and, in time, hundreds of thousands, of men, women and children.

Sheshadri's head may have soared in the rarified atmosphere of Hindu philosophy, but his feet were firmly planted upon *terra firma*. He, therefore, resorted to measures that would turn this vision splendid into actuality.

III

Without doubt there already existed a market for hydro-electricity, if only he could produce and deliver it. In the district of Kolar, in the north-eastern part of the State, shrewd business men had, some years earlier, installed a large number of boilers to furnish power required for blasting the rock in which gold secreted by Nature thousands of feet below the surface of the earth ran in yellow streaks through the masses of dark schist and quartz. They would be only too glad to substitute electric current which could be easily carried to any part of the mining property and which, to boot, was dustless and smokeless and not difficult to control, in place of the cumbrous and wasteful practice of carrying on the mixing operations with power produced by steam.

How was power yielded by the falls of Sivasamudram, at the south-eastern edge of the State, however, to be carried to the gold fields so far away. At that stage of scientific development the physical separation of the two seemed to place an interdict upon the scheme. Even in Europe and America, which, in respect of the practical utilization of natural forces,

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were considered to be and, in fact, were—far ahead of the Orient, nothing anywhere near so bold had been attempted or projected. Technical difficulties, especially in regard to overcoming tremendous loss of power in transmission, were believed to be so great as to ruin the commercial chances of such a project.

The Madrasi Brahman occupying the highest administrative office in the State was not, however, daunted. He sent Captain A. Joly de Lotbinier—a Royal Engineer then in Mysore service—across the seven seas to visit sites where noteworthy hydro-electric schemes had been installed. In consultation with the manufacturers of machinery and other experts, a project was designed that, in the course of a few years, enabled the State to forge ahead of the rest of India in this respect and to place it, at the time, in the forefront of countries in any part of the world utilizing hydro-electricity. Not only was electric power and light made available in the Kolar Gold Fields, but while Calcutta and Bombay were without electric light, Bangalore was, at night, bathed in electric effulgence.

IV

The arrangement made with the manufacturers of the plant required for the purpose showed the consummate shrewdness of the Indian statesman and his anxiety to make our people as quickly and completely self-sufficing as possible. In consideration of receiving the order, running in the first place, into many lakhs, with virtual certainty that even larger sums would be received for supplementary installations, and renewal of parts, an engagement was entered into for the training in hydro-electricity of selected students.

The initial batch consisted of two young men a Coorg, Cariappa, and an Iyengar Brahman. The latter told me, many years ago, that when he reported for duty the first morning at the works of the General Electric Company at Schenectady in the State of New York, United States of America, the "boss" pointed to a broom standing in the corner and told him to sweep the floor. Instead of refusing to perform the task allotted to him, that, according to the notions in which he had been reared, was reserved only for "untouchables," he unhesitatingly cleaned the shop in a manner so thorough that he won the approbation of the American engineer.

So great profit did these young men derive from their training at Schenectady that upon their return to Mysore they were able to give a good account of themselves. At the time of my first visit to Sivasamudram in 1921, Iyengar was in charge of the generating plant. In all my travels, in whatsoever part of the globe, I had not seen one that was better managed.

Mr. Cariappa rose, in time, to be head of the Electrical Department. Had Sheshadri been alive he would have been proud to see his dream of making the people of Mysore self-sufficing in this respect fulfilled.

V

Ambitious also was the action taken by Sheshadri Iyer, to insure the State against the recurrence of famine, which had ravaged Mysore before the "rendition," as related in the preceding article.* To facilitate the importation of grain and fodder from the outside and its conveyance from point to point in the Maharaja's territory, he entered into a contract for the building of a railway line with money borrowed in England and also ordered surveys to be made for the construction of other lines.

For the irrigation of a particularly dry area a project was designed to utilize water from a catchment area over 2,000 square miles in extent. The lake that was formed by throwing a dam 1330 feet long and 162 feet high across the Vedavati river at the village of Marikanive, when full, was estimated to contain 30,000,000,000 cubic feet of water and had a circumference of thirty miles. It was, at the time, among the largest works of its kind.

In the fitness of things, the lake was named Vani Vilas Sagara, after his Highness's mother, who, as the Manani-Regent during her son's minority, gave whole-hearted support to the Minister in carrying out bold and imaginative enterprises for the good of the people. The total cost was nearly half a crore of rupees.

Sheshadri was hardly less energetic in devising and executing schemes for water-works. The project for the supply of pure drinking water to Bangalore Civil and Military Station (under British administration) and the city (under the Maharaja's rule), was remarkable for the time.

Money for these works, for the extension and improvement of communications and for administrative reforms, particularly in the judicial sphere, was found without adding to the burden of taxation. Much of it was obtained through the prudent management of affairs. Fortune also favoured him by provi-

* The Evolution of Modern Institutions in Mysore : I, in the October issue of *The Modern Review*.

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ding him with a windfall through the considerable expansion of the royalties derived from the Kolar gold mines.

VI

The work of reform inaugurated by Rangacharlu and Sheshadri during the first twenty years following the restoration of the State to Indian rule was carried forward by Mr. (afterwards the Dewan Bahadur) Visvanath Patanker Madhava Row, who became the Dewan in 1906, about five years after Sheshadri's death. Born in 1850, he had the good fortune of sitting at the feet of an eminent English educationist, Mr. W. A. Porter, at Kumbakonam College. After graduating, in his nineteenth year, from the Madras University, he entered Mysore service. Taken on the personal staff of His Highness the Maharaja Shri Chama Rajendra Wodeyar Bahadur, then a minor, he was soon promoted to be the head of the school established for his Highness's education. After the "rendition" he won the approbation of Rangacharlu and became a member of his inner circle of helpers.

Sheshadri thought so highly of him that, almost without a moment's hesitation, he broke a six-decades' custom and placed him at the head of the police department. Later, when plague broke out in the State, he, as special commissioner, was charged with the task of introducing measures for fighting that dread epidemic—measures deemed elsewhere so obnoxious that they led to considerable friction.

With the horrors wrought by that fell disease fresh in his mind, Madhava Row, after his appointment as Dewan, pursued a vigorous policy of building well laid out and spacious suburbs adjoining the mediæval city of Bangalore—or "extensions," as they are locally called. He was also largely responsible for the location in that city of the Indian Institute of Science made possible by the generous benefaction of the great Parsi patriot and industrialist, Jamsetjee Nusserwanjee Tata. In addition to giving a large site in Hebbal, just outside Bangalore, Rs. 500,000 were sanctioned towards the cost of the buildings.

A great departure was made also in divesting the coterie of high officials forming the Executive Council of their legislative function. For its satisfactory discharge a special organ known as the Legislative Council was created in June, 1907. A spirit of cautiousness which, in subsequent talks with me, the great man gave me to understand that he regretted, led him to turn his face against the election of the non-official members of this body. Even the Representative Assembly—Rangacharlu's legacy to Mysore—was not deemed worthy of being made an electoral constituency and that privilege remained to be conceded subsequently.

VII

With the appointment of Mr. (afterwards Sir) M. Visvesvaraya as Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government in 1909, the Indianization of the Mysore services received a fresh impetus. Until then the responsibilities devolving upon the incumbent of those combined offices had been deemed to be too onerous to be borne by a son of the soil. This notion was a legacy from the half-century during which Indians played second-fiddle in the administration.

Visvesvaraya was born in the shadow of the rock of Nandi—or Nandidrug—that figured so prominently in the warfare with Tippu Sultan. He went from the rural school to the high school in a near-by town and then to the College at Bangalore. With a scholarship he won he secured engineering education in Poona and entered the Bombay service. By sheer merit he rose, step by step, until he had reached a height that seemed dizzy in those days. Twice his services had been borrowed—the first time for designing city waterworks in Sukkur (Sindh) and later for working out a scheme for protecting Hyderabad—the capital of His Highness the Nizam (as he was then called) against the menace of flood. In 1909, when he retired, he was occupying the top rung of the Irrigation Engineer ladder in Bombay.

Returning to the State of his birth, with the experience gained in the Bombay Presidency and Hyderabad, Deccan, study and observation during extensive travel in Japan, Canada, the United States of America and other countries and (in some ways most important of all) the prestige attaching to his name, he began to establish a new engineering record for himself. In less than four years of his installation as Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government in Mysore, Visvesvaraya devised projects of varied character as bold in conception as they were practicable in execution, that were to serve as the basis of new prosperity to the people as well as to the State. So pleased was his Highness with this administrative work that, upon the retirement in November, 1912, of Mr. Anand Rao, (Dewan Bahadur V. P. Madhava Row's successor) he appointed the Mysore Chief Engineer as the

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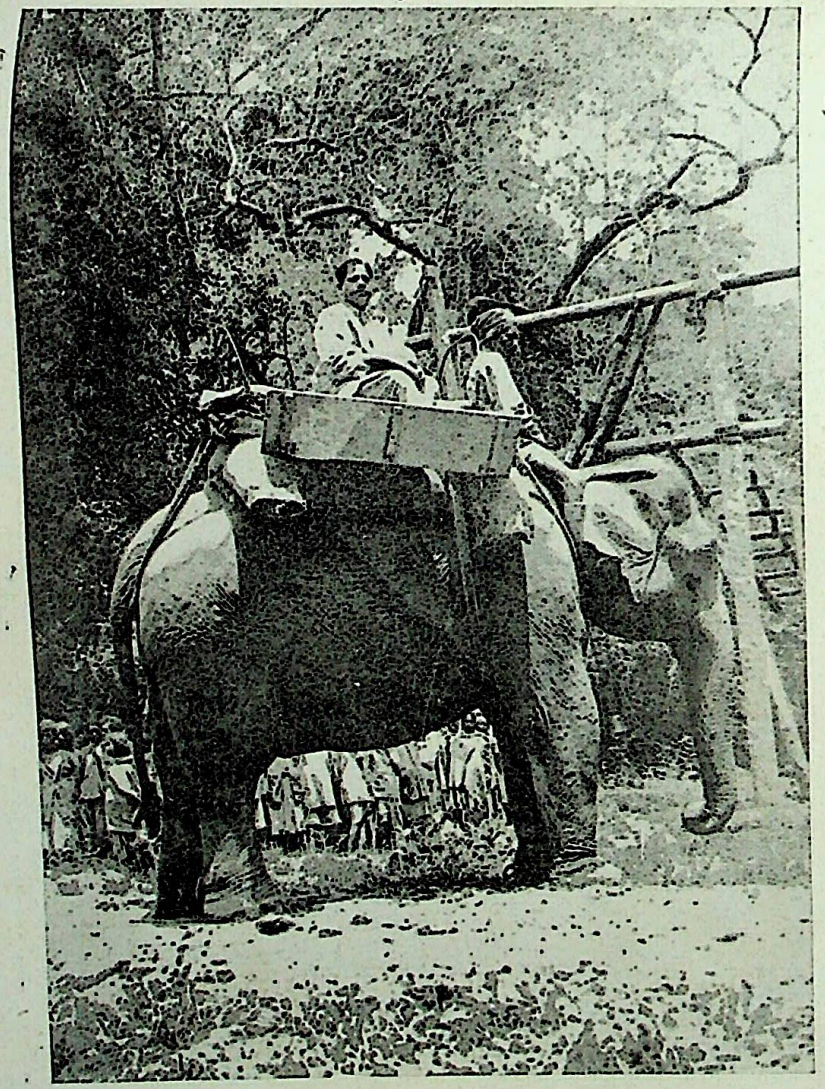
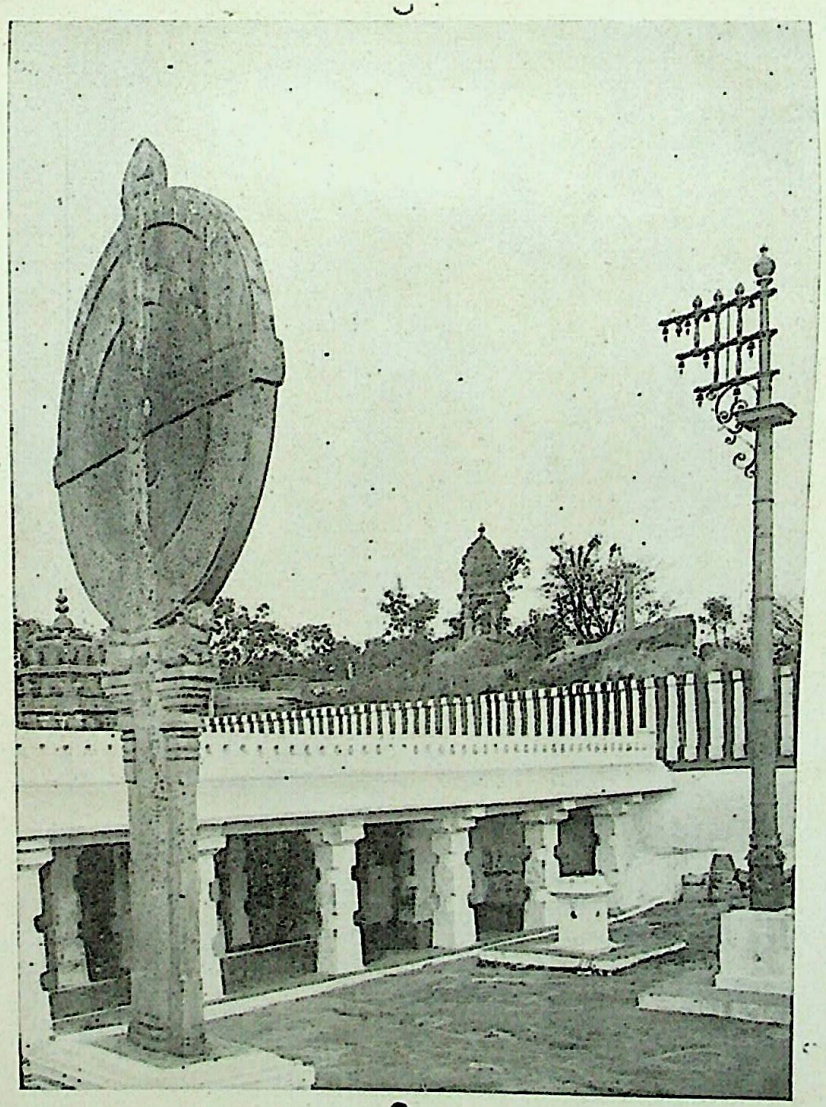


The Conservator of Forests inspecting the kheddah



Sculptures in the courtyard of rock-cut temple, Bangalore

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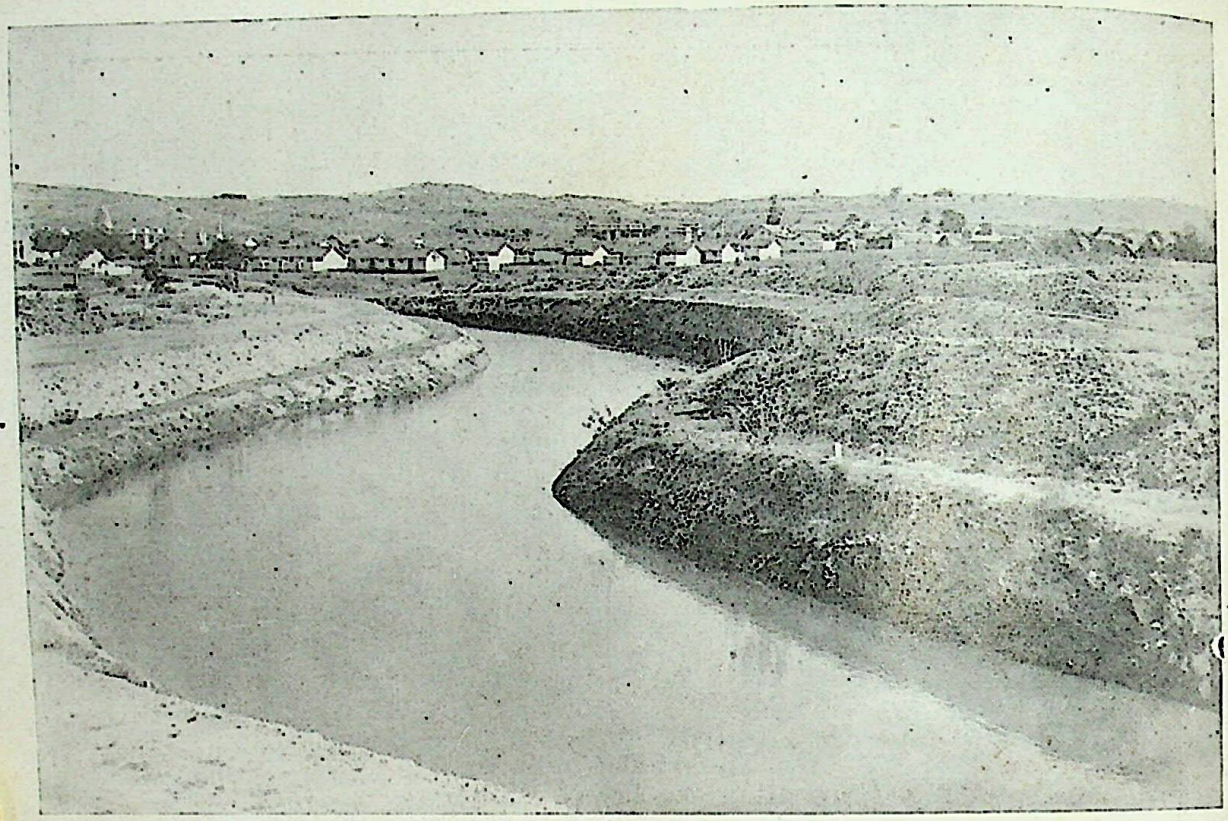
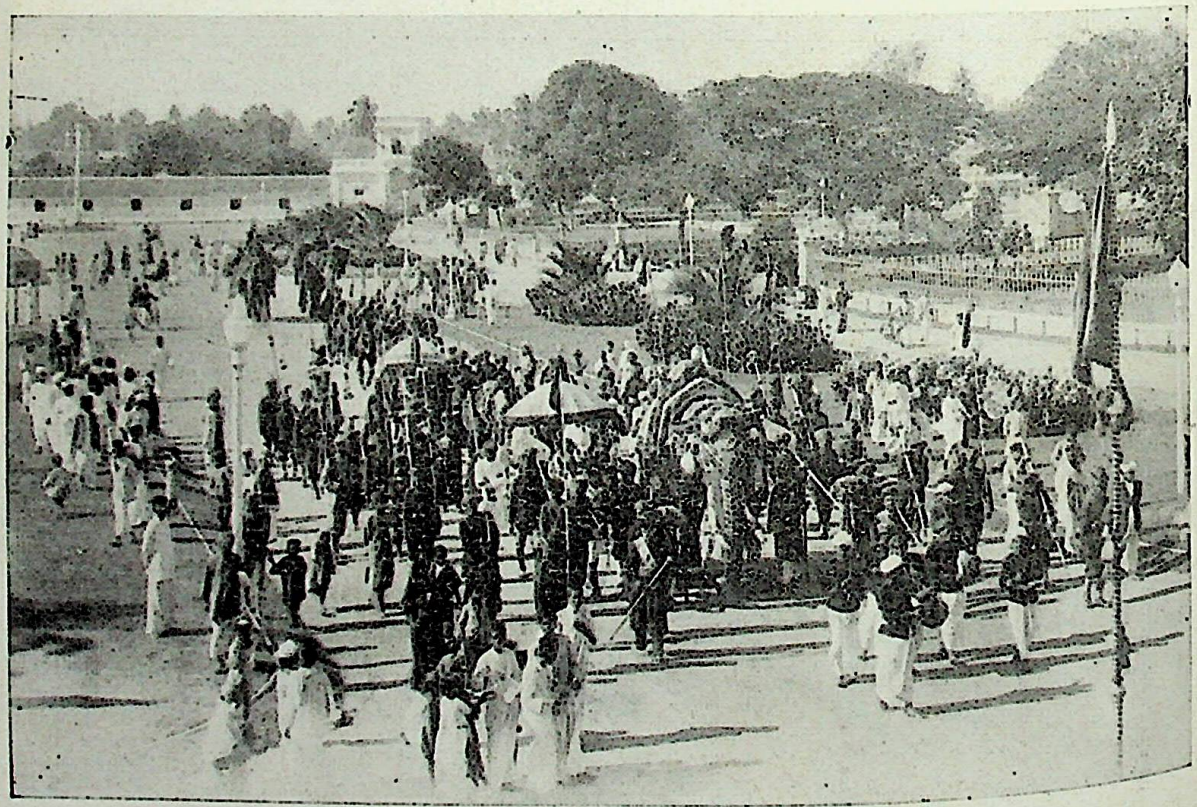


Irwin Canal, Mysore



State Elephants returning to the Mysore Palace after one of the Dusserah Ceremonies

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Dewan. Almost immediately the recipient of that honour began making a record in the difficult sphere of Indian statesmanship that was to surpass all his previous achievements.

VIII

Among the many engineering schemes worked out by him was one for the augmentation of the hydro-electric capacity of the plant at Sivasamudram. Installations made from time to time had virtually exhausted the potentiality made available by Nature in her generosity. If more power was needed—and needed it was in considerable quantity by the resourceful business men operating the mines at the Kolar gold field, and other interests—it could be secured only through the exercise of ingenuity.

Visvesvaraya devised a project that would not only secure power for years to come but that would relieve Mysore of all anxiety in this respect, but would also help to solve an irrigation problem of a very serious character. These objects were to be secured by throwing a massive dam across the Kaveri, not far from Mysore City. The lake that would thereby be formed would, in its immensity, compare favourably with any made by human hands in any part of the globe. The pent-up water, released as required, would, in the first instance, greatly increase the capacity of the hydro-electric works at Sivasamudram. In addition to this a canal taking off from the lake would irrigate a large block of land in the very heart of the State lying waste for want of water, and make it yield sugarcane and other valuable crops that would put money into the pockets of the cultivators and the coffers of their enlightened government.

When I was first taken to see these works, then in progress, I was greatly impressed by the height to which the dam had been carried and its solidity. It looked capable of more than resisting the tremendous thrust of the immense quantity of water prevented by it from seeking its natural course.

Visvesvaraya had gone by then and there was some minatory talk about the unnecessary expenditure that had been incurred in making the buttress so high. Water would never reach such a height, it was declared. A much lower dam would have served the purpose just as well and would have cost much less. Not long afterwards floods came along and water flowed over the top of the dam, confounding the great engineer's critics.

IX

In carrying on negotiations with the shrewd business men who mined gold at Kolar, for the utilization of the additional power that this project would make available, Visvesvaraya proved his business capacity. They had been brought up to believe that "time is money." If, therefore, they, to serve their own purposes, were eager to speed the pace of the augmentation of the hydro-electric capacity of the Sivasamudram plant, they must not expect the State to foot the whole bill.

In the tackling of technical difficulties Visvesvaraya was always loath to indent upon non-Indian agencies when work could be as efficiently carried on by Indians. The canal that he designed to take water to the waste land from Krishnarajasagara, as this lake was appropriately named after his Highness the Maharaja—but for whose support it would never have come into being—was to be a high-level one. In the way—at Hulikere—lay a tremendous obstacle,—some two miles of solid rock, which it was decided to pierce.

The work of tunneling could easily have been placed with one or another firm that specialized in such undertakings. To do so, however, would have meant publishing to the world that the engineering staff of Mysore State was incapable of attending to such work. It would also have deprived the Mysore engineers of a most valuable opportunity to learn how to do a job of that description—training that comes only through actually bearing responsibility and not through seeing others bear it.

Visvesvaraya had the satisfaction of seeing the faith he had reposed in a young Brahman engineer—Mr. Krishnaswami Iyengar—more than justified. The tunneling was commenced from either side. After months upon months of blasting, the two holes exactly met, so perfectly had the mathematical calculations been made. Just as the water was permitted to flow into one end of the tunnel at Hulikere and came out at the other extremity, a young engineer who had been at work with the aid of contour maps and the like was so overcome with joy that he told me he nearly fainted.

X

The desire to make the people of the State self-sufficing led Visvesvaraya to obtain the Maharaja's consent to assuming the management of the railways within the Mysore borders, as contracts with an outside commercial concern expired. He at the same time took in hand

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and pushed forward projects for communications. Railway workshops were also to be enlarged and their equipment bettered, so as to fit them to cope with the necessary repair work and also to undertake as much of the building of rolling stock and other railway requisites as possible.

The same desire resulted in the establishment of a University to serve as the apex of the State educational system. Rising superior to prejudices of a parochial nature, so common in all parts of India of our day, the authorities invited a Bengali educationist—Dr. (afterwards Sir) Brajendranath Seal, of Calcutta, to help in inaugurating the first institution of this kind in "Indian India." With his encyclopædic knowledge and rare tact, the foundations of the University were well and truly laid and in addition he rendered important service to the State as adviser on constitutional questions and, for a time, as a member of the Executive Council.

XI

Visvesvaraya's efforts to modernize the economic organization of the State were particularly noteworthy. The Economic Conference he created helped to stimulate interest. Knowing that in the existing conditions in modern India such action was not sufficient, he carefully selected men already employed by the Government or standing at the threshold of life, and provided them with the means to study economics, particularly as applied to the co-operative movement, and to acquire an insight into the methods of manufacture, and distribution of articles, especially those of a nature that could be produced on a small scale. In this way he laid the foundations of silk culture and silk weaving, and the manufacture of soap, perfume and the like.

Industries that could be run with a small capital did not, however, satisfy his ambition. Feeling that the mineral resources with which Nature had so lavishly dowered certain parts of the State could be made the basis of a great industrial system that in time would give employment to large numbers of men and women, some of them sent out from the University that he had created, he secured the services of a notable American mining engineer and metallurgist—Mr. C. P. Perin—to make a thorough investigation. Upon careful analysis the iron ore, of which extensive deposits existed in the hills in the Shomoga and contiguous districts, were found to yield high-grade pig-iron. The manufacture of it on a commercial scale was made possible by the vast forests in which these deposits occurred, and also by the proximity of manganese and other materials required in the process of manufacture.

Industrial uses could be found for the acetic acid produced in the process of turning wood into charcoal for smelting the ore; while the pig-iron could at first be sold as such and, as opportunity offered, could be converted into high-grade steel which could be worked up into materials required for building and household purposes in Mysore towns and villages in the neighbouring districts.

XII

Upon the recommendation made by the American specialist, plans were matured with commendable celerity. The great war was then in progress. Pig-iron was needed in colossal quantities. Its price had consequently soared.

Visvesvaraya's design to take advantage of the high market was, however, not destined to be realized. The scheme was sent from pillar to post. His soul must have writhed in agony the whole time at the repeated postponement of the fulfilment of his desire, despite the whole-hearted backing of his Highness the Maharaja.

A man lacking Visvesvaraya's conviction might have temporized and got over the difficulties. A less courageous and steadfast person might have given up the struggle. Not he, however.

All forces seemed to be leagued against him. The exchange had gone heavily against India and added to the cost of the plant, which, in any case, was high. Then, too, there were complications in respect of transport. Shipping for purely commercial purposes was scarce and difficult to obtain.

In these trying circumstances it must have been a great consolation to have at his back a Ruler who, once having made up his mind, was as immovable as the Pole Star. Not a complaint was heard from him in regard to the steep rise in the initial expenditure which he, with his uncommon shrewdness, must have known would no doubt complicate the commercial success of the venture at every subsequent step. Nor was there a whimper against the setting back by years of the installation of the plant, and, in consequence, the manufacturing process.

There is neither the space nor really the need to detail here the vicissitudes through

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which the Mysore Iron Works at Bhadravati have passed subsequent to the retirement, in 1918, of Sir M. Visvesvaraya as Dewan. Suffice it to say that every attempt to scrap it or have it "sold" for a song to some private interest, has been foiled; or how, just recently, the decision has been taken to put down supplementary machinery for the production of steel which, it is hoped, will give the State a great modern industry.

WEST AND EAST ?

By AMIYA C. CHAKRAVARTY

The subject you have chosen for discussion today is, as you all realise, rather wide. "West and East", I suppose, includes the whole geographical area of the earth. I propose very briefly to approach the ideology which lies behind this kind of descriptive survey of the human race and to try and deal with the scientific and the philosophical aspects of it. Though we cannot change certain facts which exist—we must start from the present historical situation—I do think it lies in our power to make the relationship between the two great masses of humanity different from what it is today, and that we should do so. I shall approach the question of our individual responsibility, both as students and as members of humanity who are not merely units but the makers of history.

But first we have to consider this popular conception of a division between "West" and "East." Is there one? I confess I am sceptical. In making a broad generalisation there is always the danger of over-emphasis, and consequently, of losing sight of the truth. I think there will be no difficulty, for instance, in admitting that racial differences are not permanent. Human races have migrated from time to time and they have mingled their blood, so that to claim any fixity for racial characteristics, created by environment, climate, or original stock is clearly impossible. We cannot find a scientific basis for a belief in permanent racial distinctions. The Aryans, if you can call them that, were the forefathers of my family and of many other families and groups of families. Some sections of the Indian population may be closer racially to some peoples in Europe than to some other Eastern peoples, but the nearest we can get to scientific knowledge in this matter is to say that there are certain peoples living in certain parts of the world now who have had a common ancestry, in a very relative sense, but that history has played strange pranks with such "origins." Not only do the facts of racial intermixture cut right across theories about "the West" and "the East", but they also show up the falsity of geographical nationalism. Let us ponder on the implications of this problem. Shall some sections of the Indian and the German population unite in a racial movement and claim a separate territory of their own? Or, shall the people living within a particular geographical area and given a common general name in spite of their diversity of racial composition, claim that the cultural, linguistic and other common elements should be enough to make them a true unit, an independent unit amongst many others which must make up the human civilization?

I would face the fundamental philosophical question which lies at the back of all this discussion of the human race; the question whether the human race, as such, betrays a certain evolutionary purpose or not; because surely, on our attitude to this question will depend our practical proposals as to what to do with particular "races", and peoples. I believe that in spite of wars, floods and famines, and man's blind animal habits, and tendencies still uncontrolled, to slaughter and maim each other, a certain unifying urge of the totality of the human species can be discerned more or less clearly in the history of Man. The human race has maintained a certain development—a development in humanity; it has evolved certain broad standards and characteristics and has attained a deeper understanding of law and order in every aspect of life, scientific, moral and social. If we have progressed in this way, that common progress underlies all our racial history, and if we admit this, the so-called "fundamental" differences between the West and the East is seen to be largely chimerical. I myself think that it is so.

Historically, I see a broad division which marks off the Industrial Revolution which took place in Europe in the last century, from the East where it has not yet taken place, and that that is the real division between East and West. Japan is an exception which I think proves my

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point. We find in the writings of travellers before the Industrial Revolution, in the reports of members of the East India Company and others who visited the East, that their reactions were never those we should expect if they had seen any radical racial differences between themselves and the people they visited. On the contrary, we find that in the accepted standards of civilization, and especially in practical things, they found that India, for instance, was generally in advance of European countries of the day, and that what struck them as most admirable in the Eastern races was their practical development. In the Arts, in architecture, in civic affairs, and administration, yes, even in matters of drainage and general hygiene, the Indians were in those days in advance of the Western countries. Western travellers did not think of the Eastern peoples as inefficient metaphysicians, and those characteristics which are held by many today to be typically "Oriental" were hardly mentioned.

In the development of civilization I think you will agree with me that there are periods when there is a sudden and simultaneous growth in the material and spiritual life of a people. In all great periods of history this simultaneous development is found in the history of a civilization. When the European races, for various reasons, had that great happening in their story which we call the Industrial Revolution—itself the product of a new orientation of ideas—they made a clear jump from the one century to another, and the difference in outlook which followed was really remarkable. The use that man made of all his knowledge of nature's resources gave a power and a unity to you as a people, so that you learnt the benefits of co-operation and organization, you developed certain habits of planned gregarious existence which also to a great extent liberated individual initiative. You have now a technique of collective enterprise, industrial, scientific and political, which we in the East must admire and emulate; though you must admit that even the Western systems of collective enterprise are yet none too perfect. Meanwhile, just as in different periods of history and in different countries you find a slackening off in civilization,—in the Greeks and the Persians for instance, after the great periods in their history,—so during the last few centuries India has been slackening off. When the Industrial Revolution came in the West we did not keep up with you; we were in the ebb tide. I think that at the present time we see in certain Eastern countries signs that the people are about to make a jump forward similar to that which you made in another century. In Turkey and Iran, for example, things are being done which are extraordinary. Let us attach no mystery to machinery as such, once you are started on the track, you master it soon enough. I have seen how an Arab in the desert, without very much training and with very little tradition of machinery, can take a Ford car to pieces and assemble them with expert skill. In a very short time such knowledge can be impressed upon people and from that foundation they will build further. Leave a Sikh driver in India with any kind of motor car, of any foreign make, and he will run it—and safely. I do not believe that mechanical ingenuity is a monopoly of the "Western races"; far from it. Think of ancient China; or of the Asiatic peoples of U. S. S. R. plunging into the Machine Age.

There is no such thing as inevitable racial characteristics, but it is wrong to say that differences do not exist at all amongst different groups of peoples, or that they do not exist markedly at any given time. I am glad they do, otherwise this world would be a dead and dull Utopia, even more deadly and dull than Wells' "Shape of Things To Come". We live in a world of individuals and each individual lays claim to certain virtues which he believes it is his destiny and his responsibility to contribute to the sum of human life. Similarly, groups of individuals, united by a common language, certain cultural and economic traditions and usage, tend to develop special gifts and abilities which have to be exploited for the mutual benefit of the larger human family.

I am extremely loath to claim any special characteristics for the East as such, but I think there may be certain broad tendencies and attitudes which distinguish the bulk of the Eastern peoples at present. These characteristics are not fundamentally "Oriental", of course, and in the East you will find ample evidence to the contrary but if you ask whether the East does present any main aspects, I would say that perhaps, due chiefly to the influences of Natural environment, it does tend to think of human beings as small in comparison with the vast cosmic sum of life. I do not know if this is true of all Eastern peoples, but in the art and literature of the East I think you will find that in general man does not play the same part as he does in the West. I think it is true that we often fail to realise the full significance of human life and that the attitude of dependence on extra-human forces of Nature is predominant. But at the same time, the deep

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spiritual unity of Man with nature, and the need of living in harmony with the enduring truths of existence is firmly realized.

It is when we come to consider the future that we have to face the implications of these facts. If it is true that owing to the development of transport those characteristics which are due to environment may change, in accordance with a certain instinctive power of adaptability which human beings possess, we are shortly going to see a great upheaval of traditional ways of thinking. In the boiler rooms of India we have found that Glasgow engineers can bear the great heat better than Indian workmen. This shows a very high degree of adaptability ; —physical and mental fitness tends to produce, in combination with the changed and changing conditions of modern living, an increasing power to face widely diverse demands of climate and what one may call the mental climatic conditions of diffrent countries. In future, with the conquest of the air and sea and land, the opportunities for exercising this faculty of adaptability will be much greater and its instinctive operation will probably become much more conscious. People will be equipped with new habits of mind which will fit in with a variety of different environments and thus racial characteristics will tend to disappear more and more rapidly. This adaptability and change will be due no less to new conditions of living, the use of food produced in other countries irrespective of climatic differences, regulation of heat and cold by scientific means and so on, but to certain general trends and habits that the modern Age is producing everywhere through scientific knowledge and training. In short, the whole drive of the human race is towards the substitution of planning, and of conscious adaptations for instinctual living. There is of course the law of limitations, but the limitations which we had considered inevitable and unchanging are being pushed further and further back and the old frontiers no longer remain.

But having said that, I come back to certain fundamental aspects of the problem which I touched on before. I believe that the human race has a destiny to fulfil and that the peoples of the world, say of the East, and of the West, must work consciously together to fulfil it however great the differences may be at present. To make this working together possible we have to develop a sense of common responsibility, and we have to face certain possibilities of wars and discord making for separation. It is these disruptive forces which we have to combat because otherwise they will prevent the natural process of coming together. I have hope because already I feel that in spite of them and of the apparently irreconcilable group interests, human beings do not hold such very different convictions fundamentally. I think we can note certain qualities of civilization which are emerging. We do not know, in speaking of values whether we should attach more importance to numbers or to quality and intensity of conviction, but even speaking in terms of numbers alone, I would say that a vast body of human beings believe in the future of humanity and in the movement of the human race towards a common historical objective. Because of this fact our outlook on life is changed. Scientific and geographical facts will no longer admit the old way of thinking about local and racial characteristics, but because of the past we cannot start with a clean slate. We have to face very great difficulties and complications, but we can definitely see that in the East and in the West, certain principles and beliefs are playing a part in the life of the people and in that way will bring together different sections of humanity in the future. It is with the future after all that we are concerned, and in forming the future we can play our part in strengthening those qualities and characteristics and those evolving human attitudes which have, out of the nature of mankind, slowly emerged.

I think people like us, meeting here at the I. S. S. Conference, can do something to further this development. We know that there have been battles fought on this spot, near Lake Malaren, of which nothing is remembered though monuments remain. So the story of insensate destruction is forgotten and greened over though history lessons may try to perpetuate it. But the living things are growing up, the institutions, laws, habits and cultures, which have their root in what we may call fundamental humanity ; these we can help to develop. I think any honest student of humanity will admit that in both the East and in the West at this time, a consciousness of the mission of our Age is sweeping the youth of the world.*

OXFORD

* Address delivered at the ISS. Conference, Sigtuna (near Stockholm), July, 1936.

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TRAVELLERS IN THE NIGHT

By SITA DEVI

Synopsis of Previous Chapters

Satyasaran, the son of Shaktisaran, millionaire, has fallen on evil days. With a small sum of money borrowed from his sister Saroja, he goes to Rangoon to seek his fortune. Here, on the first day, luck leads him to a narrow lane where some people from the Madras Presidency are busy effecting the sale of a young girl named Kanakamma, Satyasaran, aghast at the sight, rescues the girl from the clutches of the villains and has to spend two hundred rupees over it. The girl is deeply grateful and falls in love with him. Satyasaran with the help of another Bengali gentleman makes arrangement for the girl to stay in a Bengali family as an Ayah. But after some days, Satyasaran has all his money stolen and is reduced to extreme difficulties. He is on the point of being turned out into the streets and starving to death when Kanakamma comes to his rescue, by selling herself to her former admirer and giving the money to Satyasaran. She goes away immediately afterwards and he loses all trace of her. After some enquiry. he learns that the girl has gone away to Bassein. with her purchaser. Satyasaran returns to India determined to make good and rescue the girl again. He takes service in Allahabad, and here falls in love with Tapati, a daughter of his employer Bireswar Babu. A marriage is arranged between them though the girl's mother is not much in favour of such a poor bride-groom. But the old lady grows reconciled to the idea of the marriage. It is decided that the newly-married pair will live with Bireswar Babu. Satyasaran receives news of Kanakamma from Rangoon and sends some money for her to Gopal Babu, a friend in Rangoon. But a few days later the terrible news arrives that Kanakamma has been attacked with small-pox.

In the meantime, preparations for the marriage go on. It is arranged that for the remaining few days before wedding Satyasaran should live in another house. After he has removed to his new establishment, Kanakamma suddenly arrives in Allahabad and is taken to him. She is nearly gone blind. Satyasaran must give the girl, who has sacrificed his life for him, shelter. And he is faced with a new and terrible problem. Bireswar Babu has heard everything. He visits Satyasaran at his house and lets him understand that unless he sends that woman, Kanakamma, away, he will not, whatever betides, allow his daughter to marry Satyasaran. Bireswar Babu goes away in a rage. Satyasaran thinks that everything is at an end is in despair. Suddenly someone flings herself down at his feet. It is Tapati. She has come to see him and she does not believe him to be guilty. New hope and new strength fills his heart. But where can he keep Kanakamma.

(19)

Satyasaran refused his dinner that evening and retired to bed early. He put out the light and tried to sleep, but a medley of thoughts raced through his brain and made sleep impossible. He got up from his bed at last and lighted the lamp again. He brought pen, ink and paper from the next room and sat down to write a letter to Bireswar Babu. It was a business letter and nothing more. Satyasaran wanted to go away at the end of the month. But if Bireswar Babu wanted a month's notice in order to get a new manager for the shop, Satyasaran was ready to stay on for another month. He had left many things at Bireswar Babu's house, when he came over to this bungalow. He wrote that he would send a servant for these the next day. He finished the letter, put it into an envelope and left it on the table. He would send it, the first thing in the morning. He remembered that Tapati had kept some photographs of some members of his own family. What had become of them? Would she return them or keep them? None of these photagraphs were of Satyasaran of course.

The room seemed too hot. Satyasaran came out on the verandah and strolled about for a bit. The oppression on his brain lessened somewhat. He went back to the bedroom and flung himself on his bed again. This time, he fell asleep, after a while.

In the morning, he despatched the letter by a servant. He told the man to bring over his things also. He finished his tea in a hurry and calling a hackney carriage, drove out at once. The house was getting unbearable. He would go to the shop a bit late, he thought. There was no hurry.

He returned nearly at eleven, after a round of the Alfred Park, Khashrubag, and the banks of the Jumna. He found that the servant had returned with his things. Bireswar Babu has written a letter in answer to Satyasaran's. Satyasaran could go away at the end of the month, if he so desired. If he did not demand a month's notice, Bireswar Babu also did not demand it. But if Satyasaran wanted some compensation for this summary dismissal, he could have a fortnight's salary in lieu of notice. Satyasaran smiled at the last line. He had once taken Bireswar Babu to be an amiable old man. The change of circumstances seemed to have brought out a radical change in his character.

Tapati had not sent back the pictures. Satyasaran had been almost certain that she would not.

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He had his bath and breakfast, and departed for the shop. The pain at his heart was as poignant as ever. Was it never going to become less sharp? The pangs of separation brought about by death become, in most cases, endurable with time but separation from those who are still in the land of the living is far less endurable. This is not God's ordinance, it is brought about by the cruelty of man. Man fights against this separation with the whole strength of his being,—he feels ashamed to submit to it.

What would happen if Satyasaran should suddenly turn up at Bireswar Babu's house? This thought flashed across his mind again and again, as he worked in his office. Bireswar Babu would hardly dare to use force on him. He feared exposure too much to do it. Satyasaran could at least look on Tapati once. He felt madly athirst for a sight of her. Tapati had given him a strong assurance, but would she really be able to arrange a meeting? Satyasaran felt himself helpless, though he was a man, and would Tapati, a mere slip of a girl, be more resourceful? What did she know of the world and its ways, after all?

Another day was drawing to a close. As Satyasaran returned home in the evening, Kanakamma appeared before him, holding the hand of the gardener's wife, for support. She sat down on the ground as before, and asked Satyasaran whether he had been able to arrange a lodging for her.

Satyasaran was rather amazed at this question. How could he arrange about a lodging, he asked her. Kanakamma was too ill now to enter into domestic service. And as she had no relatives anywhere who could take her in, she could but stay on with Satyasaran.

"But it is great trouble for you," said the girl in a broken voice.

Satyasaran tried to smile. It was no trouble for him, he tried to assure her. The trouble was being suffered by her, she could not even get proper meals.

But Kanakamma shook her head, unconvinced. "No Babu, I have heard all," she said. "You have to suffer much on my account. Send me to the home for the blind, I will stay there."

Satyasaran tried to explain matters to her, as best as he could. After a while, the girl left, wiping her eyes and holding on to the other woman as before.

How long would God test Satyasaran, he wondered. Was he born only to bring unhappiness into others' lives? He could not bring one ray of comfort to the poor soul, for whom he was now ready to give up all joy and happiness. What did Kanakamma want of him? Not only food, not shelter alone. She wanted affection and care. Did she want even more than this? God alone knew the secret of this unhappy heart. But Satyasaran had no attention to spare now for another's heartache. He was nearly driven mad by the constant pain at his own heart.

Kanakamma wanted to remain in a home for the blind. Satyasaran did not know where it was, if there was any. Even if he could put her in one, he would have scant comfort. This would never satisfy Bireswar Babu. It would not satisfy Tapati's other relatives too. They wanted the lifelong banishment of Kanakamma, so that she could never afflict their sight any more.

To sit idle and powerless to act and to suffer the pangs of anxiety, this must be about the greatest punishment on earth. If one knows the end, the irrevocable end, peace may visit his soul, even in the midst of pain. The situation, which has no remedy, is somehow accepted by man. The forces of life work unseen and unknown to heal the wound at his heart. But Satyasaran's sorrow was not of this kind. He could not yet give up the hope of getting Tapati for his own. Tapati had given him hope, and he believed in her, as in God. He would certainly meet her again. But alas, he did not know when and where. He was a man, yet his hands and feet seemed to be tied, he was powerless to act. If he tried to force the situation, Tapati might not like it. He must only wait and hope, and trust to fate. He was in Allahabad for only a few days more. He must make all arrangements for his return to Calcutta, yet he could not make his mind turn to this distasteful task. The future was too dark. So he clung to the present tenaciously. He had made a mighty sacrifice for Kanakamma. Yet he could not think of her for two consecutive minutes. As long as Satyasaran lived he would have to bear this heavy load, but how was he going to do it? But there was no way out. He had sacrificed everything for this woman and he could not make this sacrifice futile.

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A great problem was facing Bireswar Babu. He was unwilling to explain matters clearly to anyone. But his family was obdurate. They would not act, until and unless they understood the situation clearly. His wife was the

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worst of all. She had forced his secret from him. Ever since she had been hissing with suppressed fury, like an enraged cobra. She wanted to scream, curse and abuse to her heart's content, and she wanted to tell everything to her elder daughters and sons-in-law, so as to enlist their sympathy on her side. She also wanted to explain to them, that she was not to be held liable in any way for this situation. This would have cleared the atmosphere, to her way of thinking. But the old gentleman was totally against this. He did not want any exposure at present. He gave some sort of a lame explanation to the others, but the sour expression on his wife's face, belied that explanation. Tapati was against this attitude of her parents, she did not like her father's words and her mother's behaviour. This had made the old lady angrier. Mother and daughter were not on speaking terms. No one knew what Tapati thought of this situation, she had not taken anyone into her confidence. Her expression did not reveal anything. Nobody knew what she was going to do, but her parents were almost certain that she would not listen to their advice.

Dheera and Jyotsna were in sorry plight. They had heard that the marriage was not going to take place, but nobody explained why. They had come with great show to this marriage, now to go away like this would be terrible. Their heads would be bowed down in shame. Their husbands were getting more and more curious everyday. The young ladies would be faced with severe cross-examination by the ladies of their husbands' families on their return. What would they answer? If they asked anything of their mother, she began to weep noisily at once. Their father looked too terrible now a days to be questioned.

Two days passed by like this. On the third day, Dheera's husband, Ranajit, indulged in a bit of plain speaking. If Tapati was not going to be married now, what was the use of sitting idle here? He proposed, in that case, to leave for Calcutta the next day with his family, as his business was suffering on account of his absence. Jyotsna's husband too followed suit at once. He too would like to leave on the next day, as he also had a business, which could suffer. Tapati had been sitting silent at the tea-table, she finished her cup rather hurriedly and left the room at once.

Bireswar Babu pulled at his pipe two or three times and puffed out smoke. "All right," he said, "I don't ask anyone to waste valuable time. Next day let it be. We too are going over to Calcutta."

His wife was present at the tea-table, out of courtesy to her sons-in-law. She seemed thunderstruck at her husband's words, "What nonsense are you talking?" she cried "Why on earth shall we go over to Calcutta? I am unable to move my limbs, thanks to this rheumatism, and you ask me to take a railway journey, lasting two days!"

"If you are unable to stand the journey, you can stay here," said Bireswar Babu. "All the servants will remain, the cook will remain, you won't have to suffer the slightest inconvenience. But go to Calcutta I must. I don't want to become stone-blind, I must consult a good eye specialist first. Tapati too is ailing all the time, she must undergo some treatment. A girl of her age must not be neglected on any account."

The old lady had to remain silent in face of such potent arguements. She could not contradict her husband about his eyesight or Tapati's health, at least before her sons-in-law. Her expression became extremely sour. Bireswar Babu called his servant Chedi and ordered him to pack his suitcases. He then left the table and proceeded to Tapati's room. "Listen to me for a minute, Tapati dear," he called, standing at the door.

Tapati came out. "We must start by the Punjab Mail tomorrow," said her father. "You must pack up at once. We are going for a month."

"Why must we go to Calcutta, father?" asked Tapati in a gentle voice. "I don't think I need to go at all."

Bireswar Babu had become extremely irritable these days. "What do you know about your needs?" he shouted at his daughter. "If you had that much sense, then there would have been no trouble. You must go, because I say so."

Tapati remained silent for a few minutes. Then she said, "Very well, father, I shall go. But before that, I must go once to Punditjee's Bungalow."

Bireswar looked round to see if any third person was present. Then he cried in a tone of suppressed rage, "Why must you go there? To see that scoundrel?"

"What's the use of abusing him, father?" asked Tapati. "I have given him word to see him once again before he leaves Allahabad, so I must see him. If you prevent me from going there, you won't be able to take me to Calcutta by any means."

Bireswar Babu stood there for a while

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undecided how to act. Then he said, "Very well, I shall myself take you there in the evening. Your sisters are going to Khasrubag then and we shall go at the same time." Saying this he went back to his own room.

As soon as the sun's rays grew less hot, Dheera and Jyotsna dressed up and left for Khasrubag with their husbands and children. They took the car. Bireswar Babu called a taxi and got into it and ordered his servant to call Tapati at once.

Tapati came out just as she was. She had not even done her hair. Bireswar felt his anger rising again at this sight, but he refrained from making any comments, as he was afraid of provoking Tapati further. So he ordered the driver to start at once.

Satyasaran had then just returned from the shop. He had not yet taken his evening tea even. He sat with pen and paper before him, trying to write a letter to an acquaintance in Calcutta. He wanted the gentleman to find out two cheap rooms for him in the city.

Tapati and her father entered just at this juncture. Satyasaran sprang up from his chair. His heart overflowed with joy at the sight of Tapati. Words refused to come out of his lips. He pushed forward two chairs, silently.

Bireswar sat down and said, "I had to come, as the girl insisted. She said that she had given you word to see you again. As we are leaving for Calcutta tomorrow, I had to come today."

Alas for poor Satyasaran! Had he wanted a meeting like this? But whoever considered his likes or dislikes now? It was enough that he had been permitted to see Tapati again. To see her dear, beloved face again, was not this a priceless boon?

Tapati had been standing. Satyasaran pushed the chair again towards her, saying, "Please sit down, Tapati."

Bireswar Babu looked daggers at him at this presumption, but said nothing. Tapati sat down.

"Are you going to Calcutta soon?" she asked. She addressed Satyasaran formally as her father was present.

Satyasaran cleared his throat with an effort and said, "Yes, I think, I shall go very soon."

"Calcutta is a big place," said Bireswar Babu meaningly. "Even if one lives for ten years there, one may not meet another person. You are a gentleman, so I think it needless to say more."

Satyasaran did not know how to reply to this, so he remained silent.

"When you go away," said the old man again, "Please hand over the charge to Lalmohan. Then I shall bring over another manager from Calcutta."

Tapati sat silent for some time. Then she said, "We must go now. You will need your tea and a bit of rest now."

Bireswar got up with alacrity, overjoyed at this display of good sense on Tapati's part. He was relieved very much to find that she did not create a scene.

Satyasaran got up too. Suddenly Tapati flung herself down, pressing her head on his feet. She got up almost at once and rushed out of the room, trying to stifle her sobs. Bireswar's face became distorted with conflicting emotions. He became enraged against Satyasaran for causing such unhappiness to his daughter and at the same time tears filled his eyes at her anguish. He stumbled out of the room behind Tapati, trying to control himself as best as he could.

After they had left, Satyasaran sat there for a while as if turned into stone. As the noise of the departing taxi died off, he got up as if rising out of deep sleep. He looked at the road in front, the dust raised by the car's wheels was slowly settling down. His feet were still wet with Tapati's tears. The gardener's wife was watering some plants by the gate and Kanakamma sat at a little distance leaning against the wall. As it was nearly dark, she had escaped the attention of his visitors. Otherwise Bireswar Babu would have been sure to make some remarks about it.

Satyasaran did not call for his tea, neither did he finish his letter to Calcutta. He went and flung himself down on his bed. Perhaps this was his last meeting with Tapati. Would he ever see her face again? After what a length of time? Who could say? He might not see her in this life again. If fate was very kind to him, their paths might meet again, otherwise it seemed utterly hopeless now. There was the strength of human will, which sometimes conquered fate, but Satyasaran did not feel as if he had that power. He felt as weak and powerless as a puppet in the hands of fate.

At night, he had to sit down to his dinner, due to the importunities of his cook and servant, but he could not swallow more than one or two mouthfuls. He asked the servant whether Kanakamma had eaten anything. The servant went to enquire of the gardener's wife and said that the girl had taken a handful of rice in the daytime, but after that she had refused everything. The gardener's wife was angry and complaining about this. She was not here to take

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care of sick people, she said. Why should she endure so much bother?

Satyasaran had no reply ready. So he remained silent. The servant went out of the room.

Next day, Satyasaran gave himself no rest, but worked on doggedly. He wrote three or four letters to Calcutta. He packed up some of his things and threw away some. He finished all his work at the shop. He handed over the charge to Lalmohan. He did not return home straight but strolled about all the evening, returning late at night. He paid no attention to the evident displeasure of his cook, ate the cold dinner and went to bed. He stretched out his hand to put out the lamp on his bedside table, and found a letter lying on it. He turned up the wick as much as he could and opened the letter. It was from Tapati. She had written :

"I could not say anything to you in front of father. But know that my love and trust are in no way impaired. I don't know how to explain what has taken place, but I don't believe that you have done anything that can stand in the way of our union. You would not in that case, have tried to shield that girl as you have done. you would have tried to put her out of your way. This is my opinion. Father should have given you every opportunity to explain and defend yourself. But this opportunity you will get sooner or later. You won't have to hold down your head before anybody then. I don't know for how long we must remain apart, but my hope is boundless.

Tapati."

Satyasaran must have dropped asleep with the letter in his hand. The loud voices of many people before his door, woke him up suddenly. He called the servant to him and asked him the reason for so much clamour. The man answered that the gardener and his wife were unable to find Kanakamma. She was not in her room. So they have rushed up here to inform Babu.

Sleep left his eyes almost at once. He jumped up from his bed and rushed out immediately. He took the servants with him and searched all the rooms of the house, all the out-houses and every nook and corner of the garden and the grounds. He even searched a garden that lay next to his. But there was no sign of the girl anywhere. The gardener' s wife sobbed aloud saying that the girl must have jumped into a well. Satyasaran could not believe it. The girl's things had gone too. One does not carry off luggage to commit suicide.

After a long and futile search, Satyasaran returned home exhausted. He sent a man to the nearest police sation with the news, then retired to his room. A sub-inspector and two constables arrived soon afterwards. All the places were gone over again, the same questions were repeated over and over, and the servants, the gardener and his wife were subjected to severe cross-examination and rebuke. Satyasaran hardly paid any heed to their answers. He sat still on a chair at a little distance from the officer.

The police left after a while and Satyasaran came back to his room. Would Kanakamma ever return? Once before she had been lost to Satyasaran, but she left traces behind. Then Satyasaran had wanted her back with the whole strength of his being. Now none wanted her, and she knew it. She might never return again. Tapati and Kanakamma, both had disappeared from his side, he must now travel alone. But he still hoped for Tapati's return. And did not he also fear that Kanakamma might return too? Did not he want her final disappearance from the stage of his life? He cailed shame upon himself, but the fact was there.

He could not go to the shop that day. He sat at home expecting news from the police station, but no message arrived.

The news came next day. A messenger came to inform him that the girl had been traced. The day before she had left Allahabad, with a batch of indentured labourers bound for Fiji. She had been asked to return, but she was unwilling to do so. She was going of her own free will, and did not want to return. She had attained majority and was her own mistress. She did not want to come to Satyasaran again. She could see faintly with one eye, and would be able to work.

Satyasaran almost collapsed at the appalling news. It would have been better for the girl to be dead. He would have felt more at ease about her then. The unfortunate creature was destined for ever to suffer living death. Satyasaran had tried to rescue her again and again, but fate had drawn her away to her destined path.

But how had the poor girl got in touch with those coolies, He asked and was informed that his gardener's kind co-operation was at the root of the matter. He had remained silent on this point for fear of being punished. One of his cousins was a recruiter for indentured labour and he used to visit the gardener every day. He had seen Kanakamma here. He had talked to her, persuaded her and the girl had followed him willingly.

Satyasaran sat alone in his room for a long while, then he got out in the street. He could not bear this solitude. But where was he to go?

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Tapati was far away by now. He did not know whether the house was shut up or in charge of some one. His feet carried him automatically to that dear and familiar place. The family had left. Even Tapati's mother had followed them, ignoring her rheumatism. She did not dare to stay alone here with the servants. She had locked up her own bedroom, all the other rooms had been left open, in charge of the servants.

They were somewhat amazed at the appearance of Satyasaran. But they received him well. They did not know that he had lost the right of coming here. So Satyasaran was allowed free access to the house.

Tapati's room was the same. Satyasaran sat on a chair in this room for a long time, alone and silent. The room was very silent now, but its mistress was sure to return after a few days. The house would again be full of human voices and human laughter. They would forget very soon all the sorrows of the past and all its agony. But would poor Satyasaran ever forget? Would this agony ever leave him? He had wanted Kanakamma out of his way and she had gone of her own accord. Then why this pain? He had not wanted her, there was no affection in his heart for her. She was like a noose round his throat. Then why was he suffering for her?

There was no answer to this question. Still his eyes filled with tears again and again as he sat alone in Tapati's room. He was free now, the dark shadow that had clouded his life had removed itself for ever. Fate had helped Satyasaran. She would never return again to cause shame to Satyasaran. He would never have to feel ashamed again for not doing his duty by her. Though yet in the land of the living, she was past man's care or neglect as much as the dead.

Satyasaran got up to go, at last. If he remained seated in the deserted house hour after hour, the servants would take him for a lunatic. So he got out. A large photograph of Tapati hung on a wall of the drawing room. He had seen it many a time, but never noticed it closely. The original of the portrait had engrossed all his attention.

Today, he stood under the picture and looked up at it. What a beautiful face! How pure and sweet! God could not let her suffer and was that why Kanakamma was removed from her path so suddenly? But was not Kanakamma too pure and beautiful once? Why was she sent down to destruction like this?

Tears filled his eyes again, obliterating Tapati's picture. He wiped his eyes in a hurry and left the house.

The End

PROPAGANDA

By A. G.

Few subjects in the modern world are as interesting as propaganda. Unlike Duke Senior in the forest of Arden who found "good in everything," a modern man looking about him would most probably find propaganda in everything. Originally the word signified a committee of cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church having the care of foreign missions. Now-a-days the word is used in a more generalized sense for any systematised scheme or concerted movement for the propagation of a particular doctrine or faith. Its purpose is to influence opinion. It is in other words persuasion. Persuasion, however, is to be met with from the earliest times. People have always to be persuaded to take up novel attitudes, accept new ideas. All philosophical and religious teachers who have tried to persuade others to accept their doctrines and faiths have been propagandists. Advertisement and publicity are also propaganda. But propaganda is to be divided into two different classes. It is when we consider its technique that we find it falls into two separate categories —the propaganda which tries to influence thought or action by simple exposition, that is by giving a true representation of facts; and, secondly, that which tries to influence action by manipulating the representation of facts. When efforts are made for the promotion of special interests this second method of propaganda is used. Propaganda, in its early days, was predominantly oral. Rhetoric was an important subject of study in the Greek world, and it rose to be the most powerful instrument of political

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propaganda and agitation. Second only to rhetoric in shaping the opinions of the Hellenic public was the theatre. Aristophanes' *Acharnians, Knights, Peace* and others were undoubtedly propagandist. The oral tradition continued in the Roman empire. Orators like Cicero carried on the rhetorical tradition in propaganda. In the centralized Roman world there developed, however, a sense of the importance of news as a factor in the creation and direction of public opinion. It is also in Rome that we first see the rise of the pamphlet to significance. We almost feel the modern atmosphere when we hear that the walls of Pompeii were covered with election appeals.

After the fall of the Roman empire, the Middle Ages characterized by almost universal illiteracy and small scale communities have nothing to add to the history of propaganda.

Propaganda literature again assumed considerable forms during the closing centuries of the mediæval period, in the conflicts with the papacy. The invention of printing opened the way to undreamed of possibilities in mass publicity. Through the printing and reprinting of pamphlets Luther and his adherents were able to penetrate to the remote corners of a continent. At the same time, the power of public opinion began to be gradually realized.

The stream of political pamphleteering started in England with the constitutional struggle of the seventeenth century. A newspaper known as the *Moderate* was one of the earliest periodicals devoted to political agitation and stirring up of public opinion. The Licensing Act expired in 1695 and inaugarated a regime of freedom of the press.

The democratic movement in France in its pre-revolutionary days relied mainly on pamphleteering. After the removal early in 1789 of the press restrictions, the inflammable, restless Parisian mob, became deadly tools in the hands of the newspaper editors. No political leader could maintain power without strong newspaper connections.

In the nineteenth century, all great political personages—Napoleon, Metternich, Bismarck, to name only three—employed agents to spread favourable press comments. Napoleon, it is said, subsidized a London newspaper for a time.

The development of broadcasting in the twentieth century is comparable in importance, for the purposes of propaganda, to the invention of printing in the fifteenth.

And so to come to the modern world and observe the workings of propaganda there. It is being used for every conceivable purpose: there is propaganda for joining the army, using telephones; prapaganda against the exhibition of "immoral" films or drinking alcohol. There are innumerable trade-associations mainly for the protection of vested interests by propaganda. There are few charity organizations which do not maintain publicity bureaux. Bequests like the Rhodes' scholarships, or Vincent Massey Scholarship available for Indian students at Toronto, have as one of their purposes propaganda for amity. The American Rhodes' scholars carried out a considerable propaganda in the United States for England during the war. National friendship between the United States and Japan was given a strange demonstration some time ago by sending two robots from the former country to the latter. Friendship propaganda is institutionalized in such associations as the "Alliance Francaise," the "Friends of the Soviet Union," the "English-speaking Union." During the great war, the battle on the propaganda front was as intense and almost as important as on the military front. Some specimens of hatred propaganda used in the war are preserved in the War memorial museum in the fort at Delhi. If the writer's memory does not mislead him, there are posters showing German aeroplanes bombing Allied hospital ships, and hideous figures representing Germany crushing democracy in the shape of a fair young man.

Modern literature is full of propaganda. Galsworthy, Brieux, Shaw, Upton Sinclair and many others are at times frankly propagandist. Bernard Shaw has said outright that for art's sake alone he would not have written a single line. Fascist and Communist states, judging by the output of the volume of state propaganda, obviously consider it as a factor of the first importance in consolidating and maintaining their power. General Gœbbels, Nazi minister of propaganda in announcing rules to govern conduct of the press, said that it "must be the keyboard on which the government can play." It is only recently that Stalin has allowed criticisms of his government to appear.

The publicity-ridden United States has some very interesting statistics to show. An analysis of American newspapers during 1926 revealed that on the average more than half the "stories" published originate with publicity agents or publicity organizations. "The better half of the news sifts through the publicity screens."

Everyone feels in a vague sort of way that this extent and power of propaganda and the influence of propagandists (often towards un-

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desirable ends) is bad and should in some way be controlled. That propaganda may be and sometimes is employed for subversive, libellous, fraudulent and generally evil purposes may be accepted. But our difficulties begin as soon as we pass on to the problem of control. The question is really bound up with the more fundamental one of freedom of speech. The usual and best argument for the doctrine of free speech is that "The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market." It is the lesson of history and experience that no person or group can be deemed wise enough to be trusted to discriminate between valid and invalid ideas. See, for example, the records of literary censorships, whose ineptitude and silliness have become fairly proverbial.

It is also important to remember that state action to stifle true criticism has always defeated its own ends. It is the safest and best to keep channels of communication (press, post, cinema, radio, theatre) open to all on equal terms. One remembers those famous words of Jefferson in this connection :

"Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

But some may say that even if you eliminate state control of publicity organs you do not still eliminate all possibilities of undesirable influence. You give the function of reporting and interpreting news to establishments which must have private profit as their guiding star. Mussolini, in defence of his own policy, once remarked :

"When there is no censorship of the press, the papers only publish what their pay-masters, large scale industry and banks want to have printed."

There is, I believe, an important element of truth in this view. Editorial opinion cannot be wholly dissociated from the opinion of people who finance the paper. It is well known that modern newspapers depend principally on advertisements. It would be very natural in such circumstances for editors to be influenced by the opinions of the principal advertisers of their papers. And would it not be the easiest of processes to identify the promotion of special interests with the dispassinoate voice of "public opinion"—with what "every right-thinking man and woman" demands? Besides, in America, deliberate subsidizing of newspapers by commercial interests has been found to be not at all uncommon. The sovereign remedy seems to be that about to be applied by the French Government. *The Statesman* report reads :

"——the government will shortly introduce a bill the purpose of which will not be to restrict the legitimate freedom of the press or to itereferc with the expression of opinion, but to enable newspaper readers to know what are the forces behind newspapers and the interests they may be serving. The most important feature of the bill will be the compulsory provision for newspapers to publish accounts showing sources of revenue and the way they are used."

The world will watch this legislation and its working with profound interest, for it is a most ingenious device to check a well-recognized evil.

Another very important question is the enormous waste entailed by competitive advertising. This was noticed even by Addison two centuries ago. It has assumed gigantic proportions now. But this waste is not a defect of propaganda but a defect inherent in the competitive system of production. It is the latter which needs improvement.

Propaganda, in the good sense of simple persuasion, is here to stay. Surely we must have some means of mass mobilization and coordination of will in times of crisis and in conducting large scale operations. The criticism of the propagandists' influence on the average man's mind is usually based on the theory that the average man is capable of knowing what he wants without outside suggestion. This is obviously untenable. The lesson of modern psychology surely is that men are often poor judges of their own interests, flitting from one alternative to the next without solid reason. Propaganda, to conclude with Lasswell, "is the one means of mass-mobilization which is cheaper than violence, bribery or other possible control-techniques."

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FRANCO-GERMAN ANTAGONISM

By MAHMUD HUSAIN, Ph.D.

Among international problems, the antagonism between France and Germany has an especial importance. It is, however, not a peculiarly contemporary problem. The enmity is centuries old, and it has proved to be an insurmountable obstacle in the way of settlement of many an important international question. Indeed it will be no exaggeration to say that an understanding between the two nations is an essential condition for the prevention of future conflicts in Europe.

The Great War which came in 1914 has been truly regarded as the outcome of three principal antagonisms.[1] There was first of all the traditional enmity between France and Germany. Next, Russo-Austrian rivalry had also been in existence for a long time. Of comparatively recent origin was the estrangement between Germany and Great Britain.

As a result of the World War the last two of these three antagonisms have disappeared. There is no Austro-Hungarian Empire and Soviet Russia does not seem to be much interested in territorial expansion in South-Eastern Europe. Germany was deprived of her whole colonial Empire and her naval power was destroyed as a result of the War, so that in the near future there seems to be little chance of Germany again becoming a serious menace to Great Britain in these spheres. The Franco-German antagonism was, however, not destroyed by the War. It continues undiminished. The greatest cause of friction between these two nations in pre-war days was said to be the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany in 1871. The two provinces have since been reincorporated into France. But the hostility between the two nations has in no way become less vehement. Clearly, therefore, the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by Bismarck cannot be the sole explanation of the Franco-German antagonism.

It will be our endeavour to discuss briefly the causes of this hostility, the history of this antagonism, the points at issue between the two nation, and the general attitude of each of these nations towards the other. A question that naturally suggests itself is whether this antagonism can be explained by the difference in the character of the two nations?

It is dangerous to generalise about national characters. But this much may be said that the German and the French peoples are certainly very different from each other. There are racial differences, and to them may be added religious differences. Germany is mainly Protestant, France Catholic. The discipline of the German people has become proverbial. The German is said to work best as the part of a machine. He is happy when he has to take orders. The Frenchman is just the opposite type. He is notoriously an individualist. Germans are idealists. The French are famous for their common sense and practical judgment. The German in spite of his intense nationalism is a cosmopolitan. He loves to travel and to meet other peoples. A "divine insullarity governs the relations of France with the rest of the world."[2] But whereas the Germans are ultra-conscious of the superiority of their race, the French are singularly free from race prejudice. The German is proud of his own "Kultur" but is always ready to assimilate what is best in other civilizations. The French are great believers in what has been called "Latinity." They believe that human civilization has unquestionably reached its highest level in France, above all in Paris. In temperament the German is rather cool and reserved, the French is warm-hearted and social. The German is deep and thorough, the French light and somewhat superficial. A German takes time to understand, a Frenchman is always quick in grasping a point. The Germans are hard-working, the French intelligent. The Germans can hardly appreciate humour; French wit, which though not the same thing as humour, is a most wonderful gift. A German, even when he has to say remarkable things, is almost always boring as a speaker and writer; the French, on the other hand, are masters of speech and their literary style is inimitable.

We may in fact go on describing the points of contrast in the national character of the two

1. G. P. Gooch, Franco-German Relations, 1871-1914, p. 3.

2. Middleton, The French Political System, p. 247.

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nations. It does not, however, mean that the two peoples, because they are so different, must necessarily be enemies. Indeed their national characters are so unlike as to be almost complementary to each other. The reasons of mutual hostility are to be found in their psychology and history. Besides, certain positive aims of each of the two countries bring them into conflict with each other. France is afraid of Germany and Germany considers France as her eternal enemy.

That Germany has been a militarist country is well known. Her philosophers have eulogised war. Was it not Hegel who said that 'The health of a state generally displays itself. not in the calm of peace, but in the movement of war.'[3] Nietzche exhorted his fellow countrymen "to live dangerously" and exalted power for its own sake. Heinrich Treitsche, the Hohenzollern historian-philosopher, exploited the idea of national sovereignty to combat the theory of international law and world peace. Nazism, too, is undoubtedly militant in temper. The present rulers of Germany not only glorify war, but are making unprecedented preparations for it. Throughout Hitler's autobiography can be traced the central idea of war. Says he :

"It must be thoroughly understood that the lost lands will never be won back by solemn appeals to the good God, nor by pious hopes in any League of Nations, but only by force of arm."

Ewald Banse in his preface to 'Raum und Volk im Weltkriege.'[4] says without the least hesitation :

"The third Reich, as we dream of it—from the Flanders coast to the Raab, from Memel to the Adige and the Rhone—can only be born in blood and iron."

When all is said about German militarism, it should be pointed out that it is a fallacy to consider Germany, which is often done, as the constant aggressor against France. The general belief, perhaps a result of war-time propaganda. seems to be that Germany has been a continual aggressor against France. That France has been a great militarist country, and has waged more offensive wars than any other European nation goes mostly unnoticed. Leaving aside other countries which have been the victim of French aggression in the past, and taking into consideration the case of Germany alone, we notice that she has been repeatedly attacked by France during the last three centuries. Who can deny that on so many occasions France attacked one or another of the German states without any provocation? Bismarck used to say—a claim that could not be refuted—that his country had been the object of French attack as many as twenty times.

France's one object, so far as the German states were concerned, was to keep them divided. The prevention of German unity, we are told by a French historian, was "a matter-of-fact plan, inspired by good sense and thoroughly led by the clear consciousness of the national interest."[5] France had become united before any other country in Europe. The policy of France vis-a-vis the states that now constitute Germany ever since the time of Richelieu (*i.e.*, the third decade of the 17th century) is a story of repeated attempts on her part to keep Germany disintegrated, and thereby ensure her own hegemony in Europe. Jean Jeaures, perhaps one of the greatest of men France has produced, honestly confesses :

"From Charles VIII to Louis XIV and from the latter to Napolean, France had too often abused her national unity, attained before that of other countries, by treating brutally nations still divided and unorganized."[6]

France has not only exploited German disunity, she has also been known to utilize the Eastern neighbours of Germany, Russia and Poland and Czechoslovakia for instance. Says another French writer :

"France has sought elements of security against the great mass of people which borders on the East . . . The method of neutralising this permanent danger is recognized and determined by the most ancient tradition of French diplomacy: it is first of all to profit by the imprecision of the political character of this mass . . . The mass has divisions, elements of dislocation. The primary object of French policy has always been to utilise them. This system was carried to its perfection by Richelieu . . . Second tradition, which is merely a consequence, or a complement, of the first: French diplomacy has always sought to find a pillar of its policy in another mass, situated further east, which is in a position to balance the force of this Germanic mass."[7]

In fact it was this policy which in the long run created just the opposite effect. As a result of French aggressions there came into existence the German nation, as we know it today. Napoleon I is the father of German nationalism. It began only after the battle of Jena, and the victory at Leipzig (1813) was the first of many victories which German nationalism was destined to achieve.

3. Hegel, Den Staat, German Edition, 1924, p. 102.
4. An English translation of the book is available : Germany Prepares for War, New York, 1934.
5. Jacques Bainville, tr. by Paul Lefaivre, Two Histories Face to Face (Paris 1919), p. 63.
6. Jean Jeaures par Chas. Rappaport, p. 71, quoted by Bausman, Let France Explain, p. 19.
7. Etienne Fournal, Cahiers du Redressement Francais, quoted in the Round Table, March 1935, p. 295.

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It is not possible within the compass of a short paper to review even the more important events of Franco-German history. We would, therefore, confine ourselves to post-war relations. This much however may be pointed out, at this stage, that to consider the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by Bismarck as the cause of estrangement between the two peoples is false. It is true that it prepared the French people for a *revanche*, that it was one of the great political blunders of that otherwise the greatest political genius of the 19th century—Bismarck. Indeed he himself is reported to have said: "I did not want too many Frenchmen in my house."[8] But there are reasons to believe that even before the Franco-German war (1870-71) the idea of *revanche* was present in French minds, a *revanche* not for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, for they were still French, but for the defeat of Sadowa (1866).

Let us, however, come to the contemporary period. During the Great War Germany considered Great Britain as her principal rival. Hatred of England became much more intense than the hatred of France as the war progressed. But as soon as the war had come to a close the Germans began to consider France as their real enemy. And this was due to the extremely hostile, the Shylock-like attitude of M. Clemenceau, Marshall Foch and M. Poincare after the armistice.

Germany had signed the armistice on the understanding that the Fourteen Points of Wilson would form the basis for the treaty of peace. It was to be a peace based on reason, a peace in which there would be no victor and no vanquished and in which the peoples of the world would be assured the fullest right to free development. But as Nitti remarks:

> "No one can affirm that the Treaty of Versailles is based even remotely on the declaration of the Entete or Woodrow Wilson's pledges."[9]

The Germans of course recognized that they had been defeated in the war, and as a consequence were bound to incur material losses. but they did not expect that the losses would be so overwhelming and that they would suffer gross humiliation at the hands of the Allies. They did not know that they themselves would have to admit their own exclusive responsibility for the World War, and that peace would be a dictated, not negotiated, peace.

It is now well-known that for Germany the Treaty of Versailles would have been even more cruel but for the intervention of Lloyd George and Wilson, who, though not generous towards Germany, were somewhat less exacting. They had their own considerations about the new balance of power in Europe and about the League of Nations. They feared the spread of communism in Germany, which seemed to them a certainty if all the French demands were met. Clemenceau, however, was different.

France entered the Peace Conference with no sentimental notions about the establishment of a new international order and perpetual peace. Her one object was the dismemberment of Germany. France must prevent Germany from ever becoming a source of danger to her. She must be economically ruined. And if her economic ruin was not to be complete, it was because she must be compelled to pay for the War. It seemed simply ridiculous to Clemenceau to consider the Fourteen Points of Wilson as the last word in political wisdom, or as unconditionally binding upon the Allies. "Fourteen!" he exclaimed, "God Almighty only had Ten."

Germany was defeated in 1918. Her power was broken. Why should France still be afraid of Germany? She was afraid because of the simple reason that she had not defeated Germany. Very nearly the whole world had fought on the side of France, and Germany had successfully defied the combined strength of so many nations, great and small, for more than four years. To the French it seemed very unlikely that the whole world would again be coming to their rescue, should a similar contingency arise.[10] At least Russia, the most dependable ally against Germany, was, so it seemed in 1919, absolutely lost to France.

Thus, throughout the Peace Conference France adopted a very uncompromising attitude towards Germany. Marshall Foch was anxious to secure the Rhineland for Farnce. Germany must be weakened and dismembered. France stood for security. Indeed this word has become the "national idol."[11] There were reasons why France should take up this attitude. She had been, as is well known, the victim of aggression twice within less than fifty years from the same quarter (1870 and 1914). The fact that Napoleon III, not Bismarck, had declared war in 1870 is immaterial. The Great War was fought on French soil, not on British or American. France sufferred more during the war than any other allied power. And she

8. Gooch, Franco-German Relations 1871-1914, p. 4.
9. Nitti, Peaceless Europe, p. 58.
10. Winston Churchill, The World Crisis, the Aftermath.
11. Huddleston, France, p. 473.

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thought, not without some justification, that the ultimate victory of the Allies was chiefly due to her determined resistance. Now victory had at last come. It gave France the upper hand. She regained that position of dominance in Europe which she had lost in 1871. She must keep it, for without it, in French eyes, security was impossible. Let the League come into being. But the League would not be regarded as a substitute for the tangible guarantees of French national safety. The control of the Rhineland, direct or indirect, was essential for the protection of France against invasion. But when Lloyd George and Wilson refused to create the problem of a new Alsace-Lorraine, so to speak, France tried to ensure her security through the double means of demilitarising Germany to the extent of fifty kilometers East of the Rhine, and by a guarantee pact. A defensive alliance was concluded between France, Great Britain, and U. S. A. guaranteeing protection to France from aggression. It was concluded simultaneously with the Treaty of Versailles, and France thought it was an essential part of the Treaty. Rhineland, though not actually ceded to France or made an independent state, as was later proposed by Marshall Foch, was "permanently" demilitarised. Allied troops were to garrison the Rhineland for a period of fifteen years, and even for a longer period, should Germany refuse to fulfill the conditions of peace. Germany was disarmed. She was a great sufferer economically because of the loss of the colonies and European territories, rich in coal and iron, and therefore essential for her industries. Heavy reparations were further meant to disable her for undertaking a military adventure against France. Russia seemed to be lost, but new Eastern neighbours of Germany had been brought into being. Poland and Czechoslovakia were strengthened as much as possible. A union between Germany and Austria was prohibited.

With the exception of the destruction of the German navy and the colonial Empire in which Great Britain was interested, all other provisions of the Treaty were the result of French insistance.

But the French, in spite of these harsh terms imposed upon Germany, were extremely critical of the Treaty in the beginning. They thought it did not go far enough, and for the "lenience" shown to Germany they blamed Great Britain and U. S. A. Curiously enough, however, once the Treaty was finally made, they became its greatest champions, always of course emphasising the fact that the Treaty embodied the minimum demands of France. They now demanded the exact fulfilment of its terms. And when they found that other nations favoured the idea of a revision of the Treaty, their anger knew no bounds.

During the post-war period there have been many changes in French ministries. It is a notorious fact that the ministries in France during the post-war period have had very short and precarious lives. But although writers are fond of dividing the history of post-war French policy into several periods,[12] in the attitude of these numerous ministries towards Germany there has been no real difference. There have been differences in methods, but the supreme objective has constantly remained the same. The method of Poincare was different from the method of Briand, to take two representative politicians of the period. But the aim was Security, by which was meant the continuance of the previleged position of France on the Continent. For the fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty stood not only Poincare but Briand and Herriot and Laval and Blum, all of them. Poincare's method was the method of naked coercion, and therefore it created much ill will. When Germans expressed their inability to pay reparations he openly said that they were dishonest, they were simply trying to evade their liabilities and therefore must be taught a lesson. Not only French but colonial troops—something the Germans can never forget and forgive—marched into the Ruhr (1923). The temporary occupation of the Ruhr has been regarded as a political blunder, comparable with the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by Germans in 1871. It failed to produce the desired result for France but it did succeed in producing a glowing hatred in the heart of every German against French tyranny. Then Poincare fell, a victim of his failure and Herriot became Prime Minister (1924). With the change in government—Foreign office was entrusted to Briand—came a change in methods rather than in policy. The Dawes Plan (1924) settled the Reparation question for the time. The Locarno agreement (1925) seemed apparently to usher a new era in Franco-German relations and with the coming of Germany into the League (1926) it looked as if the War had after all come to an end. The Rhineland was evacuated by foreign troops five years in advance of the time provided in the treaty. Some concessions were no doubt made.

12. Middleton for instance. The French Political System p. 248*ff*; Vanchen. Post-War France; Sigmund Neumann in Foreign Affairs, January, '35.

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but they were made so grudgingly, so reluctantly by France, and so obviously under British pressure and the force of circumstances that these concessions did not produce any feeling of gratitude in Germany. The hesitation of Briand in connection with the evacuation of the Rhineland and the liquidation of reparations, his refusal to grant Germany the right of equality of armaments and finally his vehement denunciation of the Austro-German Customs Union (1931) show the consistency of French foreign policy. Any sign of recovery in Germany was looked upon with as great suspicion by the France of Briand as by the France of Poincare. No concessions of vital importance in connection with rearmament of Germany or disarmament in France or territorial readjustment could be secured by Germany during the whole period.

The same policy is pursued by the French Government today. "Guaranteed Security" is the central idea of French foreign policy. If all the nations interested in the preservation of the status quo, not only in the West but also in the East of Germany, wish to join this system, well and good. France's anxiety will be much lessened in that case. In the absence of such a comprehensive system France would conclude alliances bilaterally. Russia, once supposed to be lost by France, is once more in her traditional role in the Franco-German drama. Even the chief rival of France in the Mediterranean—Italy—was granted all possible concessions (January, 1935) in order that France might concentrate her forces against the traditional foe.

There are various causes which have contributed to the success of Hitler in Germany. But to the attitude of the outside world, especially of France towards Germany, must be assigned the greater portion of the responsibility. National Socialism is the result of German despair. Had France tried to meet the just demands of Germany, had she sincerely attempted a reconciliation with the vanquished, the story of post-war Europe would have been probably very different. Stresemann and Bruning repeatedly warned France that by refusing to grant reasonable concessions to Germany, she was encouraging extremism in their country. But the warnings were all in vain.

The result was that the policy of "Fulfilment" became discredited. During the period which may properly be called the 'Stresemann Era.' Germany had tried to carry out fairly loyally the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. By adopting this policy Stresemann had hoped to solve the important problems of German foreign policy. But the adoption of the policy of Fulfilment did not effect any material change in the international position of Germany. A seat on the Council of the League of Nations was no substitute for the equality in armaments In spite of the fact that France was the champion of the League and the League system, she went on ceaselessly strengthening her armaments and establishing a system of alliances the purpose of which was at least the isolation, if not hostile encirclement, of Germany. France was rich. She had considerable amount of surplus gold. Gold was employed by France not only in financing the military forces of her allies but also in her diplomatic game.

The foreign policy of France for a long time has been based upon a single idea, namely, the fear and suspicion of Germany. This is very different from the conduct of other powers. In politics, it is said, there are no permanent friendships or enmities. English history is a proof of this assertion. There was a time when Spain was the principal enemy of England, then it was Holland, then France, then Russia, and lastly Germany. This formula, however, does not wholly apply in the case of France.

France has always reckoned with at least one permanent enemy. Even when Germany was disarmed (before Hitler denounced Part V of the Treaty of Versailles concerning disarmament of Germany in 1935, and reoccupied the demilitarized zone in 1936) France was afraid of her. The fear was due to German numerical and technical superiority. Germany is today, in spite of the territorial losses incurred as a result of the war, a country of more than 65 million people. And the population is rapidly growing The Nazi Totalitarian state is encouraging the growth of population by all means at its disposal. France's population is only 40 million, and there is no indication of a considerable increase in the future. It is dangerous enough, from the French point of view, that the Germans should be more numerous than they. The Germans are better disciplined as well. They have been rightly called 'a nation of soldiers'.[13] Their mentality, if Neitzsche, and Treitsche and Bernhardi and Rosenberg and Hitler are their true representatives, is essentially militarist and war-like. What is even more dangerous is their superiority in sciences in general and in the science of destruction in particular. During the last war did not Germany lead in scientific

13. Fisher, History of Europe, Vol. III, p. 1201.

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inventions? Their armaments industry is capable of any achievement. The chemical industry of Germany is definitely the largest and is supposed to be the most efficient in the world, and therefore in the production of war chemicals Germany is at a great advantage over France. In short France was afraid of Germany's "War Potential" as it has been called, even before Hitler took steps towards rearmament and remilitarisation in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. The coming of Hitler to power, who had more than once spoken of the "final struggle" with France, and the subsequent rapid rearmament of Germany have naturally further frightened the French Government and people.

France need not be, and perhaps is not afraid of Germany on land. Not at least at the present time. She need not be afraid because of the great wall of fortresses which she has now completed, and which stretches from the Swiss to the Belgian frontier. Walls as protectors of towns and even of countries are not unknown to history. The Great Wall of China is the most prominent example. The purpose of this and similar walls has been to keep out the enemy. France has similarly built a mighty wall to ensure her safety in the North East. It is, however, different from the older walls in that it goes many a yard deep in the ground. It is the definite opinion of competent observers that the wall is impregnable against any form of attack on land. Even the remilitarisation of the Rhineland perhaps does not materially affect the French position.

As regards the actual military forces there was no comparison between the two states till recently. But the introduction of conscription in Germany places France in a disadvantageous position, because of the simple fact of German numerical superiority. Recently (August, 1936) Hitler has promulgated a decree according to which there will now be two years' military training instead of one, which will mean a considerable increase, if not the doubling of the numbers of the German army. But France may make use of her enormous colonial manpower, a lesson which she first learnt during the war.

But how to protect France from air attack? Until recently France had definitely the largest air force. But the rearmament of Germany—Hitler and Goering are as particular about their air forces as were William II and von Tripitz about the navy—has upset all former ratios. Even the German civil air fleet in French eyes is as dangerous as the war fleet. That future wars will be fought principally in the air is now common knowledge and that Germany is rapidly building up a great air force, equal to that of France in size, if not bigger, and better equipped and more modern and up-to-date, is sufficient to disturb the peace of mind of every Frenchman.

A new cause for alarm, so far as France is concerned, is the Anglo-German Naval Treaty concluded in June 1935. According to this Treaty Germany is given 35 per cent of the maritime power of the British Empire. The French navy is about half the size of the British, but unlike the German navy, it is scattered in many seas. The consequence is German naval superiority in European waters. It has been pointed out that France needs a much stronger navy than does Germany.[14] Germany has no colonial Empire whereas France is the second largest colonial power in the world. After the war France in fact consistently welcomed the strengthening of the British Navy, which she regarded as one of the guarantees of peace. But now the situation has changed, for every increase in the British navy means an automatic increase in the German naval strength. The situation becomes even more threatening when the French look at this proviso: "If the general equilibrium of naval armaments, as normally maintained in the past, should be violently upset by any abnormal and exceptional construction by other powers, the German Government reserves the right to invite His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to examine the new situation thus created." France, therefore, rightly fears an increase in the German Navy even beyond the 35 per cent limit. Thus to the already threatening situation in the air is added the uncertainty on sea in an eventual conflict.

The misgivings of France are reciprocated by the Germans. The Germans in general, in spite of reassuring statements by Hitler, after he became Dictator, consider France as their natural enemy, with which there can be no real understanding. No doubt Hitler was correct when he said he wanted peace with France and offered a twenty-five year Peace Pact. That was, however, because he first wanted to deal with Soviet Russia. But on the whole it can be maintained that a German is incapable of foreseeing a future in which Germany and France might be sincere and permanent friends. Every peace with France means but a truce.

14, See Foreign Affairs, Vol. 14, no. 1, for the French point of view, expressed by 'Pertinax', the chief political writer of Echo de Paris, and a very influential publicist.

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It is the firm conviction of every German that France will never be prepared to see the Reich prosper. She is vitally interested in the disintegration of Germany. In the words of Hitler, considered by the French as much more important than his recent statements,

> "France's permanent desire was to prevent Germany from becoming a solid power, to maintain a system of small states in Germany, more or less equal to each other in power and without unified leadership. She wished to hold the left bank of the Rhine as a guarantee for building up and securing her hegemony in Europe."[15]

How can there be an understanding under these circumstances? Comparing the attitudes of Great Britian and France towards Germany, he says,

> "England did not want Germany as a world power; France did not want Germany to be a power at all—a very essential difference."[16]

With the French there can be no lasting understanding. In every hostile or unfriendly act of every power German eyes see French influence working. The enmity of France is one of the most fundamental beliefs of every German —man, woman and child. The present writer, while in Germany and talking of bad weather—a familiar topic of conversation,—was really surprised to hear from a young boy of fifteen that the nasty wind was coming from the direction of France and he characteristically added 'what else can we expect from that quarter.' When the French people speak of natural frontiers and security, the Germans fail to understand their meaning. More than a century ago, (in 1831) Clausewitz said :

> "All that the French say of natural frontiers, by which they now understand the Scheldt and Maas and Rhine and will later perhaps understand the Weser and then the Elbe, has nothing whatever to do with the security of their state but with the security of their domination."

And this is exactly what a German thinks today of the French thesis of security.

Now what are the points at issue between the two nations? In short the Treaty of Versailles is the point at issue. Germany denounces the treaty, France is its greatest defender. Indeed the Treaty has already been revised in many important respects. In spite of France, Rhineland was evacuated five years in advance of the time. But the attitude of French troops and govermental agents (unlike those of Great Britain) towards Germany was such that Germany did not show any gratitude on this concession. The attitude of the French troops had been extremely humiliating, of the British extremely friendly and gentlemanly. It is no secret that the French agents encouraged in every possible way the unpatriotic separatist movement in the Rhineland, so long as they were there. Reparations have also been virtually abandoned, but here again the attitude of France has been very different from that of Great Britian. In fairness to France it must be pointed out that her interest in reparations was bound to be greater than of Great Britain, for the very material reason that France got more out of reparations than she had to pay as war debts to other nations, whereas whatever Great Britain got from Germany on Reparations account, she paid to America as war debt. Great Britain therefore stood for cancellation of both the Reparations and war debts. She could afford to be generous, towards Germany, but France could not be. Germany was admitted to the League and given a permanent seat on the council. The Saar valley has been returned to Germany after a period of 15 years. Disarmament has come to an end by unilateral action on the part of Germany. And lastly the "permanently" demilitarized zone has been remilitarized.

But there are questions which are not yet settled. The Nazis are not in favour of a return of Alsace-Lorraine. But the Eastern frontiers must undergo important changes and Austria must form a part of 'Greater Germany.' France however is vitally concerned in the maintenance of frontiers in the East of Germany. Any change would seriously disturb the balance of power in Europe. By the inclusion of Austria and other territories in the East, Germany would become even stronger than she was in 1914, when only a coalition of almost all the nations of the world could defeat her. The French attitude towards the problem of "Anschluss" was made evident when the proposal to establish a Customs Union was announced in 1931. A Customs Union, it was felt, would certainly lead to the feared Anschluss, just as the old Zollverein had preceded the establishment of the German Empire.

Closely connected with the revision of frontiers of Germany in the East is the question of hegemony in Central and Eastern Europe. Until recently France was the political leader of Central and Eastern Europe. Her hegemony was perhaps shared only to some extent by Italy. Now Germany, under the vigorous guidance of Hitler, is looking forward to the

15. Hitler, My Struggle, p. 245.
16. Hitler, My Struggle, p. 246.

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day when she would be the leader of these countries, a position which the Germans consider only natural, because of cultural affinity between these countries and Germany. Economics should also perhaps link these countries to Germany.

Poland ceceded from the French group in 1934, which was a serious blow to the French plan of security. At present France is making a desperate effort to regain her hold over Poland. With Austria Germany has after all come to an understanding, (July, 1936). Hungary's allegiance now seems to be divided between Italy and Germany. In Bulgaria and Roumania German influence is growing. Although the government of Czechoslovakia's is anti-German, yet one-fourth of the population of the country is German with strong Nazi sympathies. Even Jugoslavia is coming to recognize the value of Nazi friendship in preference to French alliance. Last, though not least, there are tendencies which point to a revival of pre-war Triple Alliance.

Fascist Italy after having concluded the Rome Pact with France (1935), and established herself in Abyssinia, is once more drifting towards Nazi Germany.

Thus, French hegemony in Central Europe is shattered. No wonder, France is greatly disturbed over these developments.

But much more important than the conflict of interests, let it be emphasised in conclusion, is the distrust of Germany in France and of France in Germany. The two nations cordially hate each other. Mutual suspicion is the curse of Franco-German relations. The French think they want peace, but the Germans do not; and similarly the Germans feel that they want peace but the French do not. So long as this distrust lasts between the two leading nations of the continent, there can be little hope of peace.

INDIA IN NEW YORK'S WORLD FAIR

By WILLIAM D. ALLEN

The interests of India abroad are not being well served by Great Britain. In such a clearing house of information, such a school for better understanding as the vast World's Fair at New York opening early in 1939, India and America must co-operate with, if necessary, England's disapproval.

Several important efforts have been made in the past to have the India of the Indian masses, of swadeshi and swaraj, represented in American expositions. These past efforts have failed dismally, apparently for reasons directly attributable to English opposition. For instance, if a prince or industrial leader offered to subsidize the venture, the British (with silk gloves on) intimidated him into withdrawing his support at the crucial moment.

April 1939 is "almost here" in terms of such vast enterprises. *The New York Times* is already (October 9, 1936) devoting full pages to pictures of proposed buildings. The American local and federal authorities are investing roughly ten crores of rupees with the aim of making it history's most grandiose exposition. Its aim is to be a picture of the next hundred years, "a panorama of the future." Its motto is "the pursuit of the public good."

If India has faith in the achievement of swaraj in the decades ahead of us, it is swaraj India, not British-ruled India, that should be represented at this great show. It is India of today and tomorrow, not of the past, the India of active world intercourse, not isolation, and escape from reality, that should be shown to America.

We need not be reminded that the present day India of the Hindu and Moslem masses is completely unknown to the masses of America. The American people and business men are unaware of the existence in India of an excellent cinema art, of scientific research such as one finds at Calcutta, Allahabad, Bombay and Bangalore, of the new simplified architecture seen at Santiniketan (potentially very usable in the Occident), of beautiful modern songs on convenient disc records, of vast industrial undertakings, of co-operatives and social welfare movements.

Several American groups are eager to encourage India's self-determination and Open-Door commercial and cultural relations between India and America. Much can be said in favor of the "five year plan" of co-ordinating efforts toward the goals of foreign representation outlined recently by Jawaharlal Nehru. May I suggest that such efforts be immediately pooled as a "Two Year Plan" with the New York "World of Tomorrow" 1939 exposition as the immediate field of action.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE MANCHU ABDICATION AND THE POWERS, 1908-1912; *By John Gilbert Reid. Barkeley. University of California Press. 1936. Pages 497. Price $5,00.*

All revolutions are products of internal and external forces leading to the overthrow of an existing social and political order; and the Chinese Revolution is not an exception to this. Although much has been written about the Chinese Revolution, most of the authors have minimised the important part played by external forces to bring about the change. Dr. Reid in his work, *The Manchu Abdication and the Powers 1908-1912*, throws a flood of light on the part played by the great Powers in bringing about the transformation. For this reason, this work is of first rate importance to all students of world politics.

The general thesis of Dr. Reid is that there were causes of internal trouble in China, but if the Great Powers would have followed a policy of strengthening the hands of the Peking Government, then the situation might have been different (there might not have been a Chinese Revolution). But the Great Powers, trying to acquire territories from China—Great Britain, Tibet; France, Indo-China; Russia, Mongolia; Japan, Korea; etc—did not mind the weakening of the Chinese Government, provided such a change did not interfere with the programme of expansion. For instance, Great Britain's main concern was to make herself safe from German fear; and to achieve this end, Sir Edward Grey concentrated his efforts to win over Japan, France and Russia on her side and did not hesitate to sacrifice Chinese interests. French policy was directed towards (*a*) safe-guarding Indo-China and (*b*) concentration of her efforts in Europe against Germany.

"Paris welcomed every sign of new understanding among Powers outside of Germany's camp. These included, in 1908, the Root-Takahira *entente*; and in 1911, the new Anglo-Japanese alliance treaty and the British and French general arbitration treaties with Washington" (p. 303).

German policy was anti-Japanese and therefore to a certain extent pro-Chinese.

"Emperor William II had always been anti-Japanese and used the threat of a powerful Japan to induce Washington, London and St. Petersburg to co-operate with Berlin on behalf of Peking. Tong Shao-yi's mission to Washington in 1908 was the outcome of the Kaiser's advice; Liang Tung-yen's similar secret mission in 1910-1911 received the German emperor's endorsement...Nor did Berlin fail to encourage Washington in its efforts under Taft and Knox to direct consortium against Japan north of the Wall (Chinese). As for Russia, Berlin hoped to persuade St. Petersburg to join a consortium in checking Japanese influence" (p. 304).

American policy was pro-Chinese; but the signing of Root-Takahira Agreement "left south Manchuria and Korea to Japan, in return for Tokyo's non-interferance in the Philippines and in the Americas" (p. 309). But when in President Taft's administration, Secretary Knox tried to follow a policy which was opposed to Japanese and Russian interests, it resulted in a Russo-Japanese entente against American interference in China and thus against China. For a time Peking, Berlin and Washington tried to work concertedly against Japan. but it failed and Anglo-French-Russo-Japanese understanding became the determining factor in determining China's fate.

"The powers permitted the dynasty's abdication and the imperial system's overthrow; and they backed Yuan Shih-k'aix to head a new so-called republic. Britain played the dominant part among the powers; its trade interests in the Yangtze Valley and in south China, together with Jordan's (Sir John Jordan, the British Ambassador) friendship for Yuan and hostility to the Manchus, combined to call for an early compromise which sacrificed the dynasty to obtain peace. The powers were willing to permit a republic under Yuan; for they could bargain with him to recognize the *status quo* in exchange for political recognition and foreign loans: and such an arrangement would not interfere with autonomous Tibet, Turkistan, and outer Mongolia, nor with the special position of Russia and Japan in Manchuria, nor with the consortium's financial control plans for China" (pp. 312-313).

The work is thoroughly documented and may be regarded as a kind of source book of accurate information, illucidating the Foreign Policies of Great Powers in the Far East during the early twentieth century. The author has devoted nearly two hundred pages to furnish an excellent bibliography, explanatory notes and index.

TOGO AND THE RISE OF JAPANESE SEA POWER: *By Edwin A. Falk. New York. Longmans, Green & Co. P. 508. Price $4,00.*

In this work, the author and American naval officer, presents a complete history of the evolution of the *modern* Japanese navy, from its very inception to the present stage of development, as the third largest, and one of the most powerful and efficient naval forces in the world. He has tried to tell the most fascinating story of one of the greatest sea-powers of the world, through the narration of the life-story of one of the most colorful personalities of modern Japan, who has played an important part in building up the Japanese navy in times of peace and war

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—the late Count Heihachiro Togo, Admiral of the Imperial Japanese fleet.

There is no doubt that sea-power plays an important part in national expansion, political and economic imperialism. It is also true that in shaping the foreign policy of a sea-power, the navy plays the most significant part. At times, the navy has to enforce the decision of the Foreign Office and a powerful fleet gives strength to the diplomats to formulate a firm policy, in case of necessity. Therefore, behind the scene of the navy lies the secret history of the foreign policy of a great sea-power. This is true in the case of Great Britain as it is with the case of Japan. It is most gratifying that Mr. Falk in telling the story of the rise of the Japanese navy and describing the life work of the hero—Admiral Togo—has taken pains to throw light on Japanese foreign policy in its broadest outline. He has not only given us an excellent survey of what the Japanese did to build up their navy, how they defeated the Chinese in the Sino-Japanese War, how they destroyed the Russian navy during the Russo-Japanese War and also the part played by the Japanese navy during the World War, but has drawn a clear and reliable picture of Japanese political history and the dominating features of Japanese foreign policy.

"Japanese Ministries have risen and fallen, finances have swollen and shrunk, premiers have been ex-admirals and landlaubers, but the lessons of Kagoshima and Shimonoseki, of the Yalu and the Sea of Japan, never have failed to guide a single session of the Diet, much less a council in the Palace. In proportion to her wealth and income Japan's appropriations for the Navy have been lavish compared to those of any other contemporary sea-power" (p. 431).

What is behind Japan's programme of naval expansion, even demanding equality of naval strength with those of Great Britain and the United States? This question can be best answered by giving some indication of the ideal of Japan's political ambition as visualized by the late Prince Ito, one of the makers of modern Japan:

"Prior to his departure from Japan on this fatal trip (to Harbin to meet M. Kokovitsoff, the Russian Minister of Finance in October 1909 when Prince Ito was assassinated by a Korean), Prince Ito had delivered a kind of Polonius-Laertes dissertation to one of his sons. In the course of it *he said that it was Japan's mission "to safeguard all the Oriental nations" and added: "So the domination of the Sea of Japan, the China Sea, as well as the Pacific Ocean, is a matter of vital importance for our protection"* (p. 435).

The author sees a continuity of policy in the actions of the Japanese Government and the Japanese navy. By the victory of the Sino-Japanese War, in which the Japanese navy under Togo played a conspicuous part, Japan gained a foot-hold in the continent of Asia. *After the Russo-Japanese War, "Korea's absorption within the Empire marked a definite assumption of the Far Eastern hegemony."* Japan's entry into the World War was primarily due to her policy of driving out from her neighborhood another European Power—Germany.

Mr. Falk thinks that in the Washington Conference of 1921, the United States played a sorry part, while the British carried out their programme and the Japanese were indirectly aided by the scrapping of the American naval vessels which were then under construction:

"With consummate skill, Balfour and Kato manipulated the Washington Conference so that Secretary of State Hughes could seem brilliantly to achieve the arrangements devised at the London Imperial Council the summer before . . ."

"Despite the invariable talk of relative naval *needs*, a term that begs the entire question, the 1922 agreement was predicated upon the relative prevailing strength, Japan being accorded the then-existing approximate ratio of five to three in capital ships. She retained ten in number; four battle cruisers of the *Kongo* class and the six newest battleships, as opposed to eighteen American battleships ranging from the two 1909 *Floridas* with their short 12-inch rifles to two of the unfinished *West Virginias*. The Japanese line naturally was much weaker in total hitting power, but ship for ship, its vessels were faster, sturdier and probably more effectively mounted, having no guns of a calibre under fourteen inches.

"Improvement of American fortifications west of Hawaii and British north of Singapore was proscribed. Any operations by the United States fleet on the Asiatic coast would require a superiority it had renounced.

"Japan thus was left with the free access to the mainland and in supreme control of the entire Western Pacific northwest of her new island barrier. Moreover, she was able to increase the margin of superiority by employing the funds released from competitive capital ship construction for the rapid building of vessels in the unrestricted categories. Those who believed that the American sacrifices in the capital ship and aircraft carrier agreement would set a noble example were disturbed by the feverish Japanese and British laying down of auxiliaries and then were disillusioned at Geneva in 1927 by the natural British and Japanese insistence that any limitation of cruisers must recognize the actual strength in that category although enhanced deliberately for purposes of negotiation" (pp. 447-448).

It was the Japanese naval strength and the comparative naval weakness of the United States and British refusal to aid the United States actively that induced the careful Japanese diplomats to ignore Secretary Stimpon's notes on the *Manchurian question*. By 1931, Japan was conscious of her naval strength to ignore any one of the great powers of the world standing in her way of assertion of her dominant role in the Western Pacific. In 1936, Janan is determined to have naval parity with the United States and Great Britain, because upon naval strength depends her future security.

There are many Americans who think that the Russians (Soviet) sub-marine fleet at Vladivostok is a serious menace to Japan. To be sure Japan cannot ignore the growing naval power of Soviet Russia in the Pacific; but Mr. Falk thinks that inspite of Soviet Russia's increasing naval strength and air power in the Pacific, Japan can hold her own in land and sea against Soviet Russia.

"The flying bombers that now nest there (Vladivostok) in concealed numbers can arch the Sea of Japan and inflict destructive raids upon the congested industrial centres, and this adds one more elements of fearsome uncertainty to life in the volcanic archipelago. The submarines, mostly of German fabrication, secretly shipped overland in sections, can sneak down the Golden Horn and menace Japanese commerce. But neither jointly nor separately can these overhead and undersea fleets perpetrate any damage of decisive gravity or thwart the Imperial Navy's delivery of the Army on the mainland, where the Commissars will have to engage its full strength at the end of their railway, just as the Grand Dukes were obliged to do in 1904-1905. This single avenue of communication, although double-tracted, is more vulnerable today than it was in that compaign because of the threat from the sky . . . As it is, Russia, unable to challenge or even annoy Japanese control of the sea, holds her strip of the Pacific coast line only at Japan's sufferance. Whenever Japan is ready to pay the price in money and lives of another war against Russia, she can seize Vladivostok.

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The aerial raiders might in surprise raids burn Tokyo and Osaka, and the submarines might pick off a few detached warships, troopships and merchantmen, but ultimate victory could not be withheld from the ruler of the adjacent waters . . ." (pp. 445-446).

This book, in the form of the life-story of Admiral Togo, presents a moral lesson which cannot be ignored by any American who is concerned with the future of the great democracy. Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, U.S.N. retired, has in the foreword of the book emphasised the point. It is the spirit of self-sacrifice, selfless devotion to the cause of his country, as exhibited by Admiral Togo and as it is cherished by many Japanese leaders that has made that nation great; and materialism cannot be the foundation of *real* greatness of a people. Without proper ideal and spirit, nations with great material power may degenerate and go down.

Mr. Falk's "Togo and Rise of Japanese Sea Power" is a work of great value; it should be read by all who wish to study Japan and those who have interest in international politics and world peace. It is a real contribution towards understanding Japan and will serve as a valuable guide to students of Far-Eastern affairs.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE HOUSE OF MIRTH: *By Edith Wharton (with a new introduction). The World Classics published by Oxford University Press. Pp. 359. Price Rs. 2 net.*

The 'House of Mirth' was first published in 1905. In the world's classics it was first published in 1936. This novel of New York Society thirty years ago was so authentic in its details that it innocently caused a scandal. Much more than a 'conversation piece' it tells of the disaster of a young girl who has to live by her wits in a society where every one has so much more money than herself. It is a brilliant pen-picture by a master hand of New York Society in late nineties as yet unexploited and unexplored by any novelist. The author has boldly attacked this hot-house of traditions and conventions so long unassailed and tacitly regarded as unassailable. The book deals with totally insignificant people, yet it has the 'flair and flavour' of a guinea publication. Strange are the ways of the reading public and of the critic with the lash in hand. Gulliver's Travels intended by its author to be the most savage of social satires, has long since settled down comfortably by the nursery fire as a wonder-tale for children. The House of Mirth too, went through this curious literary phenomenon. The author conceived it as a simple and fairly moving domestic tragedy, but it was received with a loud cry of rejection and reprobation. This supposed picture of select little circle, secure behind its stocade of convention alarmed and disturbed the society highbrows of Old New York. They took it as a tale deliberately slandering and defiling their most sacred institutions and some of the most deeply revered members of this clan. And what picture did the writer offer to their horrified eyes? That of a young girl of their world who rouged, smoked, ran into debts, borrowed money, gambled and . . . crowning horror! *went home with a bachelor friend to take tea in his flat.*

But times are changed now. The war came and threw everything into the melting pot. The pre-war days were the days when a mere appearance of lapsing from conventional rules of conduct caused far more scandals than we can now produce after searching the medical encyclopaedias and the confessional manuals of eminent theologians. Golden indeed were the days for the novelist when a lovely girl stooped to folly and could besmirch her reputation by taking tea between trains at a bachelor's flat.

R. C. G.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PHYSICS: *By Max Planck. Translated by W. H. Johnston, George Allen Unwin Ltd. Price 4s. 6d. net.*

The book contains four independent essays dealing respectively with the topics, 'Physics and World Philosophy', 'Causality in Nature', 'Scientific Ideas, their origin and effects' and 'Science and Faith'. Modern researches in physics seem to have shaken the very foundation of classical physics. The author in these essays attempts to find out a solution of the perplexing question as to whether the belief in the principle of causality should be given up and the principle of indeterminism accepted. Both procedures are fraught with consequences which may prove detrimental to the progress of science as a whole. The author suggests that causality should be adhered to in case of Macro-physics but perhaps it is safer and more in accordance with observed facts to accept indeterminism when dealing with Micro-physics.

In very lucidly written essays Planck has shown that the results of modern physical researches cannot but form part of a 'Weltanschauung'. They can in no case be overlooked. Besides, on the positive side they make a real contribution to a world philosophy in the shape of its accurate methods of procedure. The causality principle is discussed from the scientific, logical as also ethical aspects. Without going so far as Schrodinger, who opines that it is purely a matter of temperament whether we accept the principle or not, Planck suggests that it is better for science to retain faith in it. For, the influence of faith cannot be overlooked even in physical researches; it is a thesis which he has illustrated from the lives of eminent scientists, Kepler, Mayer, etc., in the last essay of his book. While no universally valid conditions can be laid down for the origin of scientific ideas the essence of it lies in discovering the relation of events to other events. To realise that events do not stand by themselves but that everything in the universe is interrelated, is the essential requisite for the growth of a scientific idea—a position which is highly emphasised by the modern Gestalt psychologists.

The essays are extremely interesting and intelligible even to laymen. The translator has performed his task admirably and is certainly to be congratulated.

S. C. MITRA

THE MEDIUM OF POETRY: *By James Sutherland, M.A., Senior Lecturer in English, University College, London. The Hogarth Press, London, 1934. Price 3s. 6d. net.*

Poets are inspired people, at least the basis of their poetry is, they claim it, inspiration. But may we not take a step further and try to analyse this inspiration? Is the inspiration independent of its material, or partly dependent on it? This interesting question Mr. Sutherland puts and answers in this volume, first of the second series of Hogarth Lectures on Literature. There are poets like Wordsworth who are remotely moved by their emotion which they recollect in tranquillity; poets like Keats, however, write almost under the immediate stress of excitement,—such at least is the general distinction between the two subjects like choice of rhyme and poetic diction crop up, as well as the indebtedness or independence of poets (not excluding the greatest); the book concludes by observing that the two classes of poets differ in kind and the influence of the medium,

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not wholly absent in either, is greater on those poets who write not so much for pouring out their thoughts as for expressing themselves according to a set tune. Mr. Sutherland would, in short, contend for the view that form and matter could not altogether be separated in a poetic product.

The ideas expressed commend themselves to all who read with understanding and Mr. Sutherland's book, full of intelligent suggestions, will prove a favourite with students of poetic theory and practice.

P. R. SEN

INDIA'S MINERAL WEALTH: *By Coggin Brown, O.B.E., D.Sc. The Oxford University Press, 1936. Price Rs. 10 only.*

Two important publications on India's mineral resources have appeared in the year 1936; one of which is the official publication of the India Government in the shape of the Quinquennial Review of Mineral Production of India for 1929-33. The other one by Dr. Coggin Brown, formerly of the Indian Geological Survey, deals with the subject in a less technical way, and is therefore suitable for Indian students as well as for those who are interested in the mineral resources of the country. It treats altogether with as many as 110 minerals, and gives statistical information with regard to their reserves, production, consumption, export and import.

A perusal of this book will show the important place which India occupies among the countries of the world. India still heads the list of the world's mica producing countries and her manganese ore deposits continue to give her the same position from time to time. After the United Kingdom India is the largest coal producing unit of the British Empire. The wolfram deposits of Lower Burma are known to be the most important in the British Empire. It will suffice to show that in 1908 the total annual value of minerals raised in India averaged 7 million pounds, while even in the present state of trade depression, it is in the neighbourhood of 18 million pounds.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I deals with solid, liquid and gaseous fuels. The total reserve of good quality coal suitable for metallurgical coke has been given as 1,500 million tons in Giridih, Raniganj, Jharia, Bokaro and Karanpura. As no deductions have been made for losses associated with mining, the above figure appears to be a little too high. The disastrous subsidence and fires at Jharia and Raniganj in recent years will surely reduce the estimate still further. The consumption of this variety of coal in many forms is also reducing its availability for the manufacture of metallurgical coke. The position of India, therefore, in respect of her supply of metallurgical coal for the extraction of iron from her inexhaustible supply of first grade ore seems therefore to be very weak. High class metallurgical coal consequently demands urgent conservation.

With regard to petroleum, it has been pointed out by the author that on account of the rapid consumption of oil in many forms, there has been a serious deficiency in the home supply. The solution of the problem lies in finding suitable substitutes for petroleum. If the process of Low Temperature Carbonisation and Hydrogenation of coal is successfully carried out in India, her oil supply may be increased by the recovery of benzol from coal. The occurence of oil-shale in several places in Burma may lead to the development of an important industry for the extraction of oil. In the Htichara basin, for instance, several quite rich seams of oil-shale of varying thickness have been proved by boring. The Mark Brand seam yields 15.2 per cent crude oil. These deposits can easily be worked by open-cast working. Another source of oil reserve is from the great quantity of natural gases found associated with petroleum in various fields in Burma. Modern oil technology has been able to recover gasoline from this substance; and in 1931, over 2 million gallons of gasoline were extracted from gases liberated in the Yenangyaung field alone.

If the results of investigation regarding the helium content of Burmese natural gas appear encouraging, the gas will be an important source of helium, the non-inflammable gas required for filling airships.

Part II describes the important deposits of metals and their ores including iron, manganese, copper, gold, silver, platinum etc. Occurences of platinum with gold and osmiridium have been noted in several places in Burma and Upper Assam. According to the author, the platinum deposits are supposed to have been derived from great serpentinous intrusions of the Patkoi and Arakan Yomas. Uranium ores, the source of radium, are found in certain places in Singhbhum and Gaya district in small quantities.

Part III gives useful information regarding deposits of Building Stones, Clays, Cements, Limestones, Marbles, Slates, etc. There are in India inexhaustible supplies of building stones of excellent quality; but the high cost of railway transportation has considerably interfered with the development of the marble industry in India; and marble, unfortunately, continues to be imported from Italy and Greece in spite of extensive deposits within our own country. An interesting aspect of the marble industry has been revealed by the presence of shaped and dressed blocks of polished marble resembling Makrana stone in the Mohenjodaro excavations, for they date from the 3rd millenium B. C. The limestone and clay deposits of many places are being utilised for the manufacture of cement; and this is sufficient for meeting the country's present demand. Though India possesses extensive supplies of bauxite, it is a pity that the extraction of aluminium has not progressed at all owing to the want of cheap electricity.

Part IV deals with gems and semi-precious stones. With regard to Indian diamonds, it might be pointed out the industry dates back to the 6th or 7th century B. C. India practically possessed monopoly in this trade until the discovery of the Brazilian fields in 1727. It is not therefore surprising that most of the great historical diamonds are of Indian origin. But today the production has dwindled to an insignificant figure. The rubies of the Burmese Empire are the best in the world for brilliance, colour and clearness. The Mogok District has produced many valuable rubies of pretty large size, some of them having been as much as 30 or 40 carats, while a few even reached up to 77 carats. In 1932 the discovery of a fine stone weighing about 30 carats was valued at £7000. This trade too has suffered from the general depression and also due to the manufacture of synthetic stones.

The book thus contains a good account of India's economic minerals and would prove to be a mine of information for those interested in the subject. We should only like to suggest that the standard specifications of all minerals might be included in a future edition of the book in greater detail than they have actually been given; for that would add to the usefulness of the book very much for commercial circles. The printing and reproduction of plates is good, and the price too has been kept moderate at Rs. 10.

N. N. CHATTERJEE

HISTORY OF GURDWARA SAHIDGANJ, LAHORE: *By Gauda Singh. Pages xvi+115. Price 4 Annas.*

The author is a research scholar in Sikh history in the Khalsa College of Amritsar. In the book under

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review he has conclusively shown from unimpeachable evidence that the so-called mosque cannot be a mosque. We cannot praise the author too highly for the care he has taken in collecting documentary evidence to prove his point. A bibliography of the sources used by the author enhances the value of the book. The author has also dealt with the Muhammadan agitation of 1935. One thing we cannot understand. The Muhammadans hold several places of worship of other religions in their hands as mosques—for example, Saint Sophia's Church at Constantinople, the Birth-place of Rama at Ajodhya, and Visheswara's Temple at the Holy Hindu City of Benares. to name only a few. Similarly, the Sikhs may have held a few morques as Gurdwaras. Why then this agitation after 160 years? Why do not the Muhammadan leaders propose the restoration of Visheswar's Temple to the Hindus? Perhaps the motive is not religious, but political.

TEMPLE OF SPIRITUALITY: *By Jagjit Singh. Pages xii+102. Published by the Sikh Religious Tract, Taru Taran, Punjab. Price Re. 1.*

A short historical and descriptive account of the famous Golden Temple at Amritsar. It is interesting reading. The book is printed on good paper with several illustrations: but unfortunately there are many printing mistakes. The price seems to be a little high for a book of this size.

J. M. DATTA.

PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA: *By Sir M. Visvesvaraya. Bangalore Press, Bangalore City. Popular Edition, 1936. Pages 311. Price Rs. 4.*

The book was written at a time when everyone was talking about economic planning. There is nothing easier than suggesting that this or that should be done, and, even in our country. there has been no scarcity of five-year or ten-year plans. In the midst of an endless maze of plans, those that are really worth studying have often been lost.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya has, however, taken things seriously. He has realized that a workable plan can be suggested only when a diagnosis has been made of the economic ills. A considerable portion of his book is consequently a study in defects and deficiencies. The author has shown a wonderful mastery over the facts of our economic life, and has at every step indicated the exact extent by which we are lagging behind other countries. As a compendium of the economic deficiencies of India, these chapters are invaluable. It is, however, ncessary to state that some alternations in the present edition just to make the book up-to-date would have enhanced its value; it is undesirable to have to read in a book published in 1936 about the "projected Reserve Bank," or about "the proposals that are undergoing further scrutiny at the hands of a Select Joint Parliamentary Committee."

The second part of the book gives concrete and terse suggestions for bringing into operation a ten-year plan for India and five-year plans for the provinces. The all-India plan is to be operated by a Central Development Board assisted by a General Economic Staff. acting under the directions of a Central Economic Council. Provincial and Local Economic Councils are to be constituted for carrying the plan into effect in provinces and in local areas. Briefly, his plan aims at a two-fold increase in the national income in ten years, and at other specific increases in the production of manufactured and agricultural commodities, means of communication, electrical energy, literacy etc. The capital cost of Rs. 500 crores is to be realized by borrowing, and the working expenses of Rs. 10 crores per year are to be contributed by the provinces and the Federal Government.

It may appear that in some places the plan seeks to secure too much within a comparatively short time; but that does not in any way lower its value. Every plan is bound to be somewhat hagh-pitched, and it is only by practical working that limitations can be found out. It is perhaps enough to say that if the adoption of the author's plan results in the achievement of even fifty per cent of what he aims at, that will be an ample vindication of the wisdom of adopting a planned economy for India.

BHABATOSH DATTA.

THE HUNDRED DAYS (1815): *By Philip Guedalla. Published by Peter Davies Limited. Pages 171, with six illustrations and two maps.*

This is a well-written account of Napoleon's escape from Elba, his short reign as Emperor after that, and his final defeat at Waterloo. The book is well-documented and gives a bibliography of original sources at the end.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

HINDI

MAJJHIMA-NIKAYA: *Rahula Sankrittyayana. The Mahabodhi Sabha, Sarnath, Benares. Price Rs. 3.*

In the matter of spreading Buddhist ideas and popularising Buddhist literature, Si. Rahula Sankrittyayana is today a force to reckon with. His dynamic personality has succeeeded in presenting a Hindi version of the whole of Majjhima-nikaya. The Pali Text Society has an English version to its credit. and a German rendering is also available; but while they will delight scholars, its translation into one of the modern Indian languages is a matter of gratification for all Indians. It has been, it may be observed in passing. transliterated since into Bengali and edited by Bhikkhu Dhammapiya and published by the Buddhist Mission Press, Rangoon, which has brought out quite a number of transliterations and some translations of the Pali scriptures into Bengali,—thanks to its holy ardour and missionary zeal in the cause of Buddhism and Buddhist literature.

Majjhima-nikya holds a unique position in Pali, and indeed in the Buddha literature. within the limits of its covers it contains a refutation of the different creeds that prevailed in the Buddha's time: this is what makes it of special interest. It is divided into three parts, each containing five groups, and each group mostly consisting of ten *suttas* each.

Sankrittyavana has abridged the repetitions in the discourses, and though this will take away to a certain extent from the total effect of the text, specially in point of rhythm, his edition has several distinct features. It has a valuable preface and an introduction. an index of the *suttantas* and the *vaggas*. a map of the *Madhyamandal* in Aryyavarta in the Buddha's time giving out a sketch of his holy wanderings, and following the Hindi translation we find an index of the similes, the proper names, and a glossary of difficult words used in the text. The editor has tried to keep the words *suttanta*, but it is difficult to agree to the propriety of the term. Another point needs commeht. Sankrittyayana holds that the Buddha denied God. This is a wrong finding, as has been noted by many writers. The recent articles in the Bengali journal *Parichaya* from Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta may be referred to in this connection. The question ultimately resolves into one of emphasis and the Buddha just wanted to strike the balance by asking men to rely more on their work or Sadhana than idle away their

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time and pretend a reliance on God which was not in them. The practical seeker after the remedy of the disease in humanity did not relish any merely accademic discussions and brushed away such attempts.

The book should find its way to the library of all interested in Buddhism as well as in the cultural history of Ancient India.

P. R. SEN

BENGALI

ADHUNIK BANGLA SAHITYA: OR MODERN BENGALI LITERATURE: *By Mohitlal Majumdar. Dacca. Albert Library. Price* 2-8 *and Rs.* 3.

Literary criticism is not a plant which thrives in naive surroundings. It was Sainte-Beuve, I believe, who said that none could hope to be a good critic before thirty-five, not because age could create literary sensibility in a man born without it, but because inborn taste to be employed to any purpose had to be grounded on the experience of a wide range of actual specimens, and that required an irreducible minimum of time. In saying this, however, Sainte-Beuve had in mind only the qualifications of the individual critic, the necessary degree of maturity in the audience to which he was speaking being taken by him for granted. In the case of Bengali literary criticism, on the other hand, the order of importance of these two factors must be reversed. Here what one can never be sure of is whether a too fine shading would not be thrown away on the readers, and yet an almost hyper-aesthetic perception of nuances and qualities is of the very essence of literary criticism.

No one who reads the collection of critical essays by Mr. Mohitlal Majumdar, brought together for the first time by an enterprising publisher of Dacca, should forget this initial handicap of Bengali literary criticism. It is depressing to read in Mr. Majumdar's preface how many times he has attempted to think out for himself and give to his readers something like a satisfactory theory of poetry, and how many times he has given up the attempt for want of encouragement. This furnishes an explanation of the controversial cast of many of these essays. Written with the primary object of interpreting some of the greatest Bengali writers of the 19th century to the present generation which has forgotten them or is on the way to do so, they were published for the most part in a periodical devoted to literary polemics of a more or less combative kind in the vain hope of producing some reaction by an appearance of hard-hitting. This method was fraught with risks in any circumstance and in Mr. Majumdar's case has produced quite the wrong kind of response. He has often been judged not so much by what he himself says but by what the paper in which he wrote is supposed to stand for. This is undoubtedly a pity, for in spite of the indubitable streak of partisanship and tendenciousness in them and perhaps too, in places, a blind love of the past for no better reason than that it is the past, Mr. Majumdar's essays are genuine literary criticism in this that they seek to understand the literary expression of an age which is already bygone, in terms of our own.

The volume of 299 pages is made up of ten essays on 'Modern Bengali Literature,' Bankim Chandra Chatterjee; Biharilal Chakravarti; Surendranath Majumdar; Dinabandhu Mitra; Rabindranath Tagore; Devendranath Sen; Akshaya Kumar Baral; Sarat Chandra Chatterjee; and the 'Diction of the Present-day Literature.' This bare list is sufficient to show the range of Mr. Majumdar's critical sympathies—and, in some instances, antipathies. But if one might pick and choose, it might be pointed out that the studies on the 'minor' poets of the later 19th and early 20th century contain a particularly valuable account of the less known phase of Bengali poetry lying between the recognized achievements of Madhusudan Dutt and Rabindranath Tagore. For the factual contents of these studies, even apart from the value of Mr. Majumdar's ideas, the volume will deserve a permanent and notable place in the small repertory of Bengali criticism.

N. C. C.

PORTUGUESE

OS PORTUGUESES E OS REIS DA INDIA: *By Cap. A. Delduque da Costa, No Goa.*

This is a reprint from the Bulletin of the Vasco da Gama Institute, and in the "two words" addressed by the author by way of preface, we are told, it is an attempt to find out historical truth stripped of any ulterior and extraneous consideration. In this account of inter-state relations, we are treated to detailed sketches of Malabar, Vijaynagar, the Bahmani Kingdom and its offshoots, the Moguls and the Mahrattas,—the whole being followed up by a select bibliography. A useful book for those who have taken up the study of modern India, beginning with the operations of European influence in the fifteenth century and after.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

SAVARAMATI, PART I *Ed.*: *By Nagindas Parekh. Prasthan Karyyalaya. Re. 1-4 (1934).*

It is a collection of essays by diverse hands, containing among others the names of Mahatma Gandhi, Kaka Kalelkar, Dhruvaji, Acharyya Kripalini, Mahadev Desai, and treating of such subjects as the lofty example of Buddha, literary criticism, aesthetic notes, comments on Pauranic character, philosophical speculations,—ending with four reprints of late Santilal's essays. That brings us to the origin of the book: the venture centres round the name of Santilal, a young man of unfulfilled promise, dead at 22, whose memorial garland consists of flower reverently brought together by those associated with him or cherishing his memory. Most of the papers will evoke interest and they show, at least, that nationalism and scholarship are not at variance.

Solitary misprints notwithstanding, the general get-up is quite attractive.

P. R. SEN

NAKO NAGARIO: *By Auliya Joshi. Published by K. Ranjan & Co.; Bedi Gati, Rajkot. Cloth bound. Pages 392. Price Rs. 2-8 (1936).*

Nako Nagario is an old man belonging to the old generation of the Banias of Kathiawad. He is made to live in the present generation when girls ride cycles and people travel in motor cars and aeroplanes. The strongness of this new life, which he somehow or other finds puzzling and inexplicable, is the background against which the writer who is at home in drawing humorous pictures, has drawn his present picture. All the twenty-two chapters, which depict the different situation in which Nako finds himself, raise genuine laughter. The ordinary reader who looks for humour on the surface and is not very much concerned with its subtlety or depth, is sure to appreciate the word and the picture, provided in this work.

KANKAVATI, PART II: *By Jhanerchand Meghani, B.A. Printed at the Mani Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pages 155. Price 4 Annas. (1936).*

The metal or wood container which holds the red

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powder with which men and women in Gujarat mark their foreheads and worship gods and the sun and the tree and the plant is called a *Kankavati* (a vessel for *kumkum*, the auspicious red powder.) The title chosen for the book is symbolic, because the little girls whose vows (*vzat*) and sports are set out here always use this little vessel and its contents to bring auspiciousness to their doings. Mr. Meghani has treated this part of the domestic life of these juveniles as part of the folklore of Kathiawad and his introduction enlightening as it is, makes it clear that these practices cover or conceal of ancient wisdom. The twenty-two pen-pictures furnish attractive reading. The list at the end explaining local terms is a very thoughtful provision for those who are not familiar with them.

K. M. J.

"INDIAN MEDICINAL PLANTS"

A Review

By S. R. BOSE, D.SC.

INDIAN MEDICINAL PLANTS: *By Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar and Major B. D. Basu, second edition, revised, enlarged and mostly re-written by Father Dr. E. Blatter, Father J. F. Caius and Dr. K. S. Mhaskar. In 4 volumes of the letter-press, priced at Rs. 120. Published in 1936 by Dr. L. M. Basu of 49 Leader Road, Allahabad, India, and printed at the Prabasi Press, Calcutta (120/2, Upper Circular Road).**

This is the largest and the most reliable work on Indian medicinal plants and is undoubtedly a very great improvement on similar standard works in India published by Government or private enterprise.

The first edition was published in 1918, dealing with more than a thousand Indian plants arranged generally in accordance with the classification of Bentham & Hooker's Genera Plantarum, giving a complete morphological description of each plant, its geographical distribution in India, its scientific name, Sanskrit and Vernacular names, wherever possible, medicinal properties ascribed to it by various authorities from the remotest antiquity down to modern times, results of chemical analysis, uses, marketable products, and other interesting details which should be of real importance to scientists and investigators.

In the second edition as many as six hundred new plants with an account of their uses and medicinal properties, have been added, bringing the total to over 1,900 plants. Keys to the genera and species prepared by the late Dr. E. Blatter, a systematist of great reputation in India and abroad, will prove to be of real value as means of determining the specific names of plants included in this work to those who possess a practical knowledge of Systematic Botany. As in the Records of the Botanical Survey of India, the metrical system has been used for the dimensions of leaves, fruits and other organs. There is a long list of vernacular names procured from all parts of the Empire together with names in classical and foreign languages almost of each plant. Vernacular names, inspite of their unreliability for practical purposes, should be of great assistance to workers; but they must not be treated in any sense as very important and dependable means of identification. Therapeutic properties of Indian Medicinal Plants have been carefully checked by Father Caius and Dr. Mhaskar, well-known workers in this line in India. The different species of *Leucas* often reported in newspapers as antidote to snake-bite have been found by Dr. Mhaskar and Father Caius to be entirely useless for the purpose. So, too, the juice of the root and stem of banana plant (*Musa sapientum*). *Thallophytes* (algae, fungi and lichens) have been almost excluded for want of reliable information regarding their medicinal properties and uses.

The value of the excellent plates, more than a thousand in number can scarcely be exaggerated. They are so accurate in minute details that they can be very safely used by trained workers in checking identification of plants by scientific methods which have not yet reached perfection. For example, we may mention some species of *Sida* described in the work. They are all known by one vernacular name as Berala in Bengal, but possess separate and distinct names in Sanskrit, as Nagabala (*Sida spinosa—plate 120.*†), Rajabala or Brihannagabala (*Sida acuta*), Mahabala or Atibala (*Sida rhombifolia*), Bhadrabala (*Sida cordifolia*). These different species are credited with different medicinal properties, but are often muddled together under one name for want of attention to minute details constituting the specific characters. Here the illustrations, which are separately given for each, are very helpful in correctly distinguishing and identifying the plants. About the fineness and accuracy of the drawings of minute details, we draw the attention of the reader to the illustration of *Calophyllum inophyllum—Plate 106.*† It is the scientific name of *Punnaga* frequently planted in the gardens of Calcutta for the beauty of its fibrous leaves. The name is derived from "Kalo," which means beautiful, and "inophyllum," which means a "fibrous leaf." A specimen can be seen in the south-west corner of Cornwallis Square, Calcutta, and another in the south-east corner of the Calcutta Government House. Like vernacular names, the same classical name may be applicable to different plants, and may prove misleading to untrained workers. Thus, the name "Jayanti" is applicable to both *Sida cordifolia* (*Malvaceae*), *plate* 119A, and *Sesbania aegyptiaca* (*Leguminosae*), *plate 303.* This shows clearly enough how very important it is to take into consideration a large number of factors in determining the name of a plant. The illustrations will serve to confirm identifications of plants, and will be exceedingly helpful in the systematic study of Indian Medicinal Plants.

The present edition is highly recommended to the medical profession both here and abroad, to investigators of Indian foods and dietetics, to Botanists, and to the intelligent public interested in food-values of some of our local plants. It has been very neatly printed and got up by the *Prabasi Press.* The publisher is to be congratulated on the care he has bestowed on the preparation of the four splendid volumes.

* The whole book is complete in eight volumes forming one set—*viz.*, 4 vols. of *Letter Press* and 4 *Portfolios* containing plates. Plates are in black and white, on art paper, all loosely kept in strongly cloth bound and decent portfolios. The price of a complete set is Rs. 320 (Rupees Three-Hundred and Twenty) only, (Letter Press priced at Rs. 120. and four Portfolios of Plates priced at Rs. 200).

† Plates 106 and 120 from original work are reproduced here in greatly reduced form. Some fine details have been lost in reproduction.

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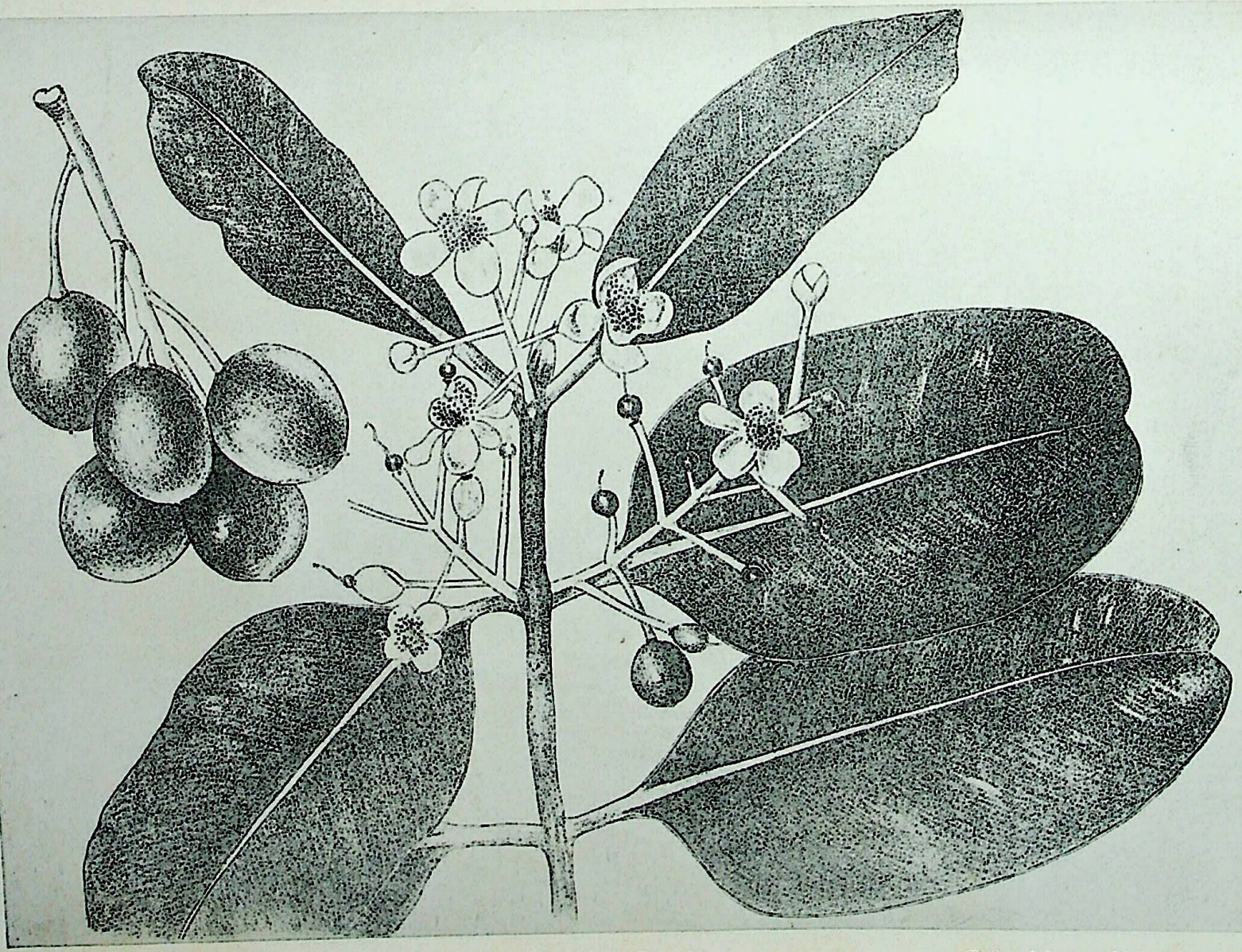

Plate No. 106 Calophyllum Inophyllum, *Linn* Reduced by one-third approximately

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THE MENACE OF HINDU MASS MOVEMENTS INTO CHRISTIANITY

By MANILAL C. PAREKH

One of the acutest problems of religious and political life in India is presented by the mass movements on the part of Hindus into Christianity. Unfortunately, however, the nature and extent of the menace to Hinduism in particular and Indian Nationalism in general that underlies these movements are not fully realized by the leaders of Indian thought and life. There have been protests against such mass proselytism carried on by Christian Missions, but these have been made at rare intervals, and as such they have been only voices in the wilderness. One is thankful, however, that the eyes of the people of the country are now being opened to this evil, and it is only a question of time when the united voice of the country will be raised against the great menace that threatens the future of the country for ages. These mass movements engineered by foreign missionaries come as the worst of schisms not only in the religious and cultural life of the Hindus but in the political unity of the country as well. This will be made clear by the following facts.

More than a century back, Raja Rammohun Roy, with his great foresight, saw this evil and raised his protest against the proselytising activities of the Christian Missions. This is what he writes in one of his pamphlets :

"Since the Hindu population in Bengal . . . has been increasing with uncommon rapidity, many families have become very indigent, and a greater number must, sooner or later, be reduced to poverty. It is, therefore, more than probable, that the most weak and needy among them may be induced, by the hope of worldly advantages, to sell their conscience and their religion in the same manner as a great many Israelites have been persuaded to profess Christianity, by the severe policy adopted towards Jews on the one hand, and the encouragement to apostatize held out on the other, by societies established in Europe for their conversion."

These fears of Rammohun Roy, expressed as early as in the twenties of the last century, were more than realized in the fifties and sixties of the same century. When Rammohun wrote this, neither he nor the missionaries knew of the full possibilities of such proselytism in India. This discovery was made by some Christian missionaries at the time of the Mutiny, and in the following way, as described by Richter in his classical "History of Christian Missions" :

"While the Mutiny was in progress at Choto Nagpur, the German missionaries offered 10,000 (ten thousand) Kols (an aboriginal tribe in that part of the country amongst whom the mission was working) as auxiliary troops. From Burma, Dr. Mason, an American Baptist, promised a battalion of Christian Karens. All these offers were declined by the short-sighted Government, in order not to make an "invidious distinction" by accepting the help of the Native Christians. But for any one with eyes to see, it was clear as day-light that in the native Churches there was a class of people whose interests were coincident with those of the Government and upon whose good faith reliance could be put absolutely." [Italics are mine.]

It is in these words that we find the origin of and the key to the mass movements of Hindus into Christianity from 1858 onwards. The effect of this discovery on the British public was remarkable. Even the most obtuse of people, men and women who cared very little for any kind of Christianity, were possessed with fervour for the conversion of heathen Hindus. This is what an American missionary called Smith says in regard to this new enthusiasm in his book called "The Conversion of India."

"Even the most opportunist of English statesmen, Lord Palmerston, learned so much from the meeting as to declare to a deputations headed by an Archbishop of Canterbury in 1859, *'We seem to be all agreed as to the end. It is not only our duty, but it is our interest to promote the diffusion of Christianity as far as possible throughout the length and breadth of India'."* [Italics are mine.]

It was in this way that "Christian Britain" was fired with zeal for the conversion of India, especially the aboriginal tribes (for both the Kols and the Karens were such aboriginal tribes) and the untouchables, and American missionaries brought in the full co-operation of the United States in this work. In this connection it must be remembered that it was a German and an American mission which had made this discovery and offered military help to the Government. As against the "heathens" of India, all the "Christians" were united by the ties of religion, race and culture.

It was in this way that what is called "a new period" in the Christian Mission work began, a period to which all the work that had been done before was "but a preparation," to quote the same Rev. Smith. According to Richter :

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"During this period (about a quarter of a century after the Mutiny) there was a great tendency to focus missionary work particularly in the so-called aborigines."

In this work of "converting" the aboriginal tribes, some of the most important officers of the Company's Government helped as much as they could. This is what we learn from the same historian :

"The great Christian statesmen who had contributed so largely to the salvation of India during the Mutiny, were almost all friends of the Church Missionary Society in an especial manner and supported its undertaking."

As far these "great Christian statesmen" who were suddenly filled with such missionary zeal, one must read Dr. Thompson's book "The Other Side of the Shield" to know how angelically they "had contributed so largely to the salvation of India during the Mutiny." Another missionary writer, called Rev. Graham, writes as follows in his book "Missionary Expansion in Reformed Churches" :

"Lord Northbrook, a former Viceroy of India, has stated that the Lawrences, Herbert Edwards, Reynell Taylor, James Outram, Henry Havelock, "and in fact nearly all the men who came forward at the time of the Mutiny, and through whose exertions the British Empire in India was preserved" were warm advocates of mission-work. Others too he mentions : "Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Donald M'Leod, Sir William Muir. Sir Charles Aitchison. Sir Richard Temple, Sir Rivers Thompson and Sir Charles Bernard," (In a footnote the author says, "We might add a host more.")

It was in this way that this new period of mission-work, which the above-mentioned Rev. Smith calls by the good name of "Evangelical persuasion and absorption of India," began hand in glove with the Imperial Expansion in India. To the political and economic domination of India the missionaries added the religious and cultural supremacy of Christendom over Heathendom in order to make the conquest of India by "Christian Britain" complete.

The result of this "missionary" drive on Indian aborigines has been thus described by the same Rev. Smith.

"The rate of increase in the number of Native Christians in the decade (1851-1861) was 53 per cent. In the next decade it rose to 61 per cent, and in that from 1871-1881 it was 86 per cent. From 1881 to 1890, it was 53½ per cent for nine years."

And he adds the following comment to such a rate of increase :

"If such a rate of progress were continued, the most cautious of experienced missionaries and divines, Dr. John Robson of Rajputana and Aberdeen, remarks, "*The Protestant Church would absorb the whole population of India about the middle of the twenty-first century.*" [The italics are mine.]

What a wonderful prospect of the expansion of Christendom is here laid before the admiring view of all those who are interested in Christian Missions ! Surely there never was such a temptation placed before the so-called Christian Churches in all the history of Christendom. Indeed it never occurred to these proselytisers to ask whether such work was after the mind and spirit of Christ or of St. Paul. Only within thirty years after Christ, Paul had made a sharp distinction between spiritual and carnal Christianity, and here were hundreds and thousands of missionaries engaged in propagating Christianity which deserved to be called "carnal" in the full sense of the term. In those days they had identified Christianity with what they called Christian Civilization, and it was only a step from that to the belief that their Christianity was coincident with the "Christian Government" of Great Britain.

After the Mutiny for about twenty-five years these mass movements were confined mostly to the aboriginal tribes. Then came the turn of the untouchables, and these were even a greater find than the aborigines. Richter may be quoted again in regard to this :

"We can safely reckon that apart from the mission to the aborigines—who indeed are nearly related to them —four-fifths of the entire success of missionary work during the last twenty years has been realized among the Panchamas (Untouchables)."

On the top of this came the famines of 1899 and 1900, and during these days were added nearly half as many to the numbers of Christians. Thus what was adversity to India resulted in prosperity to Christian Missions. Mission-work has gone on more or less in this way, and in the census of 1921, the increase was 23 per cent, comparatively much more than that of any other community except perhaps that of the Sikhs. If I am not mistaken there was then an actual decrease on the part of the Hindus. Some Christian Missionaries, however, complained that the actual increase on the part of Christians was even greater, and that the Hindu enumerators did not do their work properly.

Latterly, however, the missionaries or at least some of them were beginning to feel that these mass movements were more of a liability in every way, spiritually and financially, than an asset, and there was a questioning among them whether they were worthwhile. Just about the time when such questioning was acute, there came a book called "Christian

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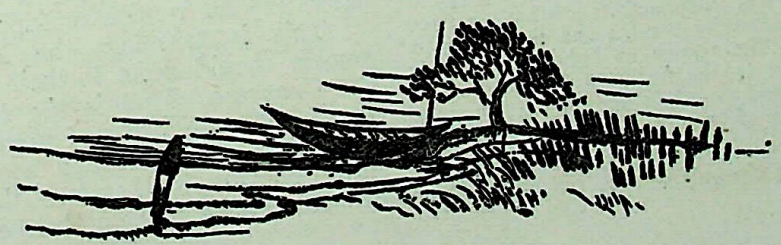
Mass Movements" written by an American missionary called Dr. Pickett, and sponsored by Dr. John R. Mott and Dr. E. Stanley Jones. The very title of the book is a lie, for the author thereby has tried to mislead the public by substituting the name "Christian" for "Hindu" from the start. These are mass movements of Hindus into Christianity, but by calling them "Christian" he has very cleverly tried to appropriate them from the beginning and thus allay the suspicions of the unwary public. The entire character of the book is in keeping with its false and misleading title, and the author is deliberately silent where he could not mislead in regard to all the salient points concerning the origins of such Hindu Mass Movements and the rate of increase in the number of Christians due to them. In this book, which is a big volume, the author has made a strong plea for such movements, which were becoming suspicious to the American public due to the Laymen's Commission Report etc., and in all probability has succeeded in his attempt for the time being at least. Soon after the publication of the book, the author returned to India as a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which has all along been one of the foremost in this work of proselytism on a mass scale.

About the same time there came the pronouncement of Dr. Ambedkar wherein he spoke of the untouchables leaving Hinduism in a mass, and this was a god-send to Christian Missions, whose eyes have been set upon "converting" all the untouchables of India for the last half a century. This was the strongest vindication of their work in their own eyes, and they are active more than ever in capturing these masses. Bishops Badley and Pickett, both of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are actively campaigning in Europe and America for funds and men to help in this work, and the National Christian Council, headed by Bishop Azariah, an Indian, has issued an appeal for greater co-operation from Christian Indians in the matter of reaping this "rich harvest" that is only waiting to be reaped.

In this way this work of exploitation—it is nothing else—has been going on for the last hundred years, and the fears which Raja Rammohun Roy expressed so far back have been more than justified. This exploitation in the name of Christ and Christianity is perhaps the greatest menace that confronts us today, and if the Indians in general and the Hindus in particular do not awaken to its real and sinister significance and take all possible means to avert it now, it may be too late. It is not impossible that within the next fifty or hundred years, even though the whole of India may not be "Christian," as Rev. Robson, quoted above, confidently hoped, the number of Christians might well rise to some crores, and India may be permanently divided into three communities mutually fighting with one another for numbers instead of the two, the Hindus and the Moslems, that we have at present.

Such a situation would be unbearable in the extreme for centuries. But whatever it be, no country in the world today would allow such exploitation of its people by a religion, organized, financed, supported and manned by aliens. The Moslem countries such as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan etc., do not allow any one to be baptised, and they have restricted missionary activity only to education-work in a very limited measure. This is one of the first things a self-governing India should do, and all proselytizing activities on the part of foreigners should be summarily put down, since such activities are of a most mischievous kind and fraught with the greatest evil for the future of this country.

[*Editor's Note.*—The writer of this article is a man of culture and the author of several books of note. He accepted Christianity years ago, but has severed his connection with all Christian Churches on account of "Christian imperialism."]



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TO VOTE FOR THE CONGRESS IS TO HELP OURSELVES

By PRAMILA OKE

Elections to the new Provincial Legislatures are soon to be held. The political atmosphere of the country is surcharged with election activities. Woman's franchise is widened under the new constitution and she will for the first time exercise her vote equally with man. It is a fortunate coincidence that the Indian National Congress, the premier political organization of the country, has also decided to fight the elections to the Provincial Legislatures. It is, therefore, a question before the women of India as to which party they will link themselves with. Doubtless the credit for securing a status for women in the Legislature mainly goes to the Congress, which has always stood for adult franchise. By encouraging women to be the comrades on the battle-field in the last C. D. movement and by reposing confidence in the womanhood of India, the Congress has shown to the world what women can do and how anti-imperial thought was deep-rooted in their hearts.

There are supreme reasons to justify woman's recording her vote in favour of the Congress. The woman of today outside the legislature and the woman of tomorrow, within the legislature, is definitely a product of the push that the Congress has given to her in political life. It is not only in the fighting programme that the congress has acknowledged her sacrifices but has also recorded equal rights of woman with man by removing any kind of sex disabilities in every walk of life. The Karachi Rosolution embraces in it all the grievances of women in political, social and economic spheres, by acknowledging equality between man and woman.

The Congress in its election manifesto has recognized unequivocally woman's claim. It says :—

> "The Congress has already declared that it stands for the removal of all sex disabilities whether legal or social or in any sphere of public activity. It has expressed itself in favour of maternity benefits and the protection of women workers. The women of India have already taken a leading part in the freedom struggle and the congress looks forward to their sharing in an equal measure with the men of India, the privileges and obligations of citizens of a free India".

In none of the manifestoes of any other political groups, the woman's status has been even touched, much less the woman's equal partnership with man has ever been recognized.

Political Independence is the fountain through which sprays of economic, social and religious equalities, gush out. To speak of these spheres without touching the political problems, is to roam in a fool's paradise. Women through their several organizations are voicing the cause of freedom in every sphere of life. If the whole represents the part, then the achievement of political freedom embraces in it freedom in other spheres also. Congress is the only premier organization which has launched a militant programme to achieve complete Independence. It becomes therefore a logical sequence that women must try for the political freedom which stands for the whole and not for the isolated freedom which stands for the part. So far as the Legislatures go, women must therefore vote with the Congress to achieve their cherished goal.

It is not with any sense of charity or gratitude that women should side with the Congress, but it is pre-eminently for their self-advancement that they must make a common cause with the Congress in the fight to capture the Legislatures. In achieving social, economic and religious freedom, women have to fight with all adverse elements. It is the Congress alone that through its militant programme teaches the woman the technique of the Indian struggle. By fighting against the powerful machinery of the Government the Congress has cultivated in women the rare qualities of courage and iron will. It is by virtue of these qualities alone that women will fight for their freedom in all walks of life. It is thus for the advancement of qualities in individual woman and also in women as a class that it is imperative for women to support the Congress.

This is therefore the least reason why womem should deem it their duty to vote for the Congress. That is the noblest and surest way for emanicipation of woman from all bonds —political, economic and social. To vote for the Congress is therefore the minimum that women can do to help themselves.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

An Unpublished Letter of Sister Nivedita

The following is an extract from an unpublished letter of Sister Nivedita, dated October, 1901, published in the November issue of the *Prabuddha Bharata* :

I am dying down into a feeling of greater quiet than I have ever had. Is this a part of the preparation? It may be that it marks the decline of efficiency beyond the climax but again, if so, it is Mother's fault. I did my best : she takes what she will.

Only your friend is *not* right about India's requiring foreign rule. Does the history of India bear the statement out? Of course not. Even as written by her enemies it shows that India, as large as Western Europe, never suffered from such disorder. Think of the wars between France and England alone, between England and Spain, between Germany and France, of the French Revolution; of the wars of Succession in every country : of the brigand raids of large communities into small ! Nothing is so extraordinary in India as the combination of intense religious conviction with marvellous political peacefulness, when one takes a large enough view of the situation, to get the facts at a true focus. The only thing that never is written is good *history*, at least about India, that I do understand.

Debt to the Orient

Americans have shown no little righteous indignation at the tendency of European nations to repudiate their war debts. But America, not to say of the West, is not always ready to acknowledge her debt to the East. Dr. Paul E. Johnson, Dean and Professor of Philosophy at Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa, U. S. A., and a writer of sympathy, observes in *The Aryan Path* :

Not in the realm of finance, but in the far more important realm of cultural values we have rejected our obligations to the Orient.

"Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors," we pray. If we mean what we say, then we ought to take account of our debts and acknowledge them with gratitude long overdue. What contributions have we received from the Orient? First of all we are indebted to the East for written language. The alphabets which we use hundreds of times a day have come to us from India, transmitted through Phœnician and Roman mediation. A written language is basic to higher civilization, making possible historical record, literature, song, story, poetry, essay, abstract thought as science or philosophy, and communication of ideas. We are further indebted to Asia for the number system which we employ. The decimal series of the Arabians makes possible facile counting, multiplication of values, mathematical calculations, exact measurement and the statistical procedures of business and scientific operations.

Printing though its origin is obscure, is evidently the invention of the ancient Chinese. Most ancient peoples carved their records on clay, stone or metal. About 200 B. C. Taoist priests in old Cathay duplicated charms by dipping carved seals in vermillion and stamping the imprint on fabric. Confucian classics were carved on stone drums and then duplicated by the process known as "rubbing." Buddhist symbols and writings were multiplied in Chinese temples by block printing, and by 800 A. D. bound in book form and deposited in cave libraries. Historians recognize the strategic place of printing in the diffusion of culture, the renaissances, the accumulation of stores of wisdom and the development of universal education. Other instruments of human progress rose in the East, as paper making, cloth weaving, metal working, domestication of animals, plant cultivation, the compass, gunpowder, etc. The most important human institutions have grown up from Asiatic soil : all the great religions living in the world today were born in Asia, the most prevalent moral and legal codes of our time inherit generously from the Decalogue, the laws of Hammurabi and the laws of Manu. Political institutions of government and economic exchange of goods in commerce were also cradled in Asia and Africa.

Our greatest debt, however, is not to inventions or institutions; it is to great perspectives of life's meaning. The philosophies of the ancient East stand forth like the lofty peaks of the Himalayas above the confusion of the human scene. Let us trace three of these guiding principles for successful living which rise as landmarks for all time.

The first of these is the *Law of Reverence*. Stated in axioms or self-evident propositions this law observes : Seek good and you shall find good. Appreciate and you shall know values. Believe and you shall be saved.

The second great view-point is the *Law of Mutuality*. Stated in axiomatic form this law affirms : Give and you shall receive. It is more blessed to give than to receive Return good for evil.

A third perspective is the *Law of Harmony*. This law views the universe as a system of order. It observes that life on this planet advances by progressive integration.

We have the priceless heritage of wisdom from the ancient East. The Laws of Reverence, Mutuality and Harmony are as true today, as needed today, as available today as when distant eyes first saw their eternal meaning. They offer light, life and salvation to every generation, caught as we are in the desperate struggle for existence.

Mysticism in Indian Poetry

Swami Vividishananda, the head of the Vedanta Society, Washington, in his brief exposition, in *The Vedanta Kesari*, of the mystical element in Indian poetry, with quotations from

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original sources, gives us glimpses of the spiritual aspirations of the Indian soul :

In India it is religion that has supplied the stimulus for artistic creation. Every religious upheaval in Indian history has shown a marked progress in the different artistic fields. Poetry has therefore been a handmaiden of religion in India. Indian poetry has been pre-eminently mystical in character.

In the Upanishads, the philosophical portion of the Vedas, we find the culmination of mystical thought and vision.

The Vedic sages looked at the wonderful panorama of the universe and were filled with awe and admiration. We shall quote here a stanza of a Vedic hymn addressed to Dawn :

"Thou art the life of all that lives
The breath of all that breathes; the sight
Of thee makes every countenance bright,
New strength to every spirit gives."

Says Swetasvatara Upanishad :

"As oil in sesame seeds, as butter in cream,
As water in river-beds, and as fire in the friction-sticks,
So is the Self apprehended in one's own soul.
If one looks for it with true austerity."

Says Katha Upanishad : "The Self, smaller than the smallest and greater than the greatest, dwells in the heart of creatures. The desireless one, being free from grief, realises its glory through the purity of senses and mind. Though sitting still, the Self travels far; though lying down it goes everywhere. Who can know besides me that effulgent Reality which rejoices and rejoices not ?

"The sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this mortal fire. When the Self shines, everything else shines after it. By its light all these are lighted."

The Self is not, however, an abstraction or a non-entity.

This knowledge of the Self is an experience that passeth all understanding, and from time immemorial it has been variously described in religious literature and poetry as ecstasy, beatific vision, God-realisation, Nirvana or Samadhi. As it concerns itself with an Entity which has been the riddle of all riddles, it has ever been associated with mystery.

Describing the glory of Self-realisation, which is the *summum bonum* of life, say the Upanishads :

"By knowing the Self, which is at once the high and the low, the knots of the heart are cut asunder, doubts vanish, and the results of actions past and present are destroyed." "The Self is Bliss itself, by knowing the Self one becomes supremely blessed."

The writer then passes on to a consideration of devotional mysticism in Indian poetry as distinguished from philosophical mysticism of the Vedas and the Upanishads which he has been discussing. The ideal of devotional mysticism is God, who is the embodiment of perfection, knowledge, bliss, truth, justice and kindness.

The passionate yearning of the devotee and the restlessness of his heart are beautifully portrayed by Mirabai, a woman poet-mystic, writing in Hindi, in the following poem :

"I am thirsting for Your love, my Beloved !
I shall make this body a lamp, and my tender heart shall be its wick;
I shall fill it with the scented oil of my young love and burn it night and day at Your shrine, O Beloved !
For Your love I shall sacrifice all the wealth of my youth;
Your name shall be the crown of my head.
I am longing for You, O my Lord : for the season of the swing has come; but You are not beside me.
Clouds gather on my brows and my eyes shed heavy showers.
My parents gave me to You, I have become Yours for ever; who but You can be my Lord ?
This separation troubles my heart; make me Your own; make me perfect like You. O Lord of Perfection ! "

Vidyapati, a mystic Maithili poet of the fourteenth century, brings out this idea in his own inimitable way :

"Under the shade of the tree of life the flute of Love is sounding.
Awaken, my soul, He calleth for you. Hasten to meet Him, with eager expectation He waiteth for you.
He, at each tread of whose feet blooms a lotus; at each movement of whose limbs flashes a lightning :
He, whose smile spreads perfume in the air, and makes the festival of spring :
He is calling for you, O my Soul !
Then why this dallying ? Hasten to meet Him, to fall before Him in worship; to leave in His bosom the weight of your care.
The flute of the Lord is sounding a melody of Love : under the tree of mercy He waiteth for you, O my soul ! "

Indian poetry has been enormously enriched by the contributions of Rabindranath Tagore. We shall quote here a poem from his Gitanjali, *An Offering of Songs*, which won for him the Nobel Prize :

"Life of my life, I shall ever try to keep my body pure, knowing that Thy living touch is upon all my limbs.
I shall ever try to keep all untruths out from my thoughts, knowing that Thou art that truth which has kindled the light of reason in my mind.
I shall ever try to drive all evils away from my heart and keep my love in flower, knowing that Thou hast Thy seat in the inmost shrine of my heart.
And it shall be my endeavour to reveal Thee in my actions, knowing it is Thy power that gives me strength to act."

Pandit Motilal As I Knew Him

'It is the lot of India's public men to serve their country negatively by their failures and not positively by their success : In Britain, Motilal could easily have risen to be the Prime Minister, and in France or the United States he could equally easily have become the President. But in India the path of glory and of duty, as he saw it, led him but repeatedly to prison. Writes Sacchhidananda Sinha of Behar in *The Hindustan Review* :

My intimate and affectionate relations with the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, extending over a period of nearly thirty-five years (1896 to 1931), I regard as one of the greatest privileges of my life. When I met him for the first time at Allahabad (in November, 1896), he had just turned thirty-five, and was at his zenith as a leading ad-

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vocate and a great figure. Born at Delhi, in May 1861, and educated at the high school at Cawnpore, and later at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, he failed to graduate himself; so, and after passing the Intermediate examination, he appeared at the Allahabad High Court Law examination, and topped the list of the successful candidates in 1883, and settled down to practice, at Cawnpore. One of his elder brothers, Pandit Nand Lal, was a leading advocate in the Allahabad High Court at the time. On his death in 1886, Motilal transferred himself to the Allahabad High Court, and being an exceptionally sound and able lawyer, as also a skilful advocate, he managed to step into his brother's practice, before long. In 1896 (that is, only after ten years' practice in the High Court) he was raised by the Chief Justice and his brother judges to the higher status of an Advocate, which placed him practically on the same footing as the Members of the British or the Irish Bar.

Early in life Motilal had adopted western ways and manner of living and was, when I met him first, perhaps the greatest social figure at Allahabad. Soon after my settling down (in November, 1896), at Allahabad, I got one of those attacks of malarial fever, which had compelled me to give up my practice in Bihar, and betake myself to the more salubrious climate of the then real, but now the nominal capital of the United Provinces. After the fever had passed away, I was naturally dull and depressed for several days. The doctor, who was treating me, prescribed various tonics, from time to time, but they failed to cheer me up; and so one day growing desperate, he said to me: "I am going now to prescribe for you the best tonic I have in my repertory, and if that fails I can do nothing for you; but I am sure it will not fail, as it has never failed so far." I asked why he had not prescribed that tonic before. He said: "For the simple reason that the tonic was not available here till yesterday, when he arrived." What do you mean, doctor," I asked. "Is the tonic a medicine or a human being?" "Of course, a human being, or I would not have used the word 'he' for him." "Who on earth is he," I asked. He said: "His name is Pandit Motilal Nehru." Of course, I had heard that name before, and was even thinking of calling on him soon after my recovery. But the way the doctor put it, calling him "the best tonic in his repertory," naturally roused my curiosity, and I begged of him to take me to him at once. He said: "I should wait for a couple of days to give Pandit Motilal a chance of settling down to normal conditions of life, after more than two months' absence during the long vacation of the High Court."

The doctor took me over to Motilal one evening soon after. The house I was then occupying was right at the back of Motilal's residence at that time—several years before he moved into his now well-known house, "Anand Bhawan," which he afterwards made over to the Congress for use as its headquarters. The Pandit received me most cordially, and soon made me feel quite at home. At the end of half an hour I felt as if I had known him all my life! By then it was dinner hour, and I got up to say good night, but he insisted that we should dine together, and not only that, but he ordered his servant to get from my house the food that had been got ready for my dinner. And so we sat down to a joint meal of pot-luck. The sharing of the meal together that evening was the foundation of a friendship which lasted till his death in February, 1931. During this long period, in spite of some political differences, it grew with our growth and strengthened with our strength, and lasted (in his case) from shore to shore.

Then and for many years afterwards, until in fact he was past fifty, Motilal was exceedingly handsome and prepossessing in appearance. He had charming manners, and was a man of strong individuality. He retained his good looks even in his old age. This is how a German journalist, who met him, described him in a German journal:—"When Pandit Motilal lays aside his gold spectacles and takes off his white khaddar head-dress, he closely resembles an ancient Roman. He wears his robe of hand-spun, hand-woven Indian wool as if it were a toga, and when he raises his finely-modelled right hand, one feels that he could teach Mussolini the proper way to make a Roman salute! Before you attempt to discover what manner of man he is you are captivated by his presence and bearing."

Apart, therefore, from his political leadership during the last dozen years or so of his life, he occupied naturally a very unique position in the social life of Upper India, in general, and Allahabad, in particular.

As an advocate Motilal was admittedly one of the greatest that India has produced, and I say this after having worked with and watched the conduct of cases of some of the greatest advocates—British and Indian—of the Calcutta, Allahabad and Patna High Courts. During the ten years that I practised in the Allahabad High Court I had frequent opportunities of watching his work, and I came to entertain a very high opinion of his skill in advocacy. He used to address the court not only in faultless English, and with perfect command over his case, but also with singular charm and elegance.

Hard experience, however, and the improper treatment meted out to him personally by successive local Governments—ending in a series of terms of imprisonment—embittered him against the British connection with India, and made him live and die during the last years of his life as avowedly hostile to British rule in the country. No doubt, various causes contributed to this tremendous change in his mentality and outlook, but there can be no doubt that it was mainly traceable to the unjustifiable and wrong policy of Government. Anyway, no Indian filled the political stage with greater brilliance as the "leader of the opposition" in the Legislative Assembly than did Motilal during the last few years of his life. There he outshone everyone, not excluding the trained and experienced administrators on the Government benches. He was not in any sense an orator, nor even a debater (say, of so high an order as, for instance, Gokhale); but he combined in himself many of the elements which go to make up a great politician and a great party leader. These added to the charm of a striking personality, made him the greatest political and social figure in the Legislative Assembly during the few years that he adorned it.

The most notable characteristics of Motilal's on the intellectual side, were his sanity, level-headedness, strong commonsense, and, above all, a supreme sense of expediency; and on the emotional side his patriotism and self-sacrifice. He could and did deal hard blows without being bitter, and could forget and forgive equally hard blows dealt him by his opponents. He and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had for years been very sharply divided in political opinion; and yet on the Nehru Committee and at the All Parties' Conference he worked with him in the heartiest co-operation. Similarly he and Mr. Lajpat Rai attacked each other with great energy and vehemence, soon after the withdrawal of the latter from the Swaraj party, and yet only after a few months they became the best of friends and colleagues. "No-changers"—amongst Congressmen—had called him by all sorts of harsh names, when he and Chitta Ranjan Das had broken away from

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the orthodox non-co-operation fold. And yet he had no difficulty in forgetting all that when the hour for united action came. This great lesson the Congressmen of today may learn with advantage from Motilal's instructive career.

Dwarf Culture

The Progress of Education has the following in its October issue :

In his article on *Staffing of Primary Schools* Mr. M. R. Paranjpe says in one place, "Dwarfs beget dwarfs and the intellectual dwarfs who have the charge of our Primary schools are giving us a race of intellectual dwarfs. This is a national calamity and an important aspect of Educational Reconstruction demanding immediate attention."

In this connexion it will be instructive to read the following extract from an article in *School Nature Study*.

"Most of our British trees and many of those introduced from other countries and commonly cultivated, possess viable seeds which germinate readily, and when the seedlings are grown in pots the restriction of the growth of the root leads to the dwarfing of the shoot, and the plants can be grown *for many years* under these conditions. Every spring the trees increase in length but so little that the tree as a whole remains small. At the Brondesbury and Kilburn High School a lime seedling found with a few others on Hampstead Heath in the spring of 1925 is still flourishing after eleven years of growth in a six-inch pot containing soil. This small tree, now twelve inches in height, with its short, stunted trunk and characteristic leaf mosaic is much treasured. As a hobby the growth of trees in this way is particularly well suited to town-dwellers with limited space at their disposal, and although the trees do not flower under these conditions, they show attractive beauty of form and interesting seasonal changes."

Our educational system is like pot-culture, well-suited to retrenchment pedagogues with limited vision at their disposal and although it is attractive and interesting occasionally, it has so far failed to show flowers or bear fruit. There are a few "like the Ash, Willow and Poplar not so suitable for pot-culture, for after the first two or three years of growth they tend to become tall," and a Bose, a Raman, a Tagore, a Gandhi, like the Ash, Willow or Poplar, have broken the pots in which they were being grown and taken root in the soil in order to attain their full height; but the large majority of the school children in India are unable to do that and even after a century of modern education they are being taught in a V. F. pot and have therefore remained dwarfs, intellectually, "with their short stunted trunks and characteristic leaf mosaic" which is much treasured by some who can never visualise to themselves the splendour of free, unrestricted growth. This is, as Mr. Paranjpe puts it, a national calamity and needs immediate attention.

Nandalal Bose

A. K. C. writes in the *India* :

Nandalal is the ideal *Guru*. Perhaps the man in him is even greater than the artist. It is education itself to know him as well as a great pleasure. In his everyday life, he is simple even as an ordinary villager. The coarsest *khaddar* clothes him and that also in a most careless manner. I can yet see in my mind the look of utter dismay in the aristocratic face of His Excellency Col. Sir Fredirck Sykes, late Governor of Bombay, when Nandalal was presented to him at an exhibition. I cannot blame the poor Governor.

It would be wrong to identify him with merely the paint and the brush; aesthetics pervades his whole life. He is intensely human and has interest in everything. He would go to the neighbouring Santal village and spend hours with those simple primitive people and watch them work in the fields, he would tramp miles to go to a broken temple where perhaps it is reported there would be found some interesting terracotta; he seems to know all about gardening and the animal and bird life at Santiniketan and its neighbourhood. It is this diversity of interest which has saved him from monotony in his art and endowed his creations with a fresh vigour. He himself would never grow old nor his art stale.

Backgrounds in Spain

In the following article V. K. N. Menon of the Department of Politics, Lucknow University, gives, in *The Twentieth Century*, a graphic survey of Spain since the inception of the new Liberal-Socialist State in 1931.

The close of the fifth year of the Spanish Republic finds it involved in the greatest and most tragic crisis of its brief career. The new Liberal-Socialist State which had come into existence in peace and hope in 1931 faced a major crisis in 1933 when the swing of the electoral pendulum put power into the hands of a coalition of the reactionary parties led by the Fascist Senor Gil Robles and known as the party of the Autonomous Right, —the Confederacion Espanola de Dereachas Autonomas or the C. E. D. A. But the storm was weathered; the new dispensation was never able to get on without the Radicals or the Independents in the Government; Gil Robles himself became a minister only in 1935 and then only for a few months as War Minister; and even the unsuccessful revolt from the Left of the industrial workers and the Catalonian autonomists in 1934 could not be exploited beyond a point. The system of 1931 was bent, but not broken. And whatever weakening it had suffered was made up when, early this year, another swing of the same pendulum put power back again in the hands of the parties of the Left, the Popular Front, which had been organised on the French model for the elections of February last; even the Communists, following the new policy of the Comintern, and the Syndicalists, for the first time in their history, had joined the Front. A Liberal government led by Senor Azana again came into power. An incipient army revolt was easily anticipated and prevented. Gil Robles announced that he bowed to the decision of the people. The reforms of the first two years of the Republic, suspended or cancelled in the years of reaction, were again taken in hand. Spain appeared to be back again where she was five years ago. Then in July came the murder of a Socialist police official followed by the counter-murder of a Conservative political leader, and the revolt of the Army. In five months Spain was really back where she had been fifty years, or more, ago.

The Spanish revolt is sometimes regarded as the latest example in a European State of the contemporary struggle between Communism and Fascism. There are undoubtedly Communists and Fascists of orthodox breeds on either side. Lenin and Trotsky believed that Spain was

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the next country to Russia written in the Dialectic,—and blood,—for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. On the other hand, General Franco, the leader of the revolt, has appealed, not unsuccessfully, to Hitler and Mussolini to save Spain from the Reds, and has even adumbrated a Corporate constitution for the New Spain of his horrid dreams. There is much that is different between even Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy in origins as well as in characteristics. And Fascism in Poland and the Baltic States and South-Eastern Europe does not everywhere mean the same thing. Spanish Fascism is therefore Fascism with a difference.

For this revolt in Spain is primarily a revolt of the Army; a mutiny rather than a rebellion: still less is it a civil war. Indeed, civil wars and rebellions and mutinies ar nothing new in Spanish politics. The country which had given to Europe and the world Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Theodosius, Quintilian, Seneca, Martial, Lucan and Juvenal, Averrhoes, Ignatius Loyola, Velasquez and Murillo, Cervantes and Calderon, —Emperors, writers ancient and modern, philosophers, religious leaders, painters,—the mistress of the Indies and America,—had in the course of the centuries gradually decayed, and become in the nineteenth century a small kingdom, ruled by a foreign and reactionary dynasty, ably aided and abetted by the aristocracy, and the clergy, and subject to repeated periods of disorder, the like of which no other country in Europe witnessed: liberalism, syndicalism, anarchism, separatism all flourished in this soil. The present crisis can be properly understood only against this large and lurid background. But the Army also was one of these disturbing factors, and it is *the* disturbing factor today.

It is not necessary to go into all the causes which made the Army such a unique political factor in nineteenth century Spain. The civil government was often weak and therefore dependent on it; and never learnt the lesson that you can do everything with bayonets except sit on them.

But undoubtedly the army has the sympathy of other sections of the population, as it has of other countries, all threatened from the same quarter. And equally undoubtedly the most important of these is the clergy.

In no modern European State has the Church been so powerful or so reactionary. It was the last home of the Catholic reaction and of the Inquisition. Right up to 1931 it enjoyed an enormous and taxfree wealth. The burden of taxation therefore fell on the other classes. It engaged in all kinds of business competing with the industrial classes. Even so late as a year ago, and under the Republic and after the reforms of the Republic, it was estimated to control 8 banks, 35 businesses, one wireless station, one news agency and 60 newspapers, in addition to many cinemas and theatres. Its revenue in the last century was estimated to be equal to that of the State. Half the children of the country could not be educated because the Government, deprived of its revnue from church property, had no money to open schools for them, and of the schools actually in the country, half were clerical ones. The Church opposed all liberal thought in the Universities, and the execution of Ferrer in 1909 at its instigation was a European event which showed up its conservatism, power and cruelty. Five revolutions were made in the last century against its control of the Government, but it was as powerful as ever in 1930.

It is not surprising, therefore, if the Republic was as much against the clergy as against the Monarchy and the army.

The great landowners too would appear to be in some sympathy with the army.

The army, then has some support in other quarters. But it is easy to exaggerate it. Among the military forces themselves, the navy and at least a portion of the air force seem to be on the side of the Government. On the question of religion, it is more the clergy than the Catholics who are against the Government. The Republic has not been so much anti-religious, even anti-Catholic, as anti-clerical.

On the other hand, to call the Government against whom the revolt began as a Communist (or Syndicalist) one was sheer humbug. For not only was the Government neither a Communist nor a Syndicalist one, it was not even a Socialist one. In the Cabinet which came into power in February last, there was not a single Communist, Syndicalist or Socialist. In this respect it was a Cabinet even less to the left than the Cabinets of 1931-33 which did contain some Socialists as a rule. Both Largo Caballero and Indalecio Prieto, the leaders of the left wing and right wing Socialists, were ministers in that earlier period. Both have now indeed become ministers, the former as Prime Minister; but this was after the July revolt began. On the other hand, Azana, the ablest Republican and democrat of them all, continues as President, a post to which he was elevated soon after the Popular Front came into power. Indeed the Communists and the Syndicalists supported the new Cabinet in July as they had not done in 1931. But it was more a return to sanity on their part in the light of events in Spain in 1933-35 and of the collapse of socialism and communism in Germany in 1933, than a Machievellian design to control the Government from inside.

Madrid has not fallen as these lines are being written, but even if it falls, all will not have been lost, with Eastern Spain intact for the Government. Every decent person will therefore wish Caballero success. But it has to be admitted that violent words and threats of force have been used even by him in the past, and short-sighted policies pursued, and they have been among the causes of this catastrophe. "Let us educate our masters" said an English politician, as he saw the coming victory of democracy in England. We may also say the same thing but in a different sense, as we watch the nearly accomplished failure of leadership everywhere. The tragedy of Spain too is that, in the last analysis.

The Prospects in Europe

The situation in Europe today is decidedly gloomy. A series of international incidents have developed in such a fortutious manner that the year 1936 would go down to history as the harbinger of disaster. Dr. Lanka Sundaram writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal:*

Twenty months ago, Herr Hitler, fresh from the field of domestic triumphs, tore up the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles by marching his Steel Helmets into the Saar Basin. There was a comic flutter among the dovecotes of the chancelleries of Europe who were all willing to hurt Germany but were afraid to strike. Instead of any energetic intervention, the Stresa Front, grotesquely miscalled, was organised. Fulminations from Paris, Brussels, Rome and London did not deter the Reichfuhrer, as the German dictator has since been called, from swearing by Odin and Thor and, strangely enough, the dramatic Saar plebiscite completely vindicated the ultimatum of the Chancellor of the Third Reich.

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Still, France succeeded in traducing England, Belgium and Italy into believing that the Stresa Front was unbroken and that a revised Locarno, which was to take the place of the babe born eleven years ago out of the joint labours of Sir Austen Chamberlain and Dr. Stresemann, should be organised as the mainstay of current European politics. This, however, was not to be. The Roman adventure in the Dark Continent proved not only to be a serious impediment in the way of the reconstruction of the League of Nations, but actually prevented Western Europe from entering into a concordat of mutual assistance. Even after the lifting of the sanctions against Italy, Western Europe is still unable to implement a revised Locarno, since Herr Hitler demanded, as the price of Germany's admission into this enclave, a free hand in the East.

Signor Mussolini, who has been toiling hard with his armaments and preparing to make use of his exhaust-pipe to good purpose, suddenly broke away from the path of international probity and embarked upon his Ethiopian adventure, exactly twelve months ago. The League of Nations, despite the severe rebuffs it received from Japan and Germany during the past six years, was then carrying on a not-altogether-disreputable existence. Twelve months ago, Mr. Anthony Eden, the British Minister for League of Nations Affairs, was the official go-between whenever two European countries behaved in an ungentlemanly manner, and was regarded as the custodian of international morality. Was not the Stresa Front his handiwork, intended to patch up torn integrity, without making any real effort to prove the fundamental causes of European unrest?

This idealist, who, in recent months, has, strangely enough, confessed to enough realism to acquiesce in a race for armament superiority of Great Britain in the world, was largely responsible for twisting the tail of the British Lion into a sense of righteousness going waste, and in a moment of irresponsible frenzy, fifty-two nations were banded together in a holy crusade against the unholy new Roman Empire. After eight months of economic and financial sanctions against Italy, the League of Nations issued a fresh fiat, "Hands off Italy"! This modern Children's Crusade could not, thus, save Ethiopia from the flames of Italy's superior bacteriological warfare.

Collective or pooled security, as the structure of international society came to be called, was proved to be neither collected nor secure. The final blow to the prestige of the League of Nations was thus struck with a calculated vehemence the like of which was neveo seen before. The concerted action of fifty-two nations was rendered futile, not because their motives were not laudable, but by virtue of the fact that while the spirit was strong the flesh was weak. The Ethiopian holocaust was the involuntary votive offering which the vast majority of the world States were obliged to make to propitiate Mars, who has become the presiding deity of current human affairs. With it the League of Nations too was dragged into dust.

But not before the greatest international perfidy of all time was unmasked. The bubble of the Hoare-Laval plan for the dismemberment of Ethiopia was pricked and public opinion asserted itself with a vehemence which is without parallel in the history of human endeavour. Sir Samuel Hoare and M. Laval were hurled down from their high pedestal. While M. Laval's fall was more or less permanent, a holiday at St. Moritz so rehabilitated the fortunes of Sir Samuel Hoare that he is now ruling Britannia's waves, with a distinct prospect for becoming the brain behind British defence services. Here, again, is another instance of the topsyturviness and contradictions of world politics.

The destruction of the League of Nations was not achieved before Ethiopia, who pinned her faith in its efficacy, was despoiled.

Here again, is another instance as to how an unconscious injustice could be done to the victim when the mob tries in its fury to come to its rescue. The musty old Brussels Convention of half a century ago, which prohibited traffic in arms to African peoples, was invoked against Ethiopia, while Mussolini and his legions marched into the heart of that country with a ruthlessness remarkable even in the field of modern mechanised warfare.

Two months ago, when the Civil War started in Spain, there was nervousness in Europe that the stage was set for a European War. M. Leon Blum, the first Socialist Premier of France, who then returned fresh from the triumphs of the polls, was disposed to give a helping hand to a neighbouring established Socialist government in Spain. But England required time to prepare herself for the impending catstrophe of a World War and was not prepared to allow France to do so. The supreme need for England to-day is adequate armaments preparation. Was it not a fact that, after sacrificing Ethiopia and reinstalling Sir Samuel Hoare in office, England had declared recently that she had no policy in the Mediterranean?

To secure British support in tackling her national problems, France willingly signed, along with other European powers, the Non-Intervention Pact. But the pact was signed by certain powers only to be broken at the earliest opportunity. As I write, the International Committee sitting in London under the Chairmanship of Lord Plymouth to supervise the operation of the Pact has reached a deadlock. The U. S. S. R. produced ample evidence to show that the Pact was broken and that the Spanish insurgents are receiving support from at least three Fascist countries, *viz.*, Portugal, Italy and Germany. The only answer which the Portuguese delegate could give to the Committee was to withdraw from its deliberations, on the plea that he had not received any instructions from his government. The spokesmen of Italy and Germany inveighed against the representative of the U. S. S. R. by flatly denying the charges and by indulging in a wordy abuse of Soviet ideology. The U. S. S. R. threatened unilateral intervention on behalf of the established Socialist government of Madrid, but Signor Mussolini lost no time in notifying the world that such intervention would be deemed as an act of war aimed against Italy.

The stratagem of European peace is thus completely destroyed. Every country is awaiting an opportunity to strike first, only not knowing yet whom, where and when to strike. Each one for himself and his ilk is the motto of present-day Europe. The ideas of collective security and international collaboration are now scattered to the winds, despite the loud talk about the reconstruction of the League and the revival of the Disarmament Conference. The cockpit of Europe is only awaiting the igniting spark to blow itself up into ruins.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Uses of History

Julien Benda discusses in the *Temps*, Paris, the utility of history as a guide to the solution of problems of today. (In making the extracts below we use the translation by *The Living Age*)

Mr. Maxime Leroy's recent work raises once again the important question whether or not a knowledge of history is needed in order to govern.

You know the negative case, which one of our most brilliant academicians has recently revived. It may be summarized as follows: the statesman has special problems to solve. He has to solve them in their special, unforeseen aspects. In these the study of history will be of no use to him.

To which the 'historians' reply: 'These special problems, though they are special, yet have a general character, a link with the eternal man. A situation does not have an identical parallel in the past, but it has analogies. Nothing is entirely "old stuff;" but neither is anything entirely new. A knowledge of the general character of the problem to be resolved, and an acquaintance with its analogies, are needed by the statesman. And only the study of history can provide him with them.'

No one will deny that every problem has its analogies in the past. The question is to know in what degree they are analogous to it; in what degree, consequently, the statesman can make use of them. I hold that this depends upon the epoch.

Up until the nineteenth century public life changed very little and the problems of the day admitted of analogies in the past sufficiently analogous to enable the statesmen to profit by them. Henry IV and Richelieu in their relations with their subjects found themselves faced with problems which were so little different from those which Louis XI and even St. Louis had had to resolve that it was useful for them to know what solutions the latter had found for these problems.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the situation has been different. Doubtless problems always have their analogies in the past; they always share a part of eternal humanity; but the analogy is now so distant, the new outweighs the old so much, that an examination of the past loses much of its interest. In these circumstances one may admit that the statesman derives far less profit from history.

Let us take the case of the modern State faced with the claims of the workers. People tell me the old regime knew these movements. It knew strikes and riots, yes, but it did not know the *right* to strike. It did not know the prospect of calling out a national army against a riot. These are new things, which make the problem singularly new and render an acquaintance with the workers and movements of the 18th century, so admirably described by Mr. Henri Hauser, of meager profit for the statesman today.

There is, however, one plane on which the defenders of history seem to capture the whole terrain, the plane of the nation's soul. 'By studying history,' they say to the statesmen, 'you will know the soul of your people in its essential and eternal aspects. And this is something which you must never forget.'

Doubtless; but alongside of this eternal quality—whose balance sheet is well enough known, and does not, perhaps, necessitate digesting whole libraries,—there exist in the soul of the nation certain new traits due to new facts, which the chief of that nation will need to understand fully as well, perhaps, as the eternal qualities.

The defenders of history are particularly insistent in matters of foreign policy. They deplore the fact that at Versailles the French negotiators did not take more account of the treaties of Westphalia. A statesman, Mr. Joseph Caillaux, replies that these treaties were written for a small Europe which was entirely agricultural, and that to take one's inspiration from them today in a world which has become so completely industrial would be to steer a sure course toward worse disasters. Which does not mean that in this Europe, so different from that of Hugh of Lionne, it is not necessary all the same to take account of certain historical facts more perhaps than has been done.

In short, every political problem has two aspects: one, that of the classifiable factors, the factors which may be referred to a category of history, of things whose formulae may be found in books; and the other aspect, that of the unique factor calling for a solution made to measure, which does not consist in applying a rule, but demands the spirit of invention and the genius of the artist. Cabinet members and career diplomats have a natural tendency to see in almost every case only the first aspect. The essential thing is that statesmen should learn to see the second aspect.

The Returning Wave of Illiteracy

The present economic crisis has affected to a large extent the school-education in the whole world. Stefan Truchim writes in the *Pion, Warsaw:*

Out of sixty States that have sent answers to a questionnaire issued by the International Educational Bureau, only three *viz.*, Ecuador, Spain and Italy have declared that they have not been obliged to make any retrenchments in the cultural departments of their administration.

And even with regard to these, detailed investigations would reveal interesting facts:

In Spain, for example, 50 per cent of the total population are illiterate. In the northern provinces of the Iberian Peninsula the illiteracy amounts to 20 per cent, while in the southern provinces like Andalusia it reaches up to nearly 80 per cent of the population. Here there are villages in which nobody except the pastor and the village-mayor can write. There are scarcely any primary school in southern Spain and the postmen give instruction

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in reading and writing, while they are engaged in carrying letters. It would naturally be difficult to limit the number of schools under such circumstances as these.

The heaviest blow has fallen upon the primary schools :

The number of such schools has decreased in Germany, Queensland, Alberta, Eastland, United States, New Zealand, Salvador, Siam and Cape Colony and four Indian provinces. In Poland 600,000 children cannot avail themselves of instruction owing to want of school buildings and remuneration to teachers. The school year has been curtailed in many countries, *e.g.*, in Hungary, Bulgaria and especially in the United States, where the school year in 715 primary schools amounts to only three months. A number of States have resorted to a double use of the school-rooms, such as Bulgaria, Danzig, Finland. Hungary, Jugoslavia, Poland, Egypt and C. P. of India, where one group of pupils uses the school-room in the morning, while another group uses the same in the afternoon.

The same crisis have occurred in High School education also :

In Roumania 120 High Schools and 35 teacher's seminaries were closed down. High School fees have been increased in 17 countries and newly introduced in a number of others. In the United States co-education has been started after closing down Girls' High Schools.

Only in 8 out of the 60 States, the salaries of the teachers have not been cut down. In some cases the period of pensionable service has been longthened while in others the number of pupils in each class as well as the number of compulsory teaching periods has been increaseed.

Are Big Cities Unhealthy?

Dr. W. Sievert writes in *Das Werk*, Duesseldorf :

The climate of a big city depends in the first place upon that of the whole province and then upon the peculiar construction of its buildings, the laying out of its industrial section and such other factors, out of which, however, some are common to all big cities, *viz.*, a disproportionately large area being covered with buildings as compared with the open greens, the average height of structures, the large tenement-houses, along with the crowded street-traffic, water-pipes and drainage.

It has been found that the area of a large city is under a lower atmospheric pressure than its surrounding region and that as a result of constant vertical currents of air, rising up from the houses of a big city the carbonic contents of the atmosphere do not decrease but increase with the height. The upward current of air, which prevents the accumulation of carbon in the streets, is therefore of the utmost significance to the citizen. Another important factor, influencing the special climate of a big city, is the development of soot and dust particles, which sometimes lead to the formation of mists. At a height of 5000 meters these dust-particles amount to only about 50 (per sqr. mm.), while near the ground they amount to nearly 20,000 to 50,000 in the country and several hundreds of thousands in a big city. In scientific language the measurement of this "darkening factor" has been worked out as 2.2 on the ocean, 1.6 at Davos and 4 to 5 in big cities. The rays of heat issuing from the earth are absorbed by the lowest atmospheric strata all the more readily in a big city on account of its mist and vapour, and they quickly warm up the air; hence the comparatively lesser coolness of the city during summer nights and, in general, the lesser differences of temperature between day and night.

The climate of big cities is favourable to the origination of certain diseases and it is necessary to wage a war against the clouds of smoke ejected from motor cars and motor cycles in the interest of public health as the bad smelling ingredients of the motor gas are proved to be dangerous. Lung diseases (especially tuberculosis) and certain nervous affections are undoubtedly more wide on spread in the cities than in the country. With regard to all other diseases, however, circumstances are found to be similar. Viewed purely statistically, the ratio of mortality is in favour of the big cities. In 1921. *e.g.*, the mortality in Berlin was 14.1 per thousand as against 18 in the country. There are of course certain reservations applicable to these results, *viz.*, that more old people live in the country than in the cities, the number of inhabitants between the age of 15 and 40 being far greater in the latter than in the former. However, infant mortality is considerably lower in the cities, while the proportion is reversed in the case of aged people.

The hygienical defects of big cities are balanced by certain essential advantages, *e.g.*, medical assistance, modern clinics, better instruction and information, systems of drainage etc. Added to these there are better opportunities in the cities for sport, weekends, physical training and constant technical and scientific efforts to improve the unfavourable conditions of town-life. On the whole, therefore, the question raised above may with good reasons be answered in the negative.

Soviet Philosophy of War

D. Fedotoff White discusses in the *Political Science Quarterly* the ideas on war held by the Soviet thinkers :

There is no sentiment whatsoever in the Soviet attitude toward war. Soviet thinkers are thoroughly hard-bitten in their views on war, as they are on most important practical problems, reserving their sentiment only for the socialist "kingdom come". Some of them think that St. Augustine's definition of war as *magna latrocinia* is somewhat too narrow; they agree with him, however, to the extent of claiming that wars are conducted for material reasons, which constitute, according to Lenin's terminology, "the objective content" of hostilities.

The wars of our days, according to the Communist theory, will be of several kinds : on one hand there will be imperialistic wars, aimed at the acquisition of areas productive of raw materials; on the other hand, the Soviets are firmly convinced that another armed intervention of capitalistic countries in the affairs of the U. S. S. R. is likely to occur. The latter form of war will be interwoven with civil wars. Revolutionary wars will result from the revolutionary situation which will be created by the involving of the masses of the people in another armed struggle on a large scale.

The Communists foresee also another category of wars : struggles for freedom on the part of the oppressed peoples where one race is kept in subjection by another. They believe, however, that such wars have a tendency to evolve into revolutionary wars of the proletariat.

The Soviet sociologists do not except wars for liberation from their general principle that material reasons are the underlying cause of any war: in other words, that the struggle for political independence is only an

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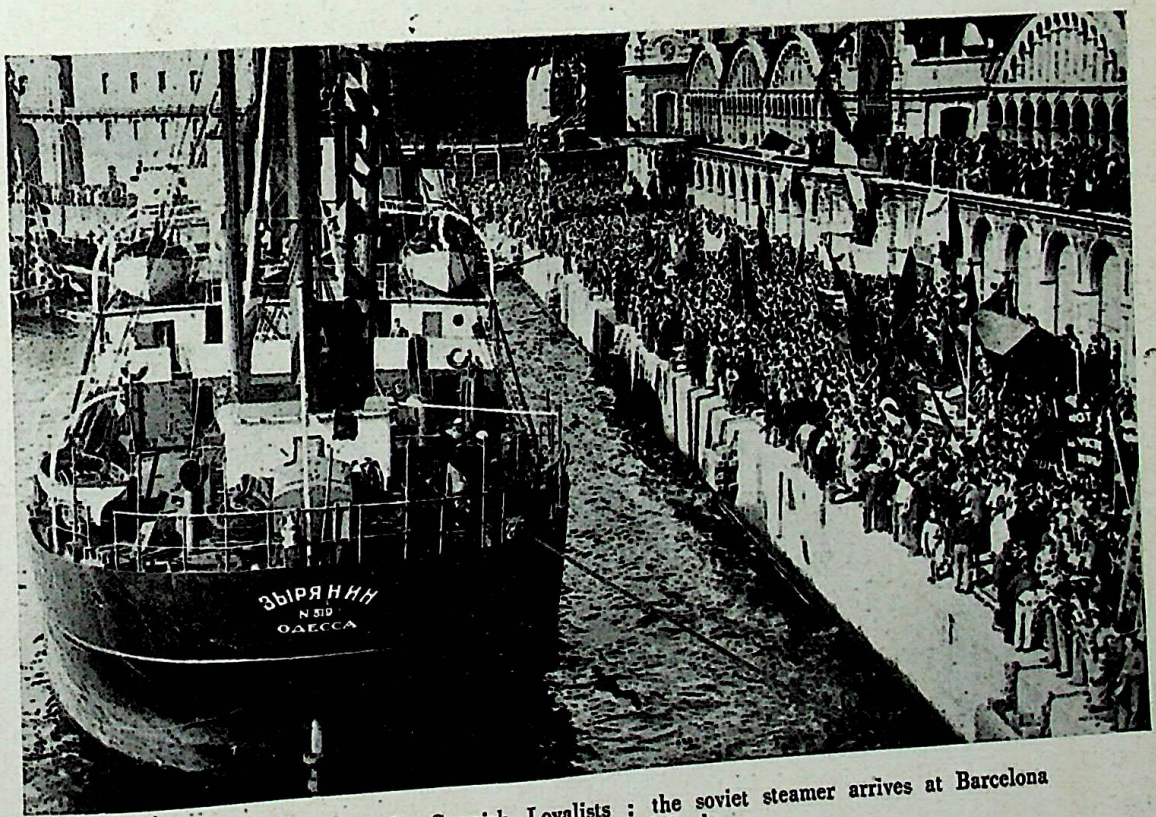
General Franco relieves prisoners in the cellars of Alcazar after 71 days of siege



Russian Food supplies for the Spanish Loyalists : the soviet steamer arrives at Barcelona with 3,000 tons of food

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Hindu-Muslim riots in Bombay : streets studded with stone and soda-water bottles

Clash between Sir Oswald Mosley's Black Shirts and Anti-Fascists : Police charge Anti-Fascists in East End, London

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expression of aspirations for a greater share in the material resources of the country.

Communists do not agree with the extreme view that wars will continue as long as men live on earth. They are firmly convinced, however, that wars will cease only with the complete downfall of the capitalist system and the final victory of the proletariat. Wars will cease then, because class struggle, the chief reason for wars, will disappear with the formation of a classless society throughout the world.

Marx, the founder of modern Communism, called war the midwife helping the birth of a new society from the loins of the old order. Soviet theoreticians think that, under these circumstances, war has a positive useful function to perform in tearing down senile institutions and forms of human relations, which are impeding the development of the living forces of humanity.

Lenin rejected disarmament as a specifically nationalistic program of weak states, which has no place in the international program of an international revolutionary party. "Peace pacts lay the foundation for wars", commented Lenin irreverently in his paper on imperialism.

It is only fair to say here that while the Communists are not at all pacifist in principle and admit that revolutionary wars and wars for national liberation should be regarded as desirable phenomena and not an evil at all, they do not make any attempt to idealize war nor are they unaware that war acts as a negative selective process, weeding out the best elements of a nation.

Preserving Records for Posterity

In the course of a paper contributed to the *Scientific American*, Dr. Thornwell Jacobs suggests how a record of our present generation may be preserved for the use of future historians.

We propose to collect a complete set of materials which describe and represent our lives and labors, to bury these materials in a secure spot, and to preserve them under the guidance and advice of our greatest scientists. We believe that in this way generations as remote from us in the future as ours is from ancient Menes and the pyramid builders will be able to visualize what manner of men we were and what manner of life we lived in 1936 A.D.

He further suggests that a date should be fixed for the opening of the crypt containing the 'treasure' which may be buried:

What could be more fitting than that the time be governed by the first fixed date in history? This is probably the year 4241 B.C., which marks the establishment of the Egyptian calendar. Since that first date 6177 years have passed. Adding this figure to 1936 brings us to A.D. 8113.

What we propose to do, then, is to provide for future historians an epitome of the life of an old generation—a generation in which *we* lived. Thus, for the first time in the history of a civilized land, future historians will have available a thorough and accurate record preserved for them. Such an epitome should include certain books—for example, encyclopedias—stored in the crypt. Motion picture films would, of course, be included, picturing the world of today, and especially the physical features of our cities and countrysides, our industries and our social activities. There should be a phonograph or film record carrying a salutation from the President of the United States to the rulers, whoever and whatever they may be, of the year 8113 A.D.

We must, of course, include such homely every-day things as the foods we eat, our drinks, even our chewing gum. We must describe and illustrate our sports and recreations, our buildings and their furniture, our engines, printing presses, automobiles, airplanes, typewriters, and so on. Models made of stainless steel or Monel metal, when preserved in a vault lined with similar materials, will no doubt last for at least 6000 years. Of course an illustrated encyclopedia, if it could be printed with an ink that did not carry self-destruction in its formula, and on a paper of the most permanent possible quality, and preserved in a vaccuum or in inert gases, would be one of the most perfect ways to preserve permanently a description of the thought and content of our present civilization.

Perhaps one of our great metropolitan dailies would be willing to print a special issue with an ink and paper of the type mentioned above, showing the treatment of our "news" and possibly containing a message addressed to those living in 8113 A.D. Thus we can convey an idea of our news disseminating system and of our methods of advertising. Such a newspaper might be encased in a stainless steel receptacle filled with inert gases. On the other hand, several different newspaper editions might be photographed in miniature on motion picture film and included in the crypt, together with a projection machine and instructions for its operation.

Contemporary Pacifism

The *International Affairs*, London, publishes an address by E. H. Carr containing a clear analysis of the psychology of contemporary pacifism. The speaker says:

In the first place, I ask myself the question whether the growth of the pacifist movement does not owe a good deal to the wave of fatalism which has swept over this country during the past two years. Thousands of people today have come to believe in war as an imminent and unescapable fact. By a primitive human instinct they take refuge from the monster in the nearest available cave; and that cave is pacifism. I am not imputing cowardice. The escape which they seek is an escape not from danger, but from responsibility. They see war coming, and wish to wash their hands of it. I saw the other day an advertisement of a book whose sub-title was "Memoirs of an Escapologist." I have no idea what the word was intended by the author to mean. But it struck me that it fitted exactly a frame of mind only too prevalent today.

My second point of interrogation is of a different kind. In Great Britain, pacifism and self-interest so readily shade into each other. Nowhere else is it so easy to believe that war is an unmixed evil. Ask an American pacifist whether he believes that the War of Independence was a great disaster, and he will begin to hedge. He would no doubt have preferred the result without the war. But if you offer him the choice between the War of Independence and the *status quo ante*, he will choose the war. In other words, he does not believe that peace is the greatest of human goods. The same is still more conspicuously true of the European Continent. No Frenchman or Czech or Pole who has not repudiated national feeling can whole-heartedly regret the war of 1914. And if not the last war, what about the next? The Frenchman or the Czech regards the last war as a great victory and looks forward to the next as a great disaster. The German or the Hungarian looks back on the last war as a great disaster and counts on the next as a great victory.

Pacifism in this country at the present time owes,

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I think, a good many of its adherents to the easy assumption that peace and British interests are two ways of saying the same thing. This may, at the present moment, be fortunately true. But should a situation one day arise in which British interests appear incompatible with peace, I wonder how many of these adherents would be immune from the jingo fever.

My third doubt arises from the heterogeneous character of the elements which make up the present day pacifist movement. Besides non-resisters and Escapologists, it includes a number of left-wing internationalists, who reject war between nations but advocate war between classes. Consistent Marxism may be a thing of the past; for the Soviet regime, which began as a promoter of universal civil war, now proclaims its neutrality in civil wars and piles up armaments, like any other Great Power, for national self-defence. But recent events in Spain have shown how slender is the line between civil and national war; and I cannot believe in the international revolutionary, whether of the right or of the left, as a good pacifist. The Marxist and the non-resister are no doubt both covered by the famous formula of refusing to fight for king and country. But the alliance between them is artificial, and rests on a certain wilful confusion of thought on both sides. Except numerically it adds little strength to the pacifist movement.

Lastly—to complete my review of contemporary pacifism—there is a large group of people whom I will call quasi-pacifists and whose position is that of the Kellogg Pact. In theory they reject all war; but they make an express or mental reservation in favour of self-defence. It is a grave responsibility for any man to say that he will not, in the last resort, take part in the organised defence of his country; and I myself feel a strong leaning towards the position of the quasi-pacifist. But I am well aware of its weakness and of the extreme difficulty of fixing the limit of legitimate self-defence. Some of you may fix it at the Suez Canal, others on the Rhine, others at the English Channel; and for aught I know, some of you may fix it on the borders of Wales. The pacifist who reserves the right to defend his country, his home town or even his family, is obviously at the beginning, not at the end, of his problems.

The Raw Materials Problem

John C. deWilde discusses in the *Foreign Policy Reports* several measures that may be taken to solve the problem of unequal distribution of raw materials among the countries of the world :

The transfer of territory is the first remedy that suggests itself to countries with little natural wealth of their own. Only the transfer of dependent colonies and, in particular, of mandates is considered in this connection. National prestige, the desire for equality of rights and the need for population outlets may or may not justify demands for colonial revision. In this report it is necessary only to examine how far a reapportionment of colonies could contribute to a solution of the raw materials problem. It has been pointed out that colonies produce few raw materials of major importance; rubber and tin are the conspicuous exceptions. All the mandates, the former German colonies, are exceedingly poor in raw materials, so that returning them to their former suzerains would bring little relief. The possessions of Britain and The Netherlands in the Far East are undoubtedly the richest in primary products, but it is difficult to conceive of the two powers surrendering these colonies. Possession of even a small supply of colonial products might help a country whose foreign exchange position is very tight, although a more permanent and sounder remedy would obviously lie in the expansion of international trade. On the whole, the transfer of colonies and mandates, even on a considerable scale, would constitute only a partial and inadequate solution of the problem.

Raw materials can be said to be unevenly distributed only in relation to population density. In theory, a balance of resources might be achieved by permitting people to move freely to the sources of raw materials, there to exploit and utilize them without restriction. In this way the movement of populations might ultimately compensate for differences in natural wealth and standards of living between countries. Artificial barriers to immigration, however, have been erected by many states. But without these barriers there probably would have been no large migratory movement in recent years, for widespread unemployment even in less thickly populated countries has made emigration unattractive. Relaxation of emigration restrictions and revival of migration must therefore await the elimination of unemployment. The latter, in turn, can be achieved only by repairing the machinery of exchange.

If redistribution of territory and population is excluded, how can raw materials be made freely available to all countries? It has been pointed out that the present supply of raw materials considerably exceeds the demand as determined by purchasing power. This fact, however, should not prevent the adoption of measures which would remove, or stop the abusive use of, restrictions on the exploitation or exportation of such materials.

It would probably be too much to require, by international convention, that all countries accord foreigners and nationals the same rights in the exploitation of natural resources. Many weak states which have in the past been victims of economic imperialism could not be expected to make such a concession.

There would also be little use in demanding the abolition of export duties which some nations need for revenue or the conservation of natural wealth. An international agreement might provide, however, that such duties should in no case discriminate according to destination of the exports and that, wherever such export levies are exacted, equivalent excise charges should be imposed on international consumption.

Although the supply of primany products is more than adequate at the present time, it may be advisable in the future to consider measures looking toward more systematic exploration and development of raw material sources. Some international organization, representative of the corporate interests in all countries, might be established to take such measures in hand. As its first task it could aid the governments of colonies and relatively undeveloped but independent countries in making thorough surveys of their natural resources and drawing up plans for their most effective development. Migration of foreign labor and investment of foreign capital might be organized to carry out these plans. For this purpose colonization and investment corporations might be set up under international supervision.

The most efficacious remedial measures that could be devised are those which would bring about a revival of international trade on a sound economic basis. No country will experience difficulty in procuring essential raw materials when opportunities of international exchange are ample. The community of nations must therefore address itself to the task of removing or reducing the many impediments to the flow of world trade. In theory there are two ways of accomplishing this : one is to bring

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about conditions of free trade by the gradual abolition of existing rtstrictions; the other, to discard the old principles of economic liberalism and set about planning and organizing the exchange of goods.

Foreign Aid to the Spanish Rebels

The New Republic summarizes a document, issued by the Spanish Government, which contains direct evidence of the nature and extent of Fascist aid to the rebels :

Militarist leaders from the very start intended to use Portugal as one of their chief bases of supply and evidences of "armed aid" to the rebels have multiplied daily.

Beginning with the arrival of two Junker-52 military planes on August 9 and 10, squadrons of trimotored Junkers subsequently appeared on all fronts, although there were no German planes whatever in the Spanish air force prior to the rebellion. The correspondent of The London Times recorded the arrival of twenty-one Junker planes at Burgos on August 25, and the correspondent of The London News Chronicle reported the arrival of twelve German pursuit planes at Seville on September 24.

Six completely armed Savoia-Marchetti seaplanes were forced to land in Algeria while en route to Spain in July, and later twenty-four Italian planes were unloaded from a ship at Vigo.

An Italian Fiat plane commanded by Air Captain Ernesto Monico was shot down on the Talavera de la Reina front on August 30, and on the pilot's body were found matriculation papers and orders signed by rebel generals. Sergent Vincente Patriarca, captured alive on the same front, signed an affidavit that he had come from Genoa to Spain with an air squadron. all of whose members were Italians, which was commanded by Italian officers.

Newspaper reports by H. F. Garratt. published in The London Daily Mail and later supported by affidavits, told of the bombing of a Spanish hospital ship by Italian planes on August 31, and the arrival of a squadron of planes completely manned by Italians.

The German steamers "Kamerun" and "Visberg" carried munitions to the rebels. Operating through Portugal, the "Kamerun" discharged her cargo "in the center of Lishon." She carried "light tanks dismounted airplanes, bombs and hand grenades" and "motor trucks transported these to Badajoz and Salamanca."

"THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN"—1936

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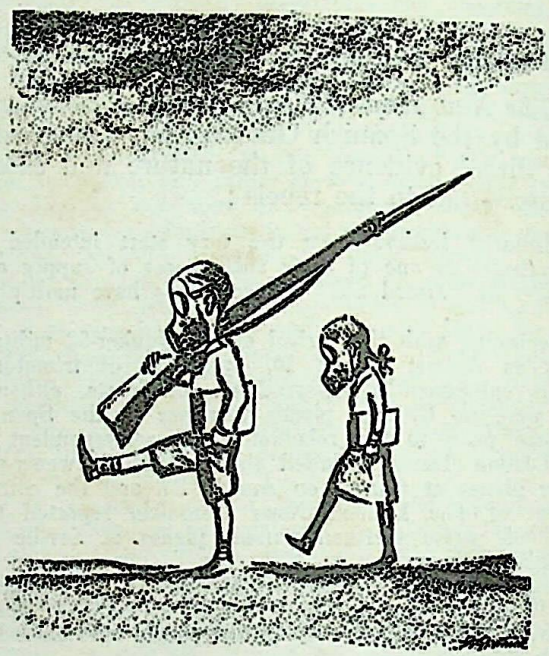
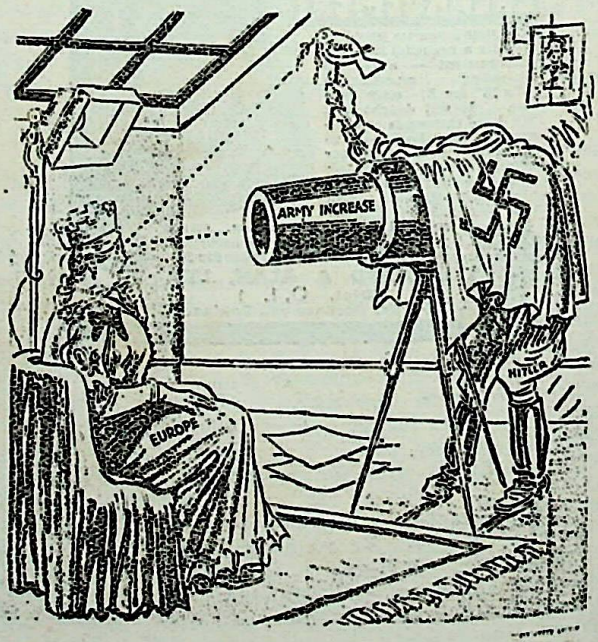
A Peep into the Future!



School opens in Europe
—*St. Louis Post-Despatch*

"——Or Else"
—*Columbus Dispatch*



"Watch the Birdie!"

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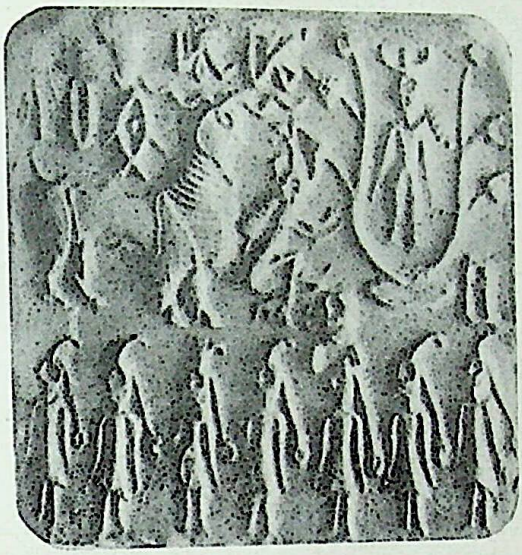
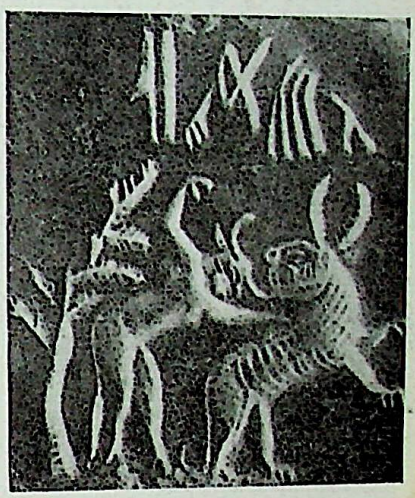
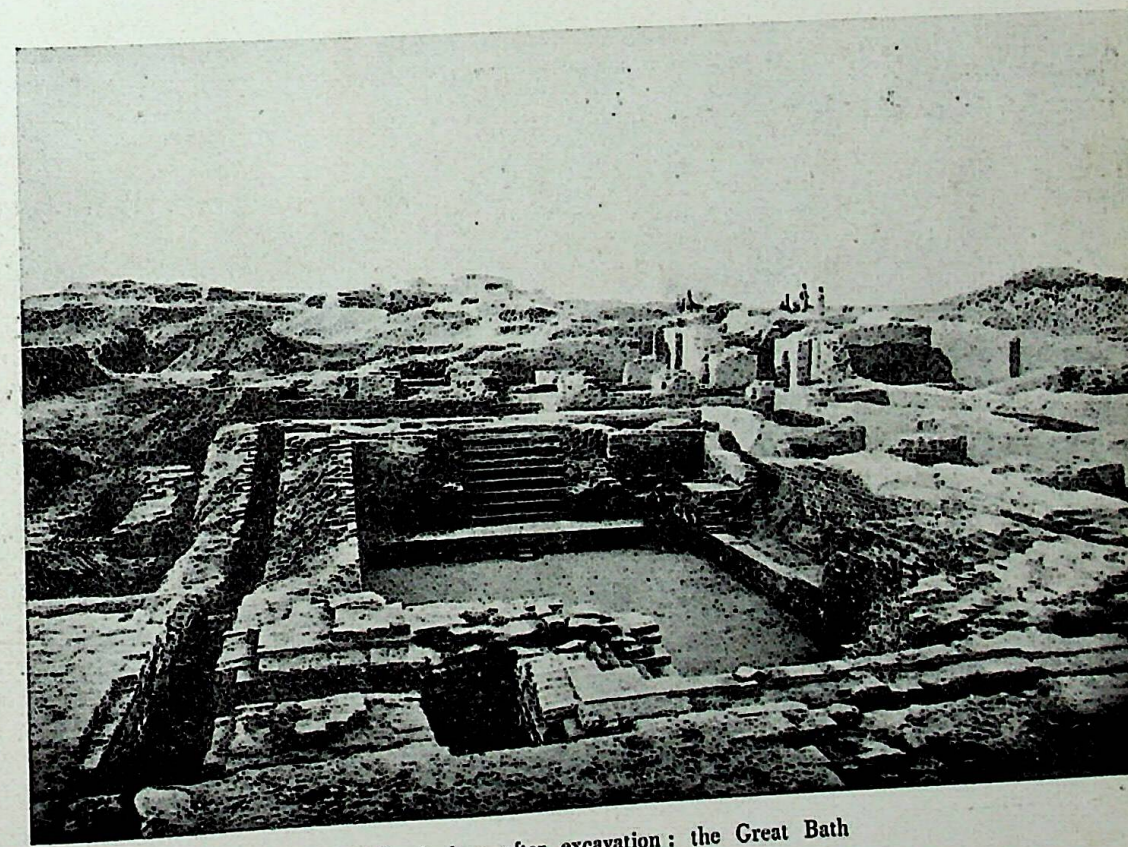
INDUS CIVILIZATION AND RELIGION FIVE THOUSAND YEARS AGO





Seals illustrative of Indus Religion



Mohenjo-daro after excavation : the Great Bath

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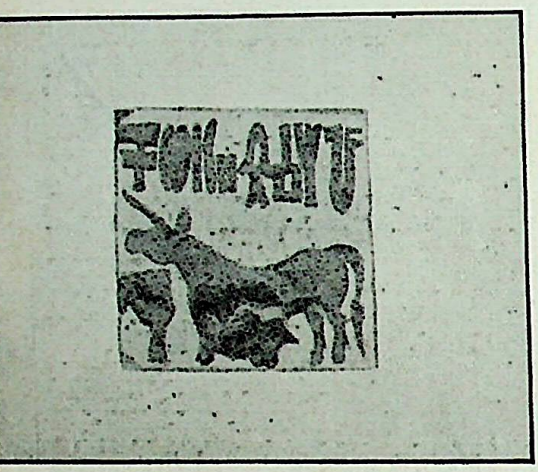
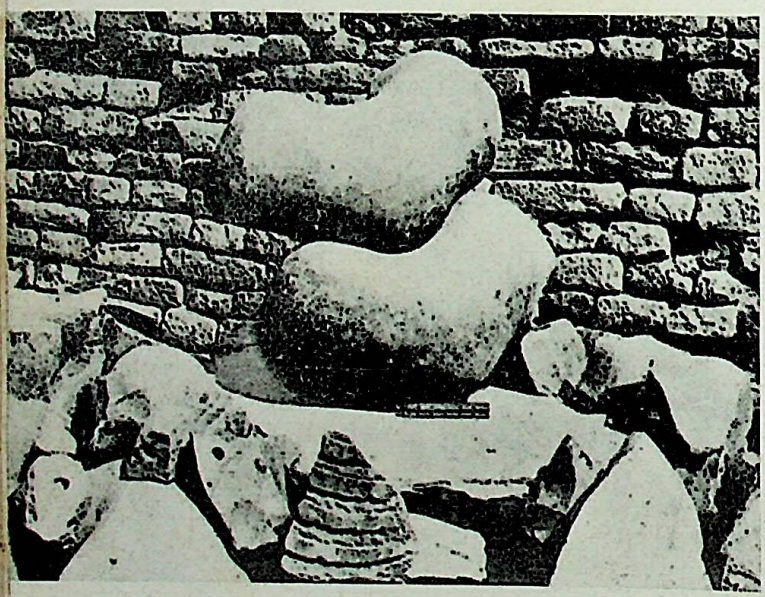


Indus seal found at Kish

Mohenjo-daro figurine



Ring-stones with upper and lower surfaces undulating

Seal representing a deity crowned with horns—Pasupati

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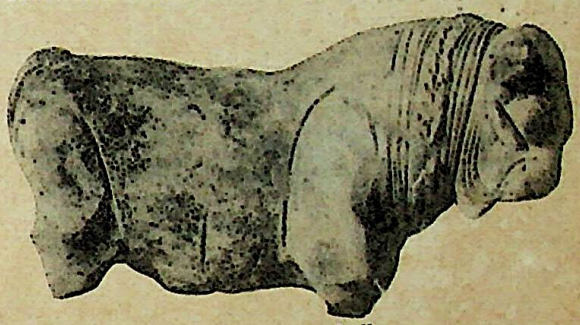
THE RELIGION OF THE INDUS VALLEY PEOPLE[1]

By A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B.

On account of Sir John Marshall's acceptance of the theory that the Aryans entered India after 1500 B. C. and consequently styling the Indus civilization as pre-Aryan, it has become necessary to consider the age of the Rigveda and the date of the Aryan occupation of the Indus Valley, especially as introductory to this chapter since there are many aspects of the religion of the Indus Valley that are called non-Aryan and hence pre-Aryan. There is practically a consensus of opinion among the scholars of the West that the Vedas are not earlier than the latter half of the Second millenium B. C.,[2] many Indian scholars and archæologists following and supporting the view.[3] "Even such a question as the age of Vedic literature may not look quite the same to a scholar residing some thousand miles away from India as it does to some one nearer to the scene of action."[4] The recent philological, archæological and anthropological researches have necessitated a reconsideration of the whole question of the Aryan migrations. It seems to me that the Aryan invasion of India through the Bolan pass is certainly a myth,[5] and that the Aryans were autochthons, their habitat or home being the Himalayas.[6] The objections to the indigenous theory on philological grounds as mentioned by Prof. Rangacharya,[7] such as the Indo-Germanic group being closely allied to Sanskrit may be explained as the similarity being due to the Aryan migrations and expansion to the West; and as to the Dravidian group, it is not yet proved that the Dravidians were autochthons of Northern India. "Tilak puts the Vedic



Terra-cotta bull

hymns" (on astronomical arguments) "as far back as 6000 B.C.; Jacobi is content with dating the beginning of Vedic civilization at about 4500 and considers the Rigveda hymns as the ripe, perhaps even late, fruit of that age."[8] Dr. Buhler finds the estimates of the age of the Veda made by Dr. Jacobi and Prof. Tilak, "not prima facie incredible". "It is of great advantage" says Dr. Buhler, "to those who like myself feel compelled by other reasons to place the entrance of the Aryans into India long before the year 2000 B.C."[9] The Mittani inscriptions and the recent discovery of Tokharian to the NE of the Punjab and of Nasili in Hittite Cappadocia show that the age of the Vedas is considerably prior to 2500 B.C. Though the earlier date assigned by Dr. Das[10] is generally not accepted on account of its alleged failure to take into account other evidence, there appears to be

1. In this article the following abbreviations are used: ABI=*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.* AP=*Aryan Path.* CR=*Calcutta Review.* CHI=*Cambridge History of India.* ERE=*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* Ganga=*Ganga*, Hindi Monthly, Bhagalpur. IA=*Indian Antiquary.* IHQ=*Indian Historical Quarterly.* HIL=*History of Indian Literature.* JRAS=*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* JRSA=*Journal of the Royal Society of Arts.* MASI=*Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India.* MR=*The Modern Review.* QJMS=*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.* AV=*Atharva Veda.* YV=*Yajur Veda.*

2. *Cf.* Macdonell, ERE, 7, pp. 94 *ff*; Vedic Reader, p. 12 etc. Thomas, JRAS, 1932, 454-55. Keith. Rel. & Phil. Veda, HOS, Vol. 18, Intr.: For view of other scholars, please refer to Winternitz, HIL, I, 290-310; Rev. Fr. R. Zimmermann, Hymns from the Rigveda, BSS, No. 58, App. V.

3. Those, *e.g.*, that credit the Dravidians, Panis, Dasyus, etc. with the authorship of the Indus civilization: R. D. Banerji, R. Chanda, S. K. Chatterji, etc.

4. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. VII.

5. *Cf.* IHQ, 4, 678-94; 5, 248-260; 6, 513-28.

6. Lachmidhar, *Home of the Aryas*, Delhi, 1930. S. V. Vishwanath, *Racial Synthesis of Hindu Culture.* S. V. Venkateswara, AP, 1934, p. 87. V. R. Karandikar, Lecture.

7. History of Pre-Musalman India, Vol. I, Madras, 1929, pp. 211-212 also Chap. IX.

8. Zimmermann, *op. cit*, App. V. p. CXXXIX.

9. IA, 1894, p. 248.

10. The date proposed is 25000 B. C. Rigvedic India, 1927, and Rigvedic Culture. I would not be surprised if in future the so-called fantastic theory of Dr. Das is found to be correct, especially as geologically and anthropologically he seems to be receiving support. *Cf.* Yale North India Expedition's work reported in the *Times of India*, April, 1934.

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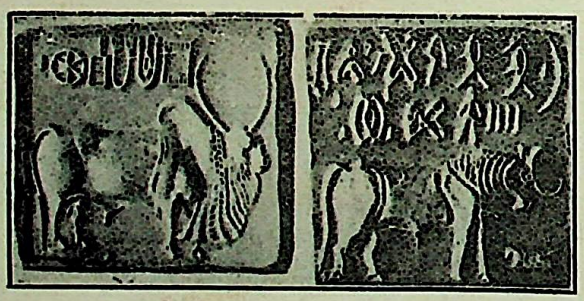
some reason in Prof. Venkateswara's estimate of 11000 B.C. as denoting the beginning of the Vedic age.[11] Mr. V. R. Karandikar[12] on a study of the Puranas, places the Rigveda before *pralaya* which in his opinion took place in 4200 B.C. From the above it seems fairly certain that by the period 3250-2750 B.C., the date provisionally assigned to the Indus Valley culture, the Aryans had occupied Sind, as would appear also from the references to the rivers and the province in some of the earlier books of the Rigveda. Hence, on the analogy of Dr. Frankfort's statement in another connection we may say that un-Aryan does not and need not necessarily mean pre-Aryan.

It has already been pointed out that no structural monument of any kind has been discovered at Mohenjodaro or Harappa. All that we have to rely upon for a clue as to the nature of the religion of the people is the testimony of the seals, sealings, copper tablets, various figurines in terra-cotta, faience or metal, and some stone images in the round. In spite of the meagreness of the materials, the light they throw on the ancient religion is invaluable, though it does not prove (in the light of what we have taken to be the age of the Rigveda and the Aryans) the so-called pre-Aryan contribution to the Aryan religion as is maintained by Sir John Marshall.



Seals with figures of humped and humpless bulls

Mother Worship : A number of figurines of terra-cotta etc. (Pls. 12; 94; 95) portrays a standing and almost nude female figure wearing a girdle or a band round her loins with an elaborate head-dress and collar, occasionally with ornamental cheek cones and necklace ; sometimes, the ear-ornaments are like caps suspended on either side of the head (Pls. 94, 1, 5, 12; 95, 6, 7, 8). "On some of the figures they are smoke-stained and it is possible that oil, or perhaps a pellet of incense, was burned in them in order that the Goddess might hearken favourably to a petition."[13] Similar figurines have been discovered in many countries in Western Asia, between Persia and the Ægean, as also round wayside trees and village shrines in South India. These figures are rightly taken to represent the Mother or Nature Goddess. There is no reason to believe that the cult of the Mother Goddess originated in Anatolia or any other particular country,[14] as the concept of the Motherhood of God as also of the divinity of nature is quite common among the primitive people of the world. Apart from the similarities with the figures of other places, the widespread and deep-rooted nature of the cult of the Mother Goddess in India would be a strong presumption to hold the figures as representing the Mother Goddess. She is represented in every village as the tutelary deity (gramadevata) and known under various names Mata, Amba, Ama, Kali, Karali, etc., sometimes to be dreaded, sometimes warding off evil spirits, imparting fertility, etc. The cult has been supposed to have originated in a matriarchal state of society,[15] while some take it to have been originated from the fertility cult.[16] There is an Earth-Goddess (Prithivi) in the Rigveda. It is possible that some section of the population worshipped the Mother Goddess in a different form, and hence, some differences with the Vedic Goddess cannot be taken to prove necessarily the un-Aryan character of the cult. Sir John Marsall states that the Goddesses play a subordinate role in the Vedas, while among the people of the Indus Valley the female principle stands on the same footing as the male, if not higher.[17] The henotheistic tendency in the Rigveda renders the determination of the position of any particular deity rather difficult. From the data available at Mohenjodaro, it is not possible to ascertain the relative degrees of reverence paid to the male and female deities. The larger number of the images of female deities may, at the most, be taken to be an index of the popularity of the female representation. "The popularity of a

11. AP, 1931, pp. 230-236.
12. Letter dated 7-4-34 written to me.
13. Dr. Mackay, JRSA, 82, 218. Prof. Venkateswara calls it "Dipalaksmi," Ar 1930, p. 14.
14. As inferred by Sir J. Marshall, MIC, p. 50. Cf. *contra* : "The Hittite deities are often accompanied by animals in quite Indian fashion. . . . This was a peculiarity characteristic of Anatolian iconography down to latest times." Dr. Hall, Ancient History, Near East, p. 331.
15. Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 541. Dr. Hall, Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age, pp. 74-75. Harrison, Prolegomena to Greek Religion, pp. 261, 499.
16. *Cf.* Sur, CR, May 1931, p. 234 and the references on that page; IHQ, 1934, p. 14.
17. MIC, pp. 51, 111.

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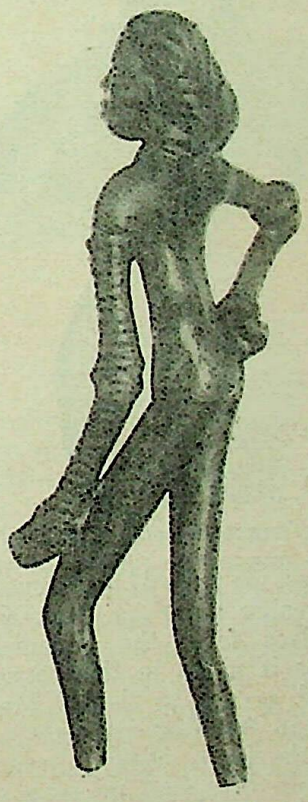
deity does not necessarily indicate a higher position."[18]

An interesting sealing from Harappa (Pl. 12 : 12) shows a nude female figure turned upside down with outspread legs and a plant issuing from the womb. On the reverse side appear a man with a sickle-shaped knife in hand, and a woman seated on the ground with hands raised in supplication. Obviously this depicts a human sacrifice to the Earth Goddess, depicted on the obverse with two genii. A similar figure of the Gupta age has been discovered in the U. P., with a lotus issuing out of the neck of the Goddess. The Mother Goddess was the prototype of the power (prakriti) which developed into Sakti.[19]

Saktism : Sakti worship is of high antiquity in India, its underlying idea being the union of the eternal female principle with the eternal male principle. "There are traces of Tantricism at Mohenjodaro and Harappa . . . . As a form of worship, Tantricism is the same as Saivism or Saktism," which has been taken by Dr. Chaudhuri as of un-Indian origin.[20] It may however be noted that some Tantras themselves claim a Vedic origin for them, and some scholars call Tantric religion 'reminiscent of the Vedic rituals.'[21] "The idea of the creative female principle was inherent in the conception of the Goddess Earth among the early Indo-Aryans."[22] It was later on that the creative female energy was personified and an elaborate ritual sprung around her.

Saivism : An important seal on which is portrayed the so-called prototype of Siva is Pl. 12 : 17. The deity is three-faced, "seated on a throne with chest, neck, and head quite erect and feet crossing each other. His arms are out-stretched, his hands with thumbs to front resting on his knees."[23] A pair of horns meets at the bottom of a tall head-dress. There are four animals, an elephant and a tiger to the right and a rhinoceros and a buffalo to the left. Two deer stand under the throne and an inscription of seven letters appears at the top. "We recognise in the horns crowning his head, the trisula or trident".[24] This representation has the germ of at least three concepts connected with Siva, *viz.*, he is (*i*) trimukha (*ii*) Pasupati and (*iii*) Yogisvara or Mahayogi.[25]

The 'trimukha' aspect is apparent on the face of the seal though Mr. Chanda suggests an invisible face at the back making the deity four-faced.[26] Images of three-faced Siva have been found near Mount Abu and in other places. The four animals depicted about the figure bring out the Pasupati (Lord of the Beasts) concept about Siva. The two deer beneath the throne are found also in connection with many medieval images of Siva. Prof. Dikshitar states that Siva came to be known as Pusupati from the Pasupata form of Yoga.[27] Now, as to the Yogisvara or Mahayogi concept, we find that the deity is sitting cross-legged in the padmasana posture, with eyes on the tip of the nose. "Not only the seated deities engraved on some of the Indus seals are in Yoga posture—the standing deities on the seals also show Koyot-



Bronze figurine of a dancer

18. Dr. Law, IHQ, 1932, p. 162.
19. *Cf.* Oppert, The Original Inhabitants of India, pp. 449, 450, 504.
20. Dr. N. N. Chaudhuri, MR, August 1934, pp. 150-156 at p. 153 and 154, also OC VII, Summaries of Papers, Baroda, pp. 38-40.
21. Chakravarti, CR, May 1933, pp. 223-239 at p. 223; also Sastri, QJMS, 1934, 224-30 on p. 226.
22. Dr. Law, IHQ, 1932, p. 162.
23. R. Chanda, MR, August 1932, pp. 151-160 at pp. 158-59.
24. Dikshitar, The Culture of the Indus Valley, reprinted from the Journal of the Madras University, pp. 1-22, at p. 10.
25. *Cf.* Dr. Keith, Rel. and Phil. of the Vedas, p. 144.
26. *op. cit*, p. 159.
27. *op. cit.* p. 10.

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sarga posture of Yoga . . . ."[28] Two stone statuettes are also shown in the posture of one engaged in practising Yoga. The institution of Yoga has been taken to be pre-Vedic.[29] Mr. Dikshitar examines the point according to the orthodox theories and concludes : "In this way Sivasakti was realised by

Terra-cotta female figurine

the early sages, the yatis of the Rigveda Samhita in order to realise the Yoga (Rig. X. 136) and free themselves from the trammels of this world."[30] Be it noted in this connection that the reference occurs in the X Mandala, the latest strata in the Rigveda, proving the high antiquity of the earlier books. According to Sir John Marshall, Siva had no place among the gods of the Vedic pantheon, while his worship by the Indus people proves that the God was borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from the non-Aryan Indus people.[31] Mr. Sur, a protagonist of the pre-Aryan culture in India, on the other hand, recognizes in Rudra of the Rigveda "an Aryanised form of the pre-Aryan proto-Siva."[32] Mr. Arbmann also sees the prototype of Siva in Rudra, a primitive popular deity.[33]

It is significant in this connection that the later Vedic texts contain some elaborate ideas concerning Siva such as are found associated with the deity on the seal, proving it to be of the post-Rigvedic age.[34] Dr. Sarup shows that the age of the Rigveda is far anterior to that of the Indus civilization, by stating that Siva and Vishnu who were comparatively unimportant deities in the Rigveda, gain importance subsequently in the period of the Yajurveda, Ramayana, Mahabharata etc.[35] Further, there is no reason to infer that a deity who is pre-eminently a Yogin should be borrowed from the so-called non-Aryans of the Indus Valley, especially as the practice of Yoga was a speciality of the Indo-Aryans and there is no evidence as to the practice and belief in the virtues of Yoga in the Indus Valley non-Aryans.[36] Another fact, revealed by the finds at Mohenjodaro is that the representation was not a mere anthropomorphic form of the god, but also a cult idol, which is indicated by the highly conventionalized type of the image, and by the discovery of a similar image on a faience sealing (Pl. 116, 29; 118, 11) being worshipped by Nagas.

Aniconic Worship : Closely connected with Saivism is the Linga-cult as revealed by the numerous phallic emblems. That "phallus played a considerable part in the religion and magical ideology of the pre-Aryan and non-Aryan peoples of India"[37] since the neolithic times is seen from the specimens in the Foote collection. Mr. Mukherji[38] has shown that the phallus worship originated in India. The term "Sisnadevah" in the Rigveda[39] is taken to mean "phallic worshippers." Personally I prefer to interpret the term as "a-brahmacaris," "noncelebates," those given to sexual enjoyment. Hence it would seem that phallus worship is not vedic.[40] It was probably practised

28. Chanda, *op. cit.* p. 159.
29. Chanda, MASI, 41, pp. 26, 32-33.
30. *op. cit.* pp. 7-10 at p. 8.
31. MIC. pp. 55, 112, *Cf.* also Subramania, Origin of Saivism, etc., Madras, 1929, who tries to prove that Saivism was non-Aryan in origin, being an outgrowth of the Nagas.
32. IHQ, 1934, p. 19.
33. Rudra untersuchungen Zum altindisehen Glauben und Kultus, Uppsala, 1922.
34. *Cf.* AY. II. 34; XI, 2, "Pasupati;" YV, TS, V, 3.1 'four animals' etc.
35. Ganga, 1933, p. 68.
36. Dr. Law, IHQ, 1932, p. 163.
37. Sur, IHQ, 1934, p. 21 also ABI, 1932, pp. 149-53.
38. Indian Civilization and its Antiquity, Chap. I.
39. Big. VII. 21.5. X99.3.
40. If however, the term is taken to mean "phallus worshippers" it refers to those in the Aryan fold and not non-Aryans. *Cf.* also Keith, Rel. & Phil. of Veda, I. p. 129. In this interpretation of the term phallus worship becomes of the Aryan origin. *Contra*, Subramania, "The Origin of Saivism etc." sees the origin of the phallic cult from the Sakti cult after the suppression of the matriarchal society.

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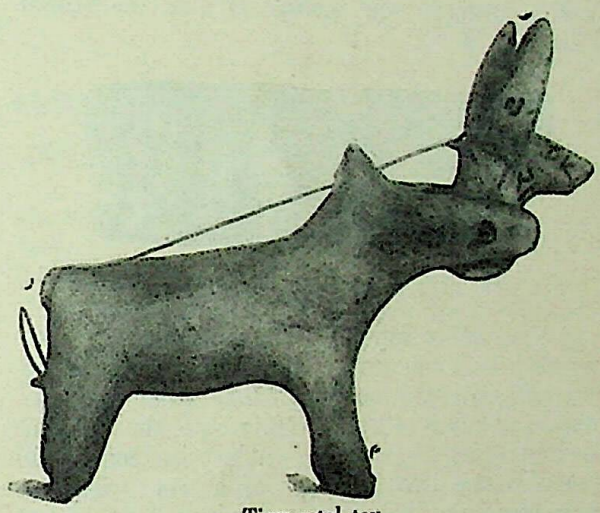
by some alien element in the society. Then later on, though in quite ancient times, the linga cult was Hinduised and given a religious significance.[41] The Tantras make much of the linga worship and enjoin that all religious merit would go in vain if one does not worship the linga.[42] Of the ring-stones (Pls, 13, 9-12; 14, 6, 8) varying in size from ½" to 4" in diameter, of which a large number has been found, the smaller ones seem to have been stones for talismanic or magical use, while the larger specimens may have served as jar-stands. "Those for which no utilitarian purpose can be suggested are the yonis or female symbols of generation used as ex-voto offerings or for cult worship."[43] The development of Saktism brought in its wake the worship of yoni, the other phallic emblem. Thus we see that in that remote past both aconic and aniconic worships were in vogue, the latter having its counterparts even today in the lingas, Salagramas, etc.

The next topic for consideration is whether the Vedic religion is aniconic as is maintained by Sir John Marshall.[44] In spite of the mention of an image of Indra in the Rigveda,[45] it seems that the Vedic religion was aniconic to a great extent. The worship of the gods of various types of the Vedic pantheon gradually resulted in the evolution of cults and a definite system of idol worship followed as time went on. Thus as the worship of icons followed the Rigvedic culture, its absence in the latter is quite justifiable, while the icon worship of the Indus people places them posterior to the Rigveda.

There is yet another class of stones with some similarity to the linga (phallic emblem) whose purpose is not quite clearly traceable. They are regarded as baetylic stones, and as similar stones called Nadu-Kal were common among early South-Indian Tamils,[46] the ascription seems probable.

Theriomorphism: There are numbers of instances of animal worship represented on the seals, sealings, or by the figurines and stone images. The animals are either (*a*) of a mythical character, (*b*) of a doubtful mythical character or (*c*) belonging to natural species. The representations of composite creatures, whose stone images were probably cult objects intended for worship, belong to the first category. A semihuman and semibovine creature (seal 357) recalling the Sumerian God Enkidu, and the half-human, half-animal forms of Nagas,[47] also fall under this category. The second class comprises figures like the strange one-horned beast, 'unicorn', resmbling an antelope or zebra but for the horn. It is invariably depicted as standing before a mysterious object, probably a manger or an incense-burner. From one seal (Pl. 116, 5, 8) it seems that this figure was carried in procession. The frequency with



Tirra-cotal toy

which this animal occurs suggests it to have been the tutelary deity of the city. The Indian bison, the rhinoceros, the tiger, the elephant, the buffalo, the humped bull and the short-horned hump-less bull belong to the last category, the first three being always represented with troughs in front, the next two had the troughs occasionally, while the last two were without them. The troughs are taken to symbolise food offerings, indicating the animals as objects of worship.[48] The bull, both humped and humpless, is closely associated with Siva. In November 1929 was discovered the figure of a horned goddess in a padmasana posture, having four animals around her.[49] The only specimen of a little theriomorphic vessel in the shape of a couchant

41. *Cf.* Ramayana. Sivalinga with Ravana. Mbh. Anu. 822 *ff.* Drona. 9616 *ff.* Also Tantras.
42. *Cf.* IHQ, 1934, 22. *Cf.* Mahadevatantra.
43. Dr. Law, IHQ, 1932, p. 140.
44. MIC, 111.
45. *Cf.* CHI, I, pp. 97, 103, 106.
46. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Hindu Illustrated Weekly, 15th Oct. 1933, p. 6.

47. About Nagas, please refer to: Sur, CR, Nov.-Dec. 1931, pp. 299-300. It is well worth noting in this connection that Dr. Winternitz in reviewing "Indian Serpent Lore" by Dr. Vogal remarks: I am glad to see that the author as I myself did in 1888 rejects the view—that Indian serpent-worship was "un-Aryan in origin" Indol. Prag. I, pp. 85-88.
48. For a different interpretation, JRAS, 1932.
49. S. V. Venkateswara, AP, 1930, p. 14. Also Sind Herald 24-11-30. The symbolism of four animals around the central figure, please see YV, TS V. 3.1 S. V. Venkataswara, AP, 1930, 14.

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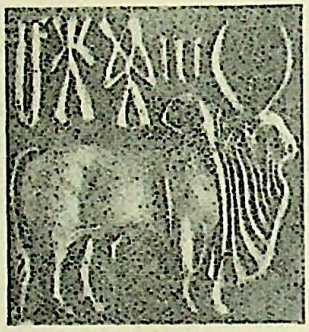
horned goat was recently unearthed,[50] though theriomorphic vessels are wellknown in the most Ancient East. Mr. Sur has tried to show that the animals formed an outstanding feature of the religious ideas of the pre-Aryan people of India, while such ideas had practically very loose or no hold on the Aryans.[51] There is no clear passage in the Rigveda showing animals associated with a God or a Goddess even as vehicle (Vahana), though Indra is called 'the Bull of Heaven'.[52] It was later on that the animal worship was incorporated in the Hindu Pantheon.[53]

The deity crowned with a pair of horns

Tree Worship: The existence of tree worship is evidence by the representations on several seals and sealings. The most interesting of them is Pl. 12: 18, where the trisula-horned deity is standing nude with long hair between the two branches of a tree, with the half-kneeling figure of a worshipper in front, also with long hair, armlets and horns; behind this suppliant is a composite animal. In the lower register appear seven standing figures in procession with dresses down to the knees. The leaves of the tree are like those of the pipal (ficus religiosa) the tree of knowledge held sacred by the people throughout India,[54] which the Veda describes as embodying the fire-god (Agni). The animal has been taken to be associated with the deity of the pipal tree as Vahana. A few sealings from Harappa (Pl. 12; 16, 20, 21, 25, 26) show some of the trees enclosed by a wall or a railing[55] which was usually employed as a symbol of sanctity on later reliefs of the historic period.

Water Worship: Though no direct evidence has been found as to the water worship, the important part played by it in the daily life of the Indus people as indicated by the elaborate arrangements, for bathing, the great bath, etc., shows that ablution was regarded as a religious duty. The Vedas proclaim *Apo vai devah*. Mr. Banerji takes "the great tank with its surrounding buildings" to be "the river-god temple," [56] possibly used for the sacred fish or crocodiles,[57] the latter representing the river



Humped Bull

A deity

Indus. It is also possible the rivers were deified like the Ganges and Jumna in modern times.

Sun Worship: The representations of Svastika and the wheel symbols on a number of seals, showing that the sun was not represented anthropomorphically but symbolically, indicate that the sun-god was worshipped. His distinctive symbols were a wheel or a disc or a Svastika. The so-called pre-Aryan sites of Gangeria of the Copper Age show evidence of the Sun-Worship,[58] while the sun-god plays an important part in the Vedic mythology.[59] The ritual and montras of the daily Sandhyavandana of the Brahmins clearly shows that the water and the sun were revered from the Vedic times.

Concluding Remarks: It would seem that all the material of a religious character discovered at Mohenjodero and Harappa is characteristically Indian. That iconic and aniconic cults existed side by side as in Modern India, is evident from the material. The Mother-Goddess and Siva occupied an exalted position among the prevalent deities, and animals, trees, water, sun were worshipped or venerated as at present. The spirits living in the trees were given human shapes. Linga and yoni had presumably attained a sacred character attached to them in the Tantras, Saivism and

50. JRSA, 82, p. 221.
51. CR, Nov.-Dec. 1932, pp. 296-297.
52. S. V. Venkateswara, AP, 1934, p. 89. *Contra*, S. Srikantha Sastri, QJMS, 1934, pp. 224-30, who quotes a number of hymns from the Rigveda to show that the bull was held sacred, pp. 224-5.
53. *Cf.* the theriomorphisation of Indra in AV, I. 21; IV, II; V, 4-8; VI, 48; VIII, 6.
54. The conventional treatment of the tree in seal 387, resembling the treatment of the sacred 'tree of life' in Babylonia, indicates that it was held sacred in Mohenjodaro.
55. *Cf.* also the tree-guards (?) MIC, p. 165.
56. Calcutta Municipal Gazette, 4th Anniversary Number, p. 99.
57. According to Mrs. Dorothy Mackay in the Indian States Railway Magazine, Oct., 1928.
58. Sur, CR, Nov.-Dec. 1932, p. 293.
59. *Cf.* Winternitz, HIL, 1. pp. 75 *ff.*

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Saktism. Yoga was in existence as a religious practice but we do not get much material as to its philosophical or esoteric aspect. On the above data Sir John Marshall has concluded that the religion was pre-Aryan and that the Vedic literature has borrowed many of its beliefs and doctrines from the pre-Aryans. We have shown above, while discussing the various forms of religious beliefs, that the Rigveda is much prior in date to the Indus Culture (which may better be termed the Indian or Aryan Culture) which shows later aspects of the Religion of the Rigveda, which are found in the Yajurveda, Atharvaveda, and the Brahmanas and the Sutra literature.

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THE BERAR AGREEMENT

By J. M. GANGULI

Thanks to the evident keenness of the British Government to get the Indian States within the fold of the proposed scheme of Federation, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has scored a point to get which he had been striving for the last several years. Of course, it may be said that, as Berar has not been handed over to the Hyderabad Ruler under the recent agreement of the 24th October last, he can not be said to have won his point. But after the curt rebuff of Lord Reading to his aspirations only a few years ago the clear recognition of his sovereignty over Berar in the present agreement, even apart from the other flattering points in it, is almost as good as winning the game. The Nizam can therefore be congratulated on the success which has crowned his sustained efforts. But while doing so some other considerations come to mind.

Those considerations relate to the people of Berar, the sovereignty over whom seems to be a matter of contract, a matter of mere convenient agreement between high parties both of whom are alien to the soil. The transfer of the sovereignty of the people of the province is thus akin to the conveyance of ownership of a herd of cattle from one to another, in which the dumb-driven cattle have no say. We have heard a lot since the last Great War of the sacred principle of self-determination of their own Government by the people of a country, though we have seen also how restricted in its meaning and application that principle is when referred to places outside Europe. The principle which was good enough for Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Hungary or Saar is perhaps not good enough beyond the borders of Europe. But yet, when one reads of the signing of an agreement by which the sovereignty of a place seventeen thousand square miles in area with a population of thirty-two lakhs is transferred from one hand to another without the people knowing anything about it, the picture of a cattle market naturally and automatically comes to mind.

It may be of interest here to briefly recall the events leading to the present Britain-Hyderabad agreement.

When Lord Wellesley enunciated his very clever and ingenious Subsidiary Alliance System and asked the Indian Ruling Powers to come under it, the Nizam, who at that time "was the weakest of the great powers, and very much afraid of the Maharattas"* at once agreed to do so. But, to meet the heavy charges of the military force under the Subsidiary Agreement he had at first to cede some of his south-western districts to the East India Company, and in 1853 had finally to mortgage Berar to the English. In 1902 Lord Curzon visited Hyderabad, and as a result of that visit the then existing "assignment" of Berar to the Government of India was converted into its lease in perpetuity at a rental of rupees twenty-five lakhs a year. Berar, which had been so long administered separately, was now joined to the Central Provinces, and the Hyderabad force was incorporated in the Indian army.

Things continued like this for about twenty-two years, after which in 1924 Hyderabad thought of getting Berar back. The present Nizam engaged eminent lawyers and influential men to fight his case, but his efforts met with little success, and finally Lord Reading's high-toned reply to him seemed finally to draw the curtain on the Hyderabad

* E. Marsden.

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Ruler's aspirations. But as luck would have it, not long after, while devising a suitable and convenient constitution for India—suitable and convenient from the British point of view—the idea of an All-India Federation was mooted by the British Government, and then, as an Anglo-Indian paper has put it, "it became evident that Berar's peculiar position would prove an obstacle to Federation, if a settlement was not reached." Negotiations ensued between the British Government on the one side and the Hyderabad Government on the other, without of course any reference to the people of Berar or of the Central Provinces, of which Berar formed a part. The only enlightenment which the Berar and the Indian public had on such an important subject was from an announcement by Lord Willingdon in 1933 about the successful outcome of the negotiations, the terms of which were, however, not then disclosed. In the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee it was found recorded that "without derogation from His Exalted Highness's sovereignty the Berars shall be administered as part of a new province to be known as the Central Provinces and the Berars." The agreement regarding His Exalted Highness's sovereignty, which was signed on the 24th October 1936, has now been published for the public to know but not to criticize with any hope to get it changed or amended.

Under the present political system in India, under which the Government owes no responsibility to the Legislature, but solely to the British Parliament, it will be mockery to suggest that such agreements, which not only deal with the sovereignty but also with a good part of the revenues of the Province, should be ratified by the Provincial Legislature, as is the rule in free countries, but is it also too much to say that the Legislative Council might have been referred to, by way of courtesy at least, even though in a purely consultative capacity? That much at least was due to the Council; for, apart from the question of sovereignty, which being a matter of high politics the Indians are assumed to be unfit or not entitled to consider, an important part of the revenues of the Province is concerned in the agreement, and therefore a reference to the Council was required even under the present constitution. A Council, which is to vote on the Provincial budget, and is to have fiscal autonomy, can not be ignored under the constitution when big payments out of the provincial revenues are to be agreed upon. But perhaps it is no good discussing the legal and constitutional aspect of the question, because the broadness of the theory that the ultimate responsibility of Indian Government rests solely with the British Parliament, as also the accommodating elasticity of the Indian constitution for matters of supreme political importance, will make it impossible to clinch the issues. Looking at another aspect of the question, however, it may be submitted that people pay revenues and taxes to their Government in order that the same may be spent by the Government for the administration of their country. That understanding is the only moral justification of a Government to realise revenues, and that is also a fundamental idea in all legal and constitutional jurisprudence relating to the government of a state.

Why is it then that twenty-five lakhs of Berar revenues should be annually handed over to the Hyderabad State in return for which the Berar people would get nothing? If Berar had been wholly transferred to Hyderabad and all its revenues had been taken by that State the Berar people constitutionally could not have complained, because the State would in that case have administered the Province for which it could legitimately claim the revenues. But under the aforesaid agreement Berar is to be administered by the British Government, though its revenues will be shared by another Government also, even though that Government would give nothing in return, whether in the form of internal administration or of external protection. Therein lies an anomaly which is bound to react very adversely on the people. Poor as they are, to send away twenty-five lakhs of their good money outside for political considerations, which do not in the least affect the people, is, to say the least, indefensible. To what great purpose could this money be utilized for the betterment of the lot of the people! Twenty-five lakhs of rupees spent annually on the people of Berar would make them people of whom India could be proud. And those twenty-five lakhs are only their own money, which they can justly claim, and not money to be given to them by way of charity.

If, therefore, an ally is to be humoured, if extraneous political considerations are to be looked to, let not the poor people suffer; let the money needed be obtained from elsewhere. The mighty British Government can easily pay from its vast resources what the poor Beraris cannot without suffering for the same.

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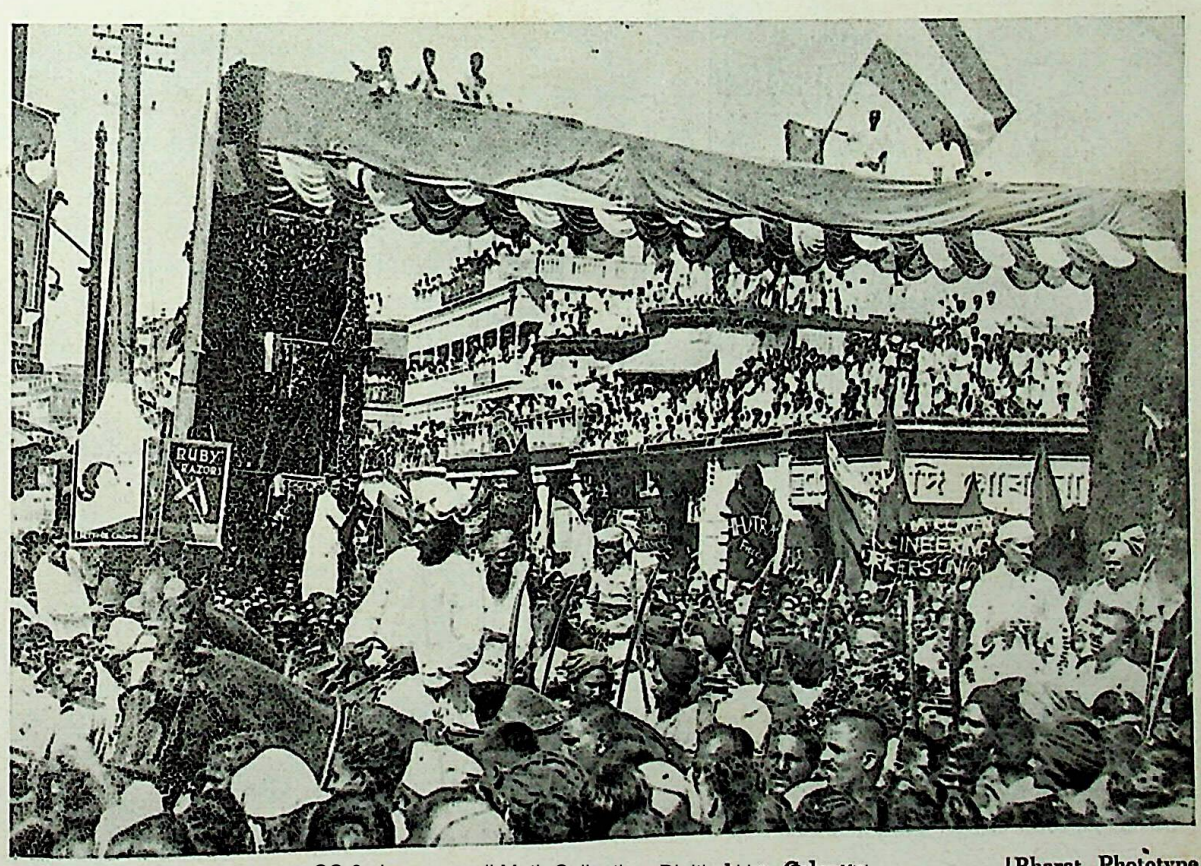
Rabindranath Tagore and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Sriniketan



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru welcomed by Calcuttans [Bharat Phototype

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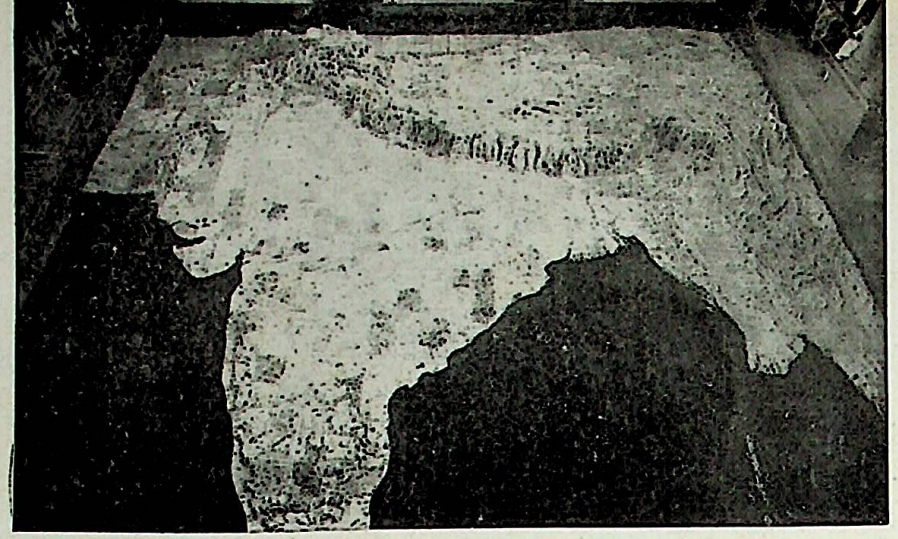
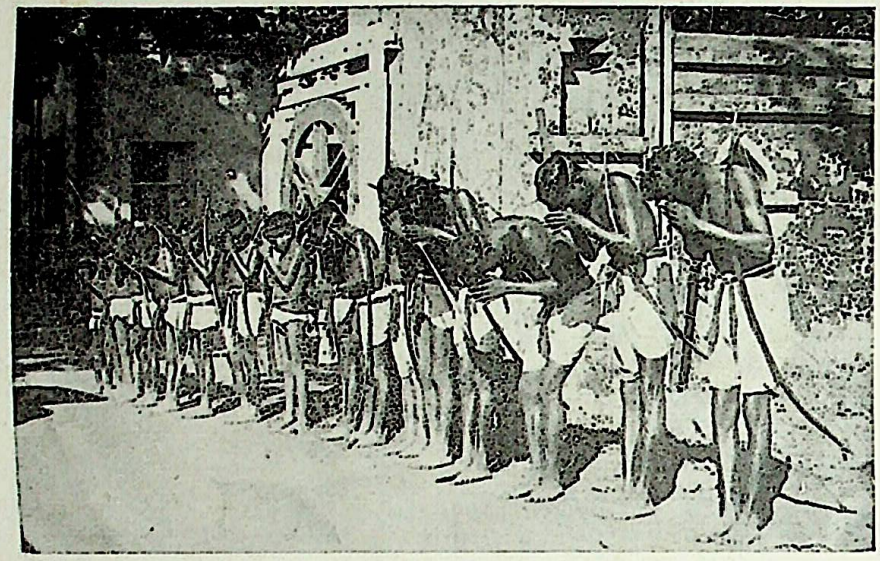
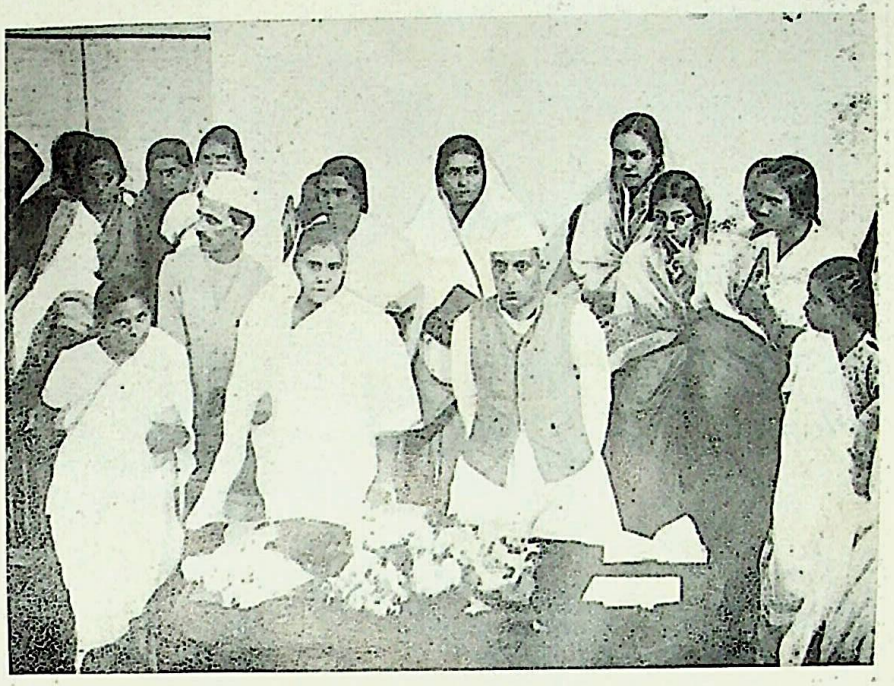


The relief map of India in marble
Photo : Goras Studio, Benares

The Bharat Mata Temple
Photo : Goras Studio, Benares



The Santal "Brati Balak" group
welcoming Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Sriniketan



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Women's Conference, Calcutta
[Courtesy : Anandabazar

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NOTES

To Our Friends

By the grace of God *The Modern Review* completes thirty years of its existence with the present number.

Throughout this period it has come out regularly every month and has been conducted under the editorship of its present editor. For whatever success it may have achieved we are greatly indebted to the writers and artists who have helped us with their contributions. We are under obligation also to our foreign and Indian contemporaries for many ideas and many extracts from their pages. But for the support given to us by our subscribers and advertisers we could not have gone on for these long years. Our critics also have helped us not a little.

We cordially and sincerely thank all these friends.

We also gratefully acknowledge the help we have received from our former and present assistants.

Congress and the Elections

On the whole we should be glad if the Congress were able to capture the majority of the seats in the provincial legislatures, and, in due course, in the central or federal legislature also. Congress members are likely to fight for India's freedom more strenuously and courageously and in a more organized manner than the followers of any other party or parties. And it is freedom—political and economic—which matters more than anything else.

That we wish success to the Congress in its efforts to capture the majority of seats is not because our political opinions are the same as those of the Congress; for we have freely criticised its opinions whenever the occasion demanded such criticism. We desire complete independence for India as the Congress does, though we should be pleased even if India obtained only Dominion Status. For successive Imperial Conferences and the statute of Westminster have given the Dominions the substance of independence. Those of our countrymen, *e.g.*, the Liberals, whose political goal is Dominion Status, need have no quarrel with the Congress. We have sufficient faith in the patriotism of at least some leading Liberals to believe that they would be pleased if Purna Swaraj or complete independence could be and were won. Moreover, Dominion Status would be more likely to be attained by endeavours to make the country completely independent than by working for the lower goal of Dominionhood.

Not that we should be contented with Dominion Status. No. Ireland does not rest satisfied with it, but is working for complete independence in the form of a free republic. Dominion Status has enabled President De Valera to work more easily for complete independence than he would have been otherwise able to do. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as President of the Dominion of India would be in a better position to work for complete independence than he would be under the constitution thrust upon India by the Government of India Act of 1935. He, of course, would not perhaps relish the idea of being president of a Dominion included in the British Commonwealth of Nations. But we are only stating a hypothetical case.

That Dominion Status implies the substance of independence is evidenced also by what Canadian, Australian and South African statesmen say and do—not merely by what De Valera says and does. South Africa would declare her independence if Britain tried to coerce her in any matter. So would Canada and Australia. And should they do so, Britain would not resort to force to prevent their separation.

We have said that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would not perhaps relish the idea of being president of a Dominion included in the

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British Commonwealth of Nations. We have said so not because of any assumption that he hates Britain. As far as we are aware, he does not. Nor do we.

Complete independence is not the final goal for any nation. There is in fact no complete political and economic independence for any country or nation even at present. Countries and nations are in fact more or less either politically or economically interdependent, or both politically and economically interdependent. And such interdependence would increase in course of time—whatever the present international situation, occidental and oriental, may contra-indicate. If there is to be more and more of such interdependent relations among countries, why should India be tied to Britain alone, as would be implied in her being a Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations? India would want to be, of her own free choice, interdependent on all countries which would like to establish such relations with her.

So the final goal—so far as there is finality in human affairs and matters mundane—is membership, by free choice, of a World Federation of Commonwealths of Countries and Nations.

Nationalism in India

Nationalism in its aggressive form cannot but be condemned, as Rabindranath Tagore has done in his book on that subject published many years ago. Nationalism as a force of evil has been in evidence in the history of all imperialist nations, though at present only Italy, Japan and Germany may be condemned for their aggressive imperialism.

In India nationalism is not an evil. It is not aggressive. Indian nationalists want freedom for their country. They do not want, when free, to attack and subdue other peoples.

But internationalism is higher and broader than even the nationalism of India. Internationalism, however, must be preceded in India by the triumph of nationalism. Unless we are first a free national entity, how can we enter into relations of interdependence on other nations?

Complete freedom and independence places a country in a position to enter into such relations. And, therefore, in India they are nationalists who work for such freedom and independence. But as Dominion status in the British Commonwealth of Nations allows the Dominions to establish such relations with foreign countries to a great extent, in India they also are nationalists who strive to attain dominion status.

The Speech of King Edward VIII and the Congress Ideal

His Majesty King Edward VIII has in a recent speech referred to India as "My Indian Dominion." That has given rise to some speculations in Britain and India. Some have even gone so far as to hope that if and when King Edward VIII visits India after his coronation he will declare India a Dominion, conferring Dominion Status on it. But has he the constitutional power to confer such status on India? Assuming, for the sake of argument, that he has, why should he go out of his way to confer it against the desire of his people and parliament as statutorily embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935? There must be some sufficient and compelling reason for his doing so. We find none. But supposing he does confer such status on India, what would be the value of such nominal status without statutory implementing power possessed by India? Far from implementing India for real dominionhood, and the extent and degree of self-rule which it implies, the new Government of India Act makes the Governor-General and the Governors more autocratic than now and the people correspondingly more powerless.

As King Edward VIII has most probably used the word dominion in the ordinary sense of territories, as his speech is really what the British ministry wanted him to say, and as the British ministry cannot possibly want him to hold out hopes which are not based on any Act of Parliament, the kind of speculation indicated above, seems quite unwarranted.

As for Congressmen, the reference to India in King Edward VIII's speech must have left them completely cold. They are out for achieving independence—no matter how long they and their successors may have to work for it. So it is a matter of indifference to them whether India be referred to as "my empire" or as "my dominion"; as in their opinion India ought to remain neither.

Congress Candidates Collectively and Individually

As we have said already, we should be pleased if the nominees of the Congress succeeded in capturing the majority of the seats in the legislatures. This does not mean that, in our opinion, every Congress candidate is preferable to every non-Congress candidate. That is not

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so. In fact, Congress leaders themselves have indicated by the warning issued by them from Wardhaganj that there is reason to doubt the 'quality' of some of the candidates nominated by some Congress Committee. Five Congress leaders, headed by the President himself, have observed

> "We have noticed with some apprehension the tendency of some Congress committees to recommend as candidates for the ensuing provincial elections persons whose past record and even present activities have been opposed to the Congress. We have laid stress previously and we wish to do so again on the fact that the quality of candidates from the point of view of the Congress policy is more important than the winning of seats and the capture of a fictitious majority in the Legislatures."

There are some non-Congress candidates in some areas whose superiors or equals it would be hard to find there. To take one province only, the U. P., we find Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru is one of these candidates and Sir Sita Ram, the present president of the U. P. Legislative Council, is another. We do not think Congress can find worthy antagonists in the constituencies which these public men seek to represent. In such cases it would be best for Congress not to set up candidates of their party. Voters should vote for the ablest and most public-spirited nationalist candidates irrespective of party considerations.

Bengal and the Communal Decision

Congress leaders have been gradually coming to adopt a reasonable attitude towards the infamous communal decision. The compromise resolution adopted by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee at the suggestion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru marks the farthest point reached by them. It is more acceptable than their previous position, but not quite acceptable. Hence the Bengal Congress Nationalists have not been quite satisfied with it. No wonder, they may run their own candidates.

The compromise resolution allows agitation against the decision only as a part of the agitation against the new constitution. That is to say, whenever one wants to attack the decision, one must attack the constitution first and primarily and then secondarily he may hurl a few missiles at the decision. One may attack any other part or ingredient of the constitution separately but not the decision.

Let us look at the sections, features or constituent parts of the new Government of India Act as a sort of happy family.

A family is no doubt a unit. Marriage makes husband and wife one undoubtedly. Sons and daughters are members of a family along with the parents. But if the husband or the wife, or a son or a daughter, fails to give satisfaction to the public, is it indispensably necessary to criticize the family primarily and then criticize the husband, wife, son or daughter in a subsidiary manner?

The Congress position has all along been and still is that if the constitution can be wrecked, the decision will be destroyed along with it. True. But is Madrid to fall first and then its different parts? Is Madrid to fall first and then the foundations of that city are to be blown up? We do not wish it to fall, of course, though we should like the new Indian constitution to disappear.

Supposing Congress fails to wreck the constitution, must the Communal Decision be tolerated for an indefinite period?

Congress leaders may say that no amount of mere agitation against the Communal Decision will succeed in upsetting it. But we may also say in the same manner and with equal truth, no amount of mere agitation and capturing of legislatures will destroy the constitution.

All this is arguing in a circle.

Congress ought all along to have attacked the constitution and its different parts and its foundation, all together or separately, in whatever order possible, without banning agitation against any part or parts. This ought to be done even now and in future.

Congress wants to replace the communal decision by an agreed settlement. When? Possibly after independence has been won by a united Hindu-Muslim front. But independence cannot be won by a united Hindu-Muslim front before destroying the communal decision, because that decision stands in the way of Hindu-Muslim Unity. Mussalmans will give up the Communal Decision for an agreed settlement only if they get something better than or at least equal to that decision from their communal point of view.

We agree that the Communal Decision may disappear along with the disappearance of India's subject condition. But the disappearance of India's subject condition must be brought about in spite of the existence of the Communal Decision and in spite of there being no Hindu-Muslim Unity. If Hindus want freedom, let them work for it whether non-Hindus join in the struggle or not. If Muhammadans want freedom, let them work for it whether non-Muhammadans be with them or not. Unity or no unity, freedom must be won. Principles must not be sacrificed for a mere lip unity or

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paper unity. There cannot be any real unity based on the sacrifice of principles.

"India Speaks"

Systematic propaganda against India has been going on for a long time in many parts of the western world, notably America. "India Speaks," a film manufactured in Hollywood, is part of this vile propaganda. It has tried to do as much harm to India as Miss Mayo's "Mother India." Dr. Ankelsaria of Bombay has done much to counteract its evil effects in America. It is a matter for gratification that Indian women have also taken up the task of defending their mother country against vilifiers abroad. Mrs. Kiran Bose, Honorary Secretary, National Council of Women of India, wrote to Mrs. Henry W. Ker, Corresponding Secretary to the Indianopolis Council of Women, asking her to protest on behalf of Indian women to the Hollywood authorities. This was done without delay. The following resolution was passed by the Indianopolis Council:

"It has been brought to the notice of the National Council of Women of India that a film entitled 'India Speaks' has been produced in America and shown there and in other countries. Particulars of this film have been obtained and the portrayal it gives of Indian life is a travesty of the truth and is of a kind to bring India into contempt in the eyes of the rest of the world.

"This Council emphatically protests against such film being produced and calls on all interested in the promotion of good feeling between nations to secure the banning of this or any similar films. The production of films of this type embitter personal and national relationships and are an insult to the country concerned."

The authorities of Hollywood replied, trying to explain their point of view. This reply is ridiculous. Those responsible for the film can hardly be expected to acknowledge their error, as it was not unintentional. Still, this move on the part of the Indianopolis Council of Women, is a move in the right direction, as it makes known to vilifiers abroad, that they stand exposed, at least in India. It may have more far-reaching effects too, as the president and the chairman of Indianopolis Council state, "that women of America no more approve of such films than do the women of India and that we sincerely hope that our disapproval will be effective in restoring harmony and good-will between our country and India."

Women on Crimes Against Women

A ladies' meeting was held on the 24th November last at the Mahabodhi Society Hall in Calcutta for urging the adoption of vigorous and stringent measures for dealing effectively with crimes against women. Mrs. Sarala Bala Sarkar presided. This is the third ladies' meeting in Calcutta in recent months, drawing attention to the growing serious menace to the honour and safety of girls and women in Bengal.

Was there anybody, asked the president, who could deny that the menace had now assumed dangerous proportions in Bengal? Was there anybody who could shut his eyes to the untold misery and suffering to which these helpless women were subjected? But what had the Government and the people done so far to combat the menace? Would it be a mistake to say, she further asked, that their attitude towards this vitally important question was one of indifference and nonchalance? She wondered and failed to understand how they could indulge in all the tall talks about their Motherland when the honour of their mothers, daughters and sisters was not safe in the country and they had not done anything to safeguard that honour. Was it not an indelible slur on the entire manhood of Bengal and a disgrace for the Government who were in duty bound to protect these women from insult and infamy?

The speaker deplored that the measures hitherto adopted for dealing with the menace were hopelessly inadequate and expressed the hope that the Women's Protection Bill of Dr. Amulya Ratan Ghose which was likely to come up before the Bengal Council shortly would receive support at the hands of Government and all members of the Council.

A resolution according wholehearted support to Dr. Amulya Ratan Ghose's Women's Protection Bill was moved from the chair. It was supported by Srijukta Mohini Devi and adopted unanimously.

Another resolution urging Government to take the Bill into consideration and send it to a Select Committee at this session of the Council was moved by Mrs. Kumudini Basu, who pointed out that there was any number of Acts and Ordinances to deal with terrorism and other political matters, but what Government had so far done to deal with an evergrowing menace like crimes against women was wholly inadequate. There was the Whipping Act, of course, but that was more or less a dead letter, its provision having been used only in two cases up till now. She emphasised that it was time for Government and the people to rise to the occasion and deal with the menace in an effective manner.

Seconded by Mrs. Monica Gupta, the resolution was carried unanimously.

Release of Detenus Demanded

The alleged suicide of two detenus in quick succession has roused public feeling. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has asked for an impartial inquiry into the circumstances which led to the death of these unhappy young men, who had been deprived of their liberty for an indefinite period without trial. On the 24th November last a public meeting was held in Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, to demand the release of all detenus. The same papers which reported the proceedings of this meeting contained also the news of the alleged

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suicide of another detenu, a home internee at Malda.

The meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution :

"This public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta assembled at the Albert Hall calls upon the Government to release all political prisoners and detenus on the eve of the inauguration of the New Constitution.

"This public meeting further calls upon the Government to hold a full and impartial enquiry into the recent suicide by Santosh Ganguli and Nabajiban Ghosh, two political prisoners and urged the leaders throughout the country to mobilise public opinion on behalf of the release of detenus and political prisoners."

Among the reasons put forward by the president for the demand was the following :

There was at present no political leader in India who was an advocate of violence. Mahatma Gandhi preached and lived the ideal of non-violence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru did not preach or believe in violence. Even the Communist Party had declared that violence would spoil their efforts to make India Communistic. There was, therefore, no one occupying a responsible position in India today who was for violence. Was not this atmosphere of peace the atmosphere in which they should let out these boys ? The present atmosphere was conducive to peace, and on the top of that their professions of granting provincial autonomy, if they were real, ought to conduce further to these.

As regards the question of releasing Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. B. C. Chatterjee said :

Some might say, "No. We cannot release Subhas Chandra Bose." Some, the speaker knew, said that Subhas Chandra Bose was an advocate of violence. There could not be, he declared, a bigger lie than that told in Bengal. The speaker knew Subhas Chandra Bose, he knew him better than all policemen and police informers, even better than some of the leaders. Mr. Chatterjee knew that Subhas Chandra Bose was against violence and he could assure Government, as he had assured Lord Willingdon and Sir Stanley Jackson, that Bose's release, instead of being an incentive to violence, would be conducive to non-violence.

The speaker said he would like to ask the British people at home and here a question, which was :

What sort of political autonomy were they going to have in Bengal if with the inauguration of that political autonomy, they had side by side two thousands of Bengal's youths in detention ? Could there be any real political autonomy with this state of things persisting ? Did they think they could run provincial autonomy in Bengal with two thousands of her young men in detention ? Would not the very talk of provincial autonomy sound like the sardonic laughter of a mocking Fate, if Subhas Chandra Bose remained in jail—Subhas Chandra Bose who should by rights be Bengal's Chief Minister ? It was a ridiculous idea. . . . If the British people were sincere in their desire to see provincial autonomy work in this province and if they wanted to see the Ministers under the New Constitution in Bengal make at least an effort for the successful working of the New Constitution in Bengal, they should let out these young men. If, on the other hand, they were going to hand over the heritage of bureaucracy to the future Ministers, the speaker would be sorry for them, they would not be Ministers, Bengal would know what to call them—she would call them Monsters.

Mr. B. C. Chatterjee concluded by making an appeal for a countrywide agitation for the release of the detenus.

Mr. Binoy Jiban Ghosh, a brother of the detenu Naba Jiban Ghosh who is alleged to have recently committed suicide, asked some questions at the meeting.

The speaker asked why the two letters which his brother is said to have written before his suicide, had not been handed over to his relatives, nor published. Secondly, the speaker would like to know how his brother could be said to be not to have been in police custody at the time of his suicide, as was reported to have been said by the Law Member of the Government of India, when the shed in which his brother was housed was in the Thana compound itself ? Thirdly, he would like to ask Government why his father's requests to Government for the retransfer of his brother to detention camp, from village internment, was not granted by Government.

At a meeting of the Bengal Council held on the 25th November, it was made clear in answer to questions asked by several non-official members that Government did not intend at present to release the detenus, including Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, nor bring them to trial. Nothing was said as to whether they would be released or brought to trial on any future date. So the state of suspense in the minds of the detenus, which may be presumed to be one of the principal causes of suicide of some of them recently and in previous years, is to continue. The public mind is also to remain in a discontented mood. That is the atmosphere in which the so-called provincial autonomy is to be inaugurated next year. Some M. L. C.s asked questions similar to the queries of the brother of the deceased detenu Naba Jiban Ghosh at the Albert Hall meeting. The answers given will not satisfy those concerned.

Why Detenus Are Unhappy

Never having met or interviewed any detenu we cannot definitely say why they are unhappy, nor why some of them were so unhappy as to commit suicide. Official statements have been repeatedly made to show that in detention camps the detenus have all reasonable creature comforts and that they have the amenities of life to which they were accustomed before being arrested. But it is not these which matter most.

We do not know for what offence, if any, the detenus have been deprived of their liberty. But it may be presumed that their love of freedom, let it be assumed, of the wrong kind,

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has been directly or indirectly the cause of their misfortune. Nobody likes extraneous restraint. Least of all can lovers of freedom brook such restraint. It is not creature comforts or amenities of life which matter most to them. They may be kept in palaces with all possible luxuries at their command, and yet they may feel supremely unhappy, because of being deprived of liberty. In addition to this, there are in many cases worries, harassment, anxiety for those left at home and brooding over their fate.

Protection Against Indian Manufactured Goods ! ! !

LONDON, Nov. 24.

In the House of Commons Mr. Herbert G. Williams (C-Croydon, s.) asked whether advantage would be taken of the denunciation of the Ottawa Agreement by the Government of India to accord to British manufactures where necessary some protection against Indian manufactured goods, while continuing to afford such goods substantial preferences over the foreign.

Mr. W. Runciman gave an assurance that the interests of manufacturers would be carefully considered during the negotiations.—*Reuter.*

It has not yet been reported that Indian manufactured goods were competing with British manufactured goods *in Britain*. If India is at all competing with Britain anywhere, it must be in India. Does the righteous Mr. Herbert G. Williams want that India must not do even this? And did the still more righteous Mr. Runciman assure the less righteous Mr. Williams that *in India* Indian manufacturers would not be allowed to compete with British manufacturers? It would not be in the least surprising if he did.

While not allowing India to enjoy real tariff autonomy, Britain is very careful to protect her own manufactures on her own soil by imposing very heavy duties on imported goods when necessary, as the following Reuter's telegram shows :—

100 Per cent Duty on Imported Coronation Souvenirs

LONDON, Nov. 16.

A temporary duty of hundred per cent "ad valorem" has been imposed on Coronation decorations and souvenirs imported into Britain between the 15th December and the 31st July, 1937.

The order applies to articles bearing representations of the King or any member of the Royal family and the Royal emblem, any article or building associated with the Coronation, flag of any country in the Empire or flags resembling such.

The Imports Committee say that no considerable importation of Coronation souvenirs has yet developed, but precautions are necessary to prevent serious loss to British manufacturers through influx of foreign goods at low prices.

The French and German Governments have agreed to waive their rights under the trade agreements during the duration of the order in view of the exceptional circumstances of the case.—*Reuter.*

Britain is quite within her rights to impose this heavy duty. But why does she not allow India to freely exercise any such right?

The Tragicomedy of Indo-British Trade Negotiations

Real negotiation and subsequent agreement, pact or treaty are possible between two free and independent parties. But when one party is the master and the other is subordinate to it, there cannot be any real negotiation and agreement. The Government of Great Britain is a British Government and the Government of India is also a British Government, subordinate to the British Government in Britain. The British Home Government must protect British interests and the British Indian Government must also protect British interests, primarily. Hence negotiation between the two governments is unreal and comic. To Indians it is also tragic, because they can only grin and submit but cannot have their way.

Eugene O'Neill, Nobel Prize Winner in Literature

The American poet and dramatist Eugene O'Neill has been awarded this year's Nobel Prize for Literature. "The New Republic" has published an article on him by Lionel Trilling, who says :

Whatever is unclear about Eugene O'Neill, one thing is certainly clear—his genius. The spectacle of the human mind in action is vivifying; the explorer need discover nothing so long as he has adventured. Energy, scope, courage—these may be admirable in themselves. And in the end these are often what endure best. The ideas expressed by works of the imagination may be built into the social fabric and taken for granted; or they may be rejected; or they may be outgrown. But the force of their utterance comes to us over millennia. We do not read Sophocles or Aeschylus for the right answer; we read them for the force with which they represent life and attack its moral complexity. In O'Neill, despite the many failures of his art and thought, this force is inescapable.

How does life interest him? What of life interests him?

Not the minutiae of life, not its feel and colour and smell, not its nuance and humor, but its "great inscrutable forces" are his interest. He is always moving toward the finality which philosophy sometimes, and religion always, promises. Life and death, good and evil, spirit and flesh, male and female, the all and the one, Anthony and Dionysius—O'Neill's is a world of these antithetical absolutes such as religion rather than philosophy conceives, a world of pluses and minuses; and his literary effort is an algebraic attempt to solve the equations.

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His function is the affirmation of life :

To affirm that life exists and is somehow good—this, then, became O'Neill's quasi-religious poetic function, nor is it difficult to see why the middle class welcomed it. What to do with life O'Neill cannot say, but there it is. For Ponce de Leon it is the Fountain of Eternity, "the Eternal Becoming which is Beauty." There it is, somehow glorious, somehow meaningless. In the face of despair one remembers that "Always spring comes again bearing life! Always forever again. Spring again! Life again!" To this cycle, even to the personal annihilation in it, the individual must say "Yes". Man inhabits a naturalistic universe and his glory lies in his recognition of its nature and assenting to it; man's soul, no less than the stars and the dust, is part of the Whole and the free man loves the Whole and is willing to be absorbed by it. In short, O'Neill solves the problem of evil by making explicit what men have always found to be the essence of tragedy—the courageous affirmation of life in the face of individual defeat.

The mention of "spring" and "cycle" reminds one of Tagore's "Cycle of Spring."

We are not and cannot pretend to be well read in English poetry and drama. So the fact that we have not read any of the works of Eugene O'Neill does not prove that he is an obscure author. But others also, who are more widely read in poetry and drama, say that they are unacquainted with his poems and plays.

The Nobel Prize for Peace

Germany's Indignation

Berlin, Nov. 25.

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Herr von Ossietzky is described by the German news agency as "a shameless insult to Germany". It declares : "The fact that the Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded to a notorious traitor is such a shameless provocation and insult to the new Germany that a suitable and clear answer will follow."—*Reuter.*

What will that answer be? A naval attack or an air raid?

Herr von Ossietzky's traitorousness consisted in his pacifism, for which he had to pass three years in a German concentration camp, equivalent to our detention camps for detenus.

In Bengal people are confined without trial on the suspicion of being terrorists or favouring the use of force, in Germany on the other hand people are imprisoned for being pacifists. How extremes meet in this mad world of ours!

Another Berlin message of the same date runs as follows :

The German Minister in Oslo expressed to the Norwegian Government the very great surprise of the German Government regarding the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to M. Ossietzky. It is understood the German Government reserve the right to draw their own conclusion from this award, while recognising that the Norwegian Government as such are not directly concerned in the decision.—*Reuter.*

Non-imperialists all over the world are believed to think that Mahatma Gandhi has discovered or at least put in practice, though not yet successfully, a moral substitute for war, which the philosopher William James considered a desideratum. Supposing the Peace Prize had gone to Mahatmaji, would the British Government have been surprised, or declared it a provocation and insult that it had been awarded to a declared rebel?

"The Oslo (Norway) correspondent of *The Times* says that the Radical Press there unanimously approves the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Herr von Ossietzky, the German Pacifist, as a great demonstration against Nazism. The Conservative Press expresses disapproval agreeing that the prize has not been distributed in the spirit of the Nobel will."

This message of *The Statesman's* London correspondent would seem to show that this year's Nobel Peace Award was greatly influenced by considerations of party politics. Are other Nobel awards also influenced by some sort of politics?

Russia's New Constitution

Moscow, Nov. 25.

The new constitution of Russia was adopted today at a meeting of All Union Congress Soviets at an extraordinary session in the gilded palace in Kremlin. The Congress thereby signed its own death warrant, abdicating the power to a democratically elected bicameral parliament. As a result of discussions throughout the country in the past few months attended by twenty-five million peoples the Central Executive Committee made 13,721 amendments to the original draft affecting every chapter and article but unanimous approval of the final text is expected.—*Reuter.*

When the final text is unanimously approved, it will be the latest democratic constitution in the world. As such its publication will be awaited with interest by all lovers of democratic freedom.

Coronation of King Edward VIII and Congress Socialists

According to *The Statesman,*

One of the resolutions passed at the annual meeting in Bombay of the Bombay Provincial Congress Socialist Party, urged the Congress to declare itself against the King's Coronation and to organize a boycott of it.

Japanese-German Alliance

Berlin, Nov. 25.

It is officially announced that Japan and Germany have concluded an agreement directed against the Communist International. The agreement was signed by Herr Von Ribbentrop and Viscount Moshetoji.

The Japanese and German Governments recognise that the aim of the Communist International is to deteriorate and violate the existing States by all means at

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their disposal. Convinced that the toleration of interference by the Communist International in the internal relations of the nations not only endangers internal peace and social welfare thereof, but threatens world peace, the two Governments agree to inform each other about the activity of the Communist International and discuss and carry out measures of defence in close co-operation.

They will invite other Powers whose internal peace is threatened by the work of the Communist International to participate in this agreement. The agreement will be in force immediately and lasts five years.

Political Circles were guessing at the object of "the important pronouncement" which foreign Ambassadors, except the Soviet Ambassador, were summoned to hear this afternoon.

When the German-Japanese agreement for co-ordinated action against the activities of the Communist International was read to the assembled diplomats, the noteworthy absentee was the Soviet Ambassador, who had not been invited. The absence of invitation had aroused the belief that the announcement would be much graver. —*Reuter.*

Every independent nation has the right to enter into an alliance with any other independent nation. Hence neither Japan's nor Germany's right can be questioned. But it is rather absurd for Japan and Germany to accuse the Communist International of endangering internal peace and social welfare and of threatening world peace. It may be that the Communist International is guilty of the charges levelled against it. But cannot the same charges be brought truthfully against Japan and Germany also?

It is widely believed in Britain and some other countries that there is more in the German-Japanese alliance than has been published, such as an agreement that Germany is to sell arms to Japan, and that it is a menace to Britain's power and prestige in Asia.

The Vernaculars and Patna University

At the annual meeting of the Senate of the Patna University,

After a great deal of discussion and most of the amendments having been withdrawn, the Senate adopted the resolution of Mr. Baldeva Sahay with slight modification recommending to the Senate "that for the Matriculation examination the medium of instruction and examination in every subject excepting English shall be one of the following languages:—Hindustani, Oriya, Bengali or Nepali, and every school must provide for instruction through the medium of at least one of these languages."

The House also agreed to give option to the students to write their answers either in Hindi or Urdu script.

The contemplated changes will not be introduced earlier than 1942.

That "Santali" should be one of the optional subjects in the Matriculation course, which was moved by Mr. J. S. Armour, was accepted by the House after discussion.

Osmania University has from the very start had Urdu as the medium. Benares University has adopted the Hindi medium up to a certain standard.

Calcutta University has decided in favour of a vernacular medium. This natural course will be adopted by other Indian Universities also in course of time. India stands in need of an All-India means of communication, and, like all other countries, a language which will enable it to have commercial, political and cultural contact with the world abroad. Hindi or Hindusthani may in course of time become the means of inter-provincial intercourse in India. But there would still remain the need of a sort of world language. In the literal sense, there is not now any world language. But perhaps English is understood by more persons in more countries than any other language. And we learn it for political, commercial and cultural reasons. And, so long as Hindi or Hindusthani does not become an all-India medium, it can and will continue to be a means of communication between educated people all over India.

For all these reasons, while our education is more and more vernacularized, special care should be taken to see that English is read, learnt and used as it ought to be.

Professor Radhakrishnan At Oxford

According to *The Hindu* of Madras,

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford University, delivered his inaugural lecture on October 20. It created a very deep impression, and one is not surprised to read the opinion of the "Oxford Times" hat the distinguished Indian philosopher is "a distinct addition to the small number of dynamic personalities now in Oxford."

Copies of the address, which is entitled "The World's Unborn Soul," have now been distributed widely from the Clarendon Press. In the opening part of his lecture Sir Radhakrishnan emphasises that civilisation is always on the move, although certain periods stand out clearly as periods of intense cultural change. After mentioning the evolution of European civilisation, on a basis of Greek philosophy, and citing the principal periods of marked change, the lecturer says significantly, "None of these, however, is comparable to the present tension and anxiety which are world wide in character and extend to every aspect of human life. We seem to feel that the end of one period of civilisation is slowly drawing into sight."

Sir Radhakrishnan goes on to say that for the first time in the history of our planet its inhabitants have become one whole, each and every part of which is affected by the fortunes of the other, and yet the sense that mankind must become a community is "still a casual whim, a vague aspiration not generally accepted as a conscious ideal or an urgent practical necessity moving us to feel the dignity of a common citizenship and the call of a common duty." From this easily recognised truth the Spalding Professor proceeds through an address of brilliant and clear thinking to demonstrate that the

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real soul of the world has yet to be born in order that humanity may be saved.

Flight Record British or American?

A British Official Wireless runs as follows:

LONDON, SEPT. 30

A dramatic story was told of his experience in the upper air by Squadron Leader Swainmest, pilot of the experimental section of the Royal Air Force Establishment at Farnborough, who has been personally congratulated by the Air Minister, Lord Swinton, on the success of his 3 hours and 20 minutes' flight in which the world's altitude record was captured on Monday. It was the Royal Air Force's first attempt on record. By reaching a height of 49,967 feet Swain out-distanced the previous record established last month by a French pilot in 1926. The great achievement was accomplished in a specially designed Bristol 138 Open Aeroplane fitted with pegasus engine.

But we read in *The National Geographic Magazine* (Washington, D. C.), October, 1936, second cover page:

"On November 11, 1935, in a flight sponsored jointly by the National Geographic Society and the U. S. Army Air Corps, the world's largest balloon, *Explorer II*, ascended to an officially recognized altitude record of 72,395 feet. Capt. Albert W. Stevens and Capt. Orvil A. Anderson took aloft in the gondola nearly a ton of scientific instruments, which obtained results of extraordinary value."

It cannot, therefore, be said that a British pilot has captured the world's altitude record.

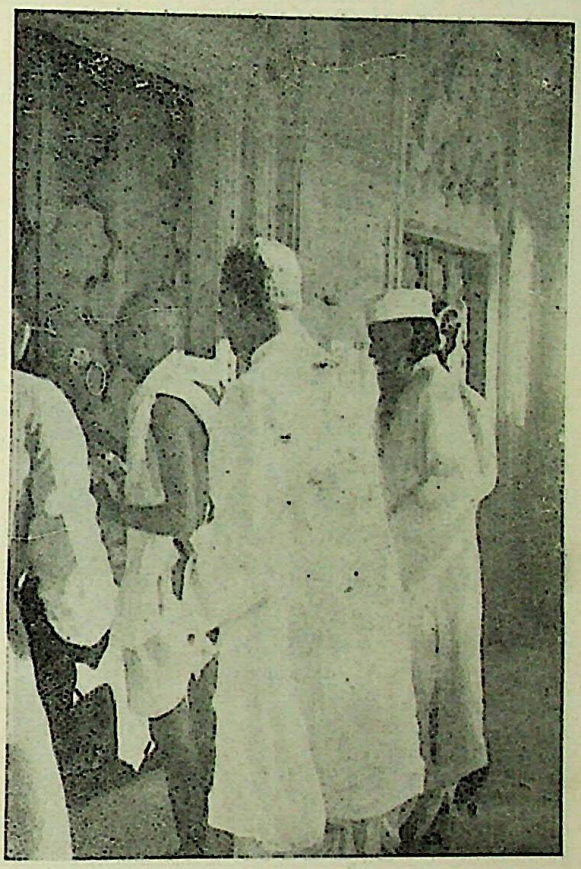
Mahatma Gandhi Opens Bharat Mata Temple

BENARES, OCT. 25.

"This temple contains no image of any god or goddess. It has only a relief map of India made of marble in it. I hope this temple, which will serve as a cosmopolitan platform for the people of all religions, castes and creeds including the Harijans, will go a great way in promoting religious unity, peace and love in the country". With these words Mahatma Gandhi performed the opening ceremony of the Bharata Mata Temple at 3-30 this afternoon before a vast gathering, which numbered over 25,000 people, and was composed of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Jains, Buddhists, Chinese and Harijans, who had come from all parts of the country.

The people were seated under a big shamiana pitched up in the spacious premises of the temple, which were ceremoniously decorated with flowers, leaves and plants. Among prominent leaders who attended the function were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Acharya Kripalani, Mrs. Uma Nehru, Babu Purshottamdas Tandon, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Prakash Narayan and most of the professors of the Benares Hindu University.

The proceedings commenced with prayers. Mr. Sri Prakasa read messages of good wishes from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others. Dr. Bhagavandas welcoming Mahatma Gandhi, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and other leaders stressed that the principal teachings of all religions were the same, and wished the temple of Mother India to be a place where the followers of all religions could offer their prayers. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan greatly regretted that the people did not understand the real significance of religion. He said that going through the ancient history of Islam it would appear that a mosque was a place of worship for all people, irrespective of their religious beliefs.



Mahatma Gandhi opening the Bharat Mata Temple
Photo: Goras Studio, Benares

After the temple was declared open, Mahatma Gandhi and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan went round the temple, and others also followed. The pandits of the Kashi Vidyapith chanted hymns from the Vedas. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan recited from the Quran. This was followed by the Buddha Dharma 'Gathas' by the Buddhist monks, Parsi 'Gathas' by Parsis and a song on Bharat Mata sung by women. 'Prasad' was distributed at the end of the ceremony.

Mahatma Gandhi said that he was not willing to leave his present residence as the people were sick there, but his love of Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta, who constructed the temple, dragged him there.

Referring to a 'bhajan' of Mira Bai he said: "where there is love, God is present there."

The song on Bharat Mata sung by women was Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali song, "Ayi Bhubanamano-Mohini."

M. D. writes in *Harijan*:

Babu Shivaprasad Gupta found friends from Kashi itself to help him. Shri Durgaprasadji, Professor of

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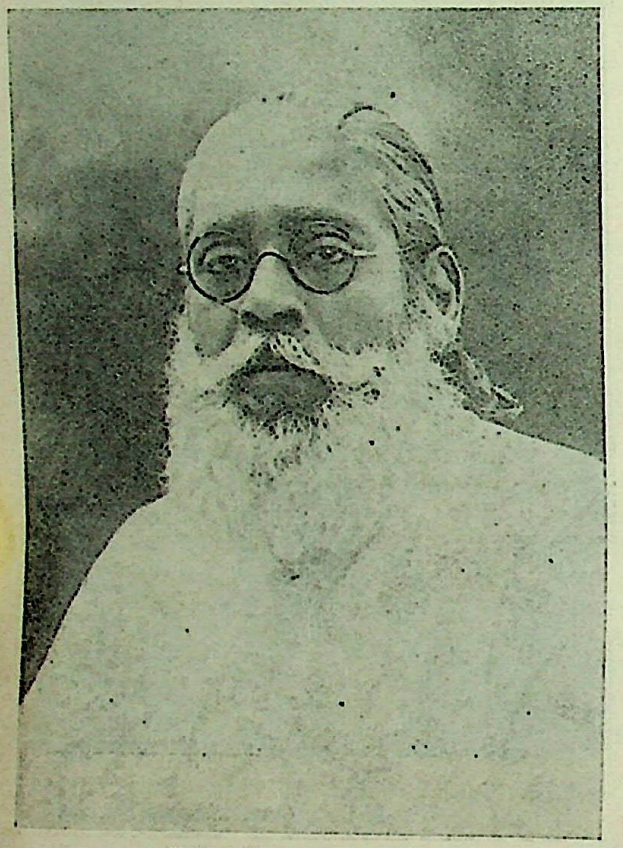
Science in the Kashi Vidyapitha, took up the task of having the relief map made; he found out from Kashi itself workers in stone and marble, taught them to learn the new art of making mountains and plains, and rivers and lakes, of the right proportion, from slabs of marble. 762 square pieces (11"×11") of marble (with smaller bits here and there) having gone to the making of this relief map, 31 feet and 2 inches long and 30 feet and 2 inches broad. Every one of the physical feature shown is to scale, a surface inch being equal to 6 miles and 704 yards and an inch of height meaning 2,000 feet. Thus Mt. Everest has been cut out of one piece of marble



Babu Shivaprasad Gupta
Photo: Goras Studio, Benares

15 inches high. The height of all India's plains and mountains from the sea level has been accurately shown and gradations of heights from 500 feet to 30,000 feet have been shown in figures to draw the spectator's attention to relative heights. Over 400 peaks of India's mountains have been shown, all her rivers with their relative length and breadth and depth have been shown, as also all India's principal lakes. All the latest geometrical knowledge has been utilised for making the relief map as accurate as possible and, all important cities and towns and villages have been shown, 20 artisans were at work cutting, shaping and putting together these marble pieces, from day to day during five long years. The walls of the temple have maps in colour showing the different periods of Indian History, and also various features of physical geography.

The relief map is a poem in marble, and the whole shrine is a temple not only of art but of instruction and knowledge.

All-India Music Conference at Ajmere

Music conferences in different parts of India indicate that there is a growing interest in this art. The Ajmere session of the All-India Music Conference was a unique gathering in the modern annals of Rajputana.

Among the renowned musicians who joined this Conference from different provinces mention may be made of the following: Ostad Faiuz Khan, Narayan Rao Vyas, Master Basanta, Srikrishna Ratanjankar, Master Bal Gandharva, Professor Nattu, Miss Santa Amladi, Sambhuprasad—the reputed dancer, Nulley Khan and Onkarnath.

From Bengal the Sangeeta Sanmilani joined the Conference with thirty students, boys and girls, under the able guidance of its Secretary, Sm. Promoda Chowdhurani.

The most remarkable achievement of the Calcutta Sangeeta Sanmilani was its successful play of 'orchestra' under the direction of Srijut Mihir Kiran Bhattacharjee. This orchestra has been declared to be the best performed in the Conference, and the winning prize—a big cup and 19 medals have been awarded the Sanmilani for it. Only two days were allotted to Orchestra, but at the special request of the public and the Princes present, the orchestra performance had to be repeated every day. Arrangements were made for broadcasting the last day's programme and so the authorities gave a special place to it in its programme.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Tours

The speeches delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the course of his tours in different parts of India would make an instructive and interesting volume. From the very nature of the case, there must have been many repetitions. But if some enterprising publisher could get together the reports of these speeches in the dailies and give him typewritten copies of them, with ample margin, and if he could be persuaded to edit them, amplifying them where necessary, a service would be rendered to the rising generation—and to their elders as well. We write this after reading extracts from some of his speeches given in *The Indian Messenger* of Calcutta. Having been absent from Calcutta when he was here, we had no opportunity to listen to any of them.

There must also have been many picturesque gatherings in many places to welcome him. The Santal "Brati Balak" group—Visva-bharati boy scouts are called by that name—welcomed him with their salute at Sriniketan, where the Rural Reconstruction Department of Tagore's University is situated. There the little girls also garlanded him and anointed his forehead with sandal-paste. It is said that his conversation with the poet Tagore lasted for three hours. How one would like to know what they told each other. The reception of the

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Pandit in Calcutta was one of the grandest which the city ever accorded to any one.

In the course of his Madras tour Mr. Nehru opened the newly built edifice at Mambalam to be devoted to the work of spreading a knowledge of Hindi.

If some one could collect the original photographs of all the gatherings and functions in which the Pandit took part and reproduce them in a volume, it would make a fine gift book.

Literature for the Masses

At the Gujarati Sahitya Sammelan Mahatma Gandhi urged that books should be written for the edification of the illiterate masses. Of course, so long as they are illiterate, they will not be able to read them. But, if written

Mahatma Gandhi and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan proceeding to join the Gujarati Sahitya Sammelan

in simple language, they can understand such books when read out to them. Our experience in Bengal is that the illiterate masses can understand the Bengali Ramayana when read out to them or recited.

Mahatma Gandhi on Students' Duties

CHITTOOR, Nov. 7.

Mr. G. S. N. Acharya, of the Andhra University, has received the following message from Mahatma Gandhi when he enquired of Gandhiji as to how best students can help the national movement.

"Students can easily spin in the name of and for the sake of Daridranarayana for half an hour daily without any interference with their studies and can add some thing, be it ever so little, to the wealth of the country, and establish a living connection with millions of their countrymen who are strangers to education and who never know from year end to year end what a full meal is."—*United Press.*

This implies that in the opinion of Gandhiji living connection with the poverty-stricken and uneducated millions of India can be established mainly in two ways, namely, by relieving their poverty and by educating them.

Congress Presidential Election

It appears almost certain now (November 27th) that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will be unanimously elected to preside over the next session of the Indian National Congress. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar has definitely declined to re-enter politics, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan has repeatedly said he is a private in the ranks and will not be a general, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is also about to withdraw, and Government are not going to oblige Congressmen by giving them a president by releasing Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Leave has been refused even to move a resolution in the Bengal Council recommending to the Government his immediate release. If Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose were elected president while still a detenu, it would no doubt be a fresh proof of public confidence in him, but some one would have to be chosen to act for him. That would practically amount to electing a president.

There is no rule or convention standing in the way of a person's election to the presidential chair more than once. So Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru can be elected president for the third time quite properly.

In his statement relating to the subject he has said in effect that he would take his election as amounting to approval of his programme, of which the principal planks are socialism and non-acceptance of office. But he has also said, more than once before, that India's freedom must be won first before socialistic reconstruction can be attempted or begun and that he has no desire to force or impose his socialistic views on Congress. As regards non-acceptance of office, the Congress President cannot determine the attitude of Congress dictatorially. The question must be settled by discussion and voting in open Congress. And whether Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru becomes president again or not, he remains himself, and can place his views and reasons before his countrymen. Perhaps as a mere private Congressman he would feel less fettered in advocating socialism and non-acceptance of office than as Congress president. For in the latter capacity he would have to

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speak with due regard to the officially expressed opinions of the Congress.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a Man of Religion

The Indian Social Reformer quotes the following passage from *The Hindu*:

> On arrival from Aruppukottah, he (the Pandit) went to the Sri Minakshi temple for worship, and though his visit was kept a secret, huge crowds of people thronged the temple precincts in order to see him. Mr. Nehru was accorded temple honours by the authorities of the temple. He was much impressed with the beautiful architecture and sculpture in the temple. After worshipping in the temple, Mr. Nehru drove to Mariamman Teppakulam and had a view of the tank and the famous banyan-tree in the compound of the Palayampatti bungalow close by.

Mr. Nehru has often said that he is not a man of religion. If the above report be correct, perhaps his attitude towards religion has undergone a change.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a Gentleman

The Guardian of Madras quotes the following from an editorial note in the *Baptist Missionary Review*:

> Not many days ago we had occasion to get aboard the south-bound Delhi Express at a station in the Deccan. It was in the darkness before the dawn, lighted by a pale moon. An unusual crowd on the platform rushed forward with evident excitement to greet some personage in a carriage not far from ours. This personage who attracted crowds at such an hour proved to be none other than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress.
>
> Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru seems to be a man who insists on order, discipline and the rules of the game. He is surely the perfect gentleman. When the train stopped at our destination the crowd attracted by the hope of seeing and hearing the Congress President was so unruly that passengers leaving the train could not go through the gate. An American lady (in whom we have very special personal interest) and her small daughter gave up the attempt to leave the station and withdrew to wait for the crowd to scatter after the train had gone. But the keen eye of President Jawaharlal Nehru had noted the situation. With most charming courtesy he offered his assistance, escorted the lady through the crowd which jammed the entrance to the station and then, incensed by the mob's disorderliness, retired to his compartment, refusing to speak or be seen again.

Japanese Buddhists and Buddhism in India

Some Indian artists headed by Mr. Nandalal Bose offered to execute all the frescoes on the walls of the Mulagandhakuti Vihara at Sarnath without any remuneration. But their offer was not accepted. The work was made a job and it was given to Japanese Buddhist artists at the desire of a British Buddhist who had donated several thousand rupees for the work. The artists received help from Japan also.

Perhaps this British Buddhist was not a British imperialist. But he was anti-Indian and anti-Hindu and pro-Japanese.

At the recent opening of a Buddhist temple in Delhi, an address was presented to the Japanese Consul-General—we do not know why. He was quite right in replying that, "in view of the present unsettled conditions of the world, where the so-called civilized peoples were feverishly arming themselves to destroy one another, he could not but feel that Buddhism, with its emphasis upon spiritualism and protest against selfish materialism, had a great mission to perform, not only in Asia but also in the whole world." Perhaps personally he is opposed to Japanese materialistic nationalism and imperialism.

A correspondent has called our attention to the fact that in at least five East Bengal villages Japanese Buddhists have built Buddhist temples and more are reported to be about to be built.

In many backward countries of the world the order of European imperialistic penetration was first the Bible, then the bottle and finally the bullet.

British imperialism is not the only imperialism in the world. There are French imperialism, Belgian imperialism, Dutch imperialism, Italian imperialism, German imperialism, Japanese imperialism, etc. We understand the futility of trying to play off one imperialism against another.

All-India Students' Conference at Lahore

In the opinion of *The Tribune* of Lahore,

> It was a highly felicitous speech which Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose made as President of the All-India Students' Federation at Lahore. The keynote of the speech was an appeal to the youth of the country not to rest until the freedom of the country had been achieved and until unemployment and poverty had become things of the past. "I look to the youth of the country," said Mr. Bose, "to evolve a movement essentially political and economic, but at the same time social and cultural. Do the youth of India suffer from weariness of the flesh? Do they also suffer from littleness of spirit? It is for you to answer these questions."

Among the resolutions passed at this session of the Federation were the following:

> "This Conference of the students of India strongly condemns the policy of detaining students without trial and demands the immediate release of Mr. Jagatjit Sarkar, who was a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Students' Federation Committee and who has been detained in Bengal under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act."
>
> "This Conference of the students of India congra-

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tulate the students of Aligarh University for their brave stand against the attempt to foster communalism amongst them by rejecting a proposal for the organisation of an All-India Muslim Students' Federation."

"In the opinion of this Conference the acceptance of offices under the New Constitution will amount to co-operation with it and will be detrimental to the best interests of the country."

"This Conference protests against the Government's policy of proscribing books on progressive thought, as that policy would lead to cultural deterioration of the nation."

"This Conference condemns the action of the Bengal and Punjab Governments in keeping students under detention and demands their immediate release from detention."

Civil War in Spain

The terribly destructive civil war in Spain is still going on. Nobody knows when and how it will end, and whether it will not result in an European conflagration or possibly another world war.

On account of the brave and stubborn resistance offered by the Spanish Government to the capture of the capital by the rebels, the rebel leader, General Franco, seems to be making a virtue of necessity. He will not, he has said, deliver a final blow for the present for seizing that city.

State Socialism for Indian States

Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, addressing the Mysore Representative Assembly in October last, said that "in the peculiar circumstances of the country State Socialism—and a generous measure of it, is not only desirable, but is also necessary if the pace of industrialization in the country is to be accelerated." It is really necessary in States where private capital is lacking or shy and private enterprize is not forthcoming for actively promoting industries.

Even our Municipal Corporations ought to go in for industrial activities, if they can command sufficient capital, where private enterprise and capital are lacking. Even in such a highly industrialized country as the United States of America this is going to be done in the State of Mississippi.

Municipal Industrial Enterprise in U. S. A.

An American exchange writes :

Under the provisions of a bill recently passed by the Mississippi Legislature and now awaiting signature by Governor Hugh White, counties and municipalities of the state are authorized to subsidize manufacturing enterprises. The bill lists fifty industries, ranging from textiles to automobile tires, as eligible for such aid and declares that communities may bond themselves up to 10 per cent of their assessed valuation in order to build or acquire manufacturing plants.

Foreign Capital for Promoting Industries

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the new Dewan of Travancore, is reported to have said recently :

If the introduction of foreign capital into a country stifles local enterprise, it would be mischievous; but if local capital was not educated enough or too shy to give the necessary lead to industrial enterprise, then who could avoid the possibility of foreign capital being harnessed for the development of the country?

If foreign capital could be had for the development of the indigenous industries of a country merely by paying a reasonable interest and if the management remained in the hands of its nationals and the profits remained in the country, it would be very desirable to get such capital, whenever necessary, on loan. But generally foreign capital, foreign management and foreigners' appropriation of the lion's share of the profits go together. And foreign industrial enterprise generally serves as a damper on national enterprise, the former sometimes stifling the latter. Sometimes, too, some items of the revenues of a country are mortgaged for the security of foreign capital, as was the case in China. The economic dependence of one country on another, particularly if the latter be a more powerful country, may lead to the former's loss of political independence.

For all these reasons, the introduction of foreign capital into a country should be avoided as much as possible. State socialism in the field of industries is distinctly to be preferred to foreign industrial enterprise in a country.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer is reported also to have said :

So long as India is not able industrially to stand on her own legs, we should welcome assistance from any quarter, assistance given with a generous desire to help the country.

The speaker would do well to mention some examples of foreign capitalists investing their capital or starting industries with their capital in alien lands with a philanthropic and altruistic motive.

Making Common Cause

The most vital and important object to be gained by Indians is freedom. Therefore, not only the different wings of the Congress party, but other parties also should make common cause whenever any question arises involving India's freedom, laying aside for the time being political or communal differences on other matters.

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We have often stressed this point before in the past and do so again. So long as India is not free, there ought really to be one Indian party—the party fighting for India's autonomy, though there may be differences among different sections of the party on minor points. The common enemy is the party opposed to India's freedom. When freedom has been won, then the formation of different Indian parties to fight one another may be allowed without detriment to the essential interests of the country.

To external seeming it may not be practicable to have only one Indian party now. But the desire and the will to make common cause for winning freedom should animate all Indian parties.

The Question of Releasing Detenus

When the other day the Bengal Government was asked in the Legislative Council to release the detenus, the home member repeated the hackneyed official arguments in support of keeping a large number of young people confined without trial for an indefinite period, on the off-chance of there being some terrorists among them. He said that whenever there had been a general release of such persons, there was a recrudescence of terrorism. We have not tested the accuracy of this statement. But assuming it to be correct, is it also true that it was the released men or most of them who were responsible for such recrudescence? Has this ever been officially asserted or proved? Is it or is it not true that most of the persons released have been law-abiding after release? Has it been shown that there was no other important cause or circumstance except the release of these persons which led to or could be presumed to have led to the recrudescence of terrorism? And is the confinement of the detenus the only or main cause why there is no terrorism now?

Non-official Indian opinion is practically unanimous in holding that the main cause of terrorism is political. But assuming that economic conditions had something to do with its continuance, Government ought to discover and apply both political and economic remedies. No political remedy has been applied. On the contrary, the new constitution is worse than the one it will replace—very much worse indeed so far as Bengal and the Bengali intelligentsia are concerned. The economic remedy applied so far is the training of 58 men out of, say, 2,500, in small industries and agriculture. So the Government's statesmanship in the matter of the eradication of terrorism consists almost entirely in detaining numbers of young people without trial. It is not known whether this is officially claimed to be statesmanship of a high order. The eradication of a malady is not synonymous with the suppression of its external symptoms. The true physician finds out the root of the disease and strikes at it. That is not what has been done by Government.

Even if all the detenus had been trained and found employment, that would not have improved the economic condition of the country very much.

Financial Assistance to Trained Detenus

On the 27th November, the Bengal Council granted the supplementary demand of Rs. 1,65,000 for giving credit facilities to industrially-trained detenus to start small industries. Extracts from the proceedings of the Council bearing on the question are given below.

Opposing the demand Mr. P. Banerji said :

The amount which was proposed to be given to each detenu was much too meagre to be of help to him in settling in life.

Mr. Shanti Sekhareswar Roy did not want to oppose the grant.

But his point was that Government had not made clear their intention in the matter and had not told the House how this money was going to be disbursed. They did not know on what consideration the detenus who were to obtain financial help were to be selected. Would detenus be required to give any sort of undertaking if they received this money? Was it intended, the speaker asked, to be a sort of bribe to them so that under the guise of patriots they could do the work of spies? He wanted a definite and distinct assurance from the Government of Bengal in the matter. The feeling had been growing in the country, he said, that there was something objectionable in this new move of meeting the menace of terrorism in Bengal.

Mr. N. K. Basu gave his whole-hearted support to the demand.

This was the first time that he had heard that under the cloak of the scheme, detenus were to be lured away into the Intelligence Department. No such remark had ever reached his ears. The speaker yielded to none in his condemnation of the system of detention without trial : he yielded to none in his condemnation of the policy that had been followed in this respect. But he did welcome the measure which Government as a measure of penitence initiated, undertaking to give some training to some of these men. That measure of giving training to them would have failed in its object if no financial help was given to them after they had completed their training period and Government would have been guilty of an act of injustice.

Exactly.

Replying on behalf of Government, Sir Robert Reid, Home Member, said :

Mr. Shanti Sekhareswar Roy's remarks had been

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effectively dealt with by other speakers for which he was grateful to them. As regards Mr. Fazlullah's motion for reduction, it was, he thought, entirely based on misconception. His motion was further entirely out of place because it was based on some figures which had nothing whatsoever to do with the present motion for loans and advances.

As regards the main motion before the House, the Home Member would like to point out that the question of assisting trained men to set up in business for themselves had engaged the attention of Government for some time. As it seemed unlikely that these men could get for themselves the necessary capital Government felt that in some cases the training which had been given at public expenditure would be entirely wasted. Government had therefore decided to assume responsibility for providing credit facilities to these trained men to enable them to set up in industry in small groups in the vicinity of Calcutta. The total amount required for this purpose was estimated at Rs. 1,03,000. He would like further to point out that about forty other men who had undertaken training in agriculture would complete their course in January, 1937 and would be released. It was proposed that they should establish farms in groups of eight and that advances should be made to them to the extent of Rs. 62,500.

Giving details of the assistance proposed to be given to detenus who had completed their industrial training, the Home Member pointed out that the sum of Rs. 1,03,000 covered the costs of machinery, furniture, tools and buildings and also four months' working expenses. The working expenses would cover the cost of raw materials and labour charges. These men had already started work and it depended on them as to the amount of attention and diligence they could devote to their work and they had got to work hard. The prospects were favourable. One point which deserved special mention was that arrangements had already been made for the sale of their produce by means of forward contracts. 95 per cent of the produce of brass and cutlery industry had already been provided for. A forward contract for more than one lakh worth of things had already been made on account of umbrellas and negotiations were still going on with regard to pottery.

Corporation Chemical Laboratory

Sir P. C. Ray and Professor Meghnad Saha have published an elaborate plea for the re-organization of the Calcutta Corporation's chemical laboratory. It is thoroughly convincing. The Corporation ought to re-organize the laboratory and place it under the charge of some competent expert in chemistry, with able graduates in chemistry to assist him.

Birmingham city has nearly the same population as the municipal area of Calcutta. Its Public Health Department has, in addition to various other departments, a Bacteriological Department with City Bacteriologist and staff of 16 and Analytical Department with City Analyst and staff of 6. It has research laboratories also.

Dr. Jayaswal's Address to Numismatic Society

It was a very important and learned address which Dr. K. P. Jayaswal delivered as president of the Session of the Numismatic Society of India held at Udaipur, Rajputana, on the invitation of the Maharana. In it he unfolded the story of the ancient coins of India.

Dr. Jayaswal is noted as an Indologist who brings a modern eye to the discovery of the significance of ancient facts and finds.

India's Ancient Federal Republican State

Dr. Jayaswal said in the course of the presidential address referred to above :

> Coins, along with inscriptions, prove that we had before the foundation of the United States of America, the largest Federal Republican State in the Yaudheya Federation in the time of Samudra Gupta comprising the large tract between the Sutlej and the Jamuna.

This pronouncement made by a savant of Dr. Jayaswal's standing is very important—particularly at this time when British imperialists still continue to think that they are going to give something which India never had and never dreamt of in the form of a so-called Federated India.

"The Empire's Most Vulnerable Spot"

According to a communication issued by the Associated Press of India on the 25th November :

> "The strategic significance of the distribution of the world's mineral wealth," was the subject of an interesting discourse by Dr. J. A. Dunn, at a meeting of the Mining and Geological Institute of India, held in Dhanbad last week. After remarking on the great metallurgical advances during the last five years, particularly in the use of special alloys, Dr. Dunn surveyed in detail statistically the national distribution of some 45 of the world's important minerals. He then pointed out the resources in these minerals of each of the seven great nations, the British Empire, United States, Russia, Germany, France, Italy and Japan.
>
> From the mineral point of view two great nations are outstanding, the two English-speaking nations—the British Empire and the United States—with the Soviet Union developing her independence, and with Germany rapidly making herself indispensable once more by great determination, aided by her cheap fuels, which permit vast importation of raw materials and so the expansion of a metal industry which may be soon second to none.

After observing that a wider distribution of the metal industries would make for peace, he said that unfortunately these same industries were those which were indispensable in war. He proceeded :

> It is, of course, certain that no great war can last long without the supply of certain minerals, and Germans' failure in 1918, was largely due to the British blockade and consequent lack of materials for munitions. But no great nation in the future is likely to go to war hastily, and with sufficient foresight, large stocks can be built up. It is not always necessary that special metals should be locked up in stocks, for, by the cultivation of a greatly

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expanded industry, as in Germany today, many metals can be absorbed into special machinery and implements of peace, which in times of war, can be immediately called in for munitions purposes—"the plough-sharers may be turned into swords."

Dr. Dunn has discussed the British Empire's position in a sustained war against other nations:

One of the fundamental reasons for the importance of the United Kingdom amongst the nations of the world is due to her great resources in coal and iron. Apart from these and a few other minor minerals, the United Kingdom is entirely dependent on the Dominions and Dependencies of the Empire and on other countries for her supply. Without her Dominions and Dependencies, the United Kingdom would rank below the United States, U.S.S.R., Germany and perhaps also France in the strategic importance of her minerals. **The Empire's mineral industry is the most vulnerable spot in her power. Inability to check a blockade of her coastal waters, which are the bottle-neck of her trade routes, or one crippling naval battle in war, besides permitting access of supplies to the opposing nation, might see the end of Britain's industry.** Providing Britain's naval and military strength is sufficiently prepared against sudden attack, only the United States could keep pace with her in a sustained war. But one can only envisage a community of interests between the two nations.

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France is going to spend £100,000,000 for "preparedness," call it offensive or defensive. She never before provided so much for the purpose in any ordinary or extraordinary budget.

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That Britain has been making gigantic efforts for strengthening her air arm, her land army and her navy is not a secret.

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Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation

The twenty-fifth birthday of the Maharaja of Travancore has been commemorated by a Proclamation of far-reaching importance affecting the Hindu-religion—Temple Entry. The Maharaja has thrown open all temples controlled by the State and the Ruling family to all classes of Hindus. The step is acclaimed as one of the greatest reforms in Hinduism since the days of Ramanuja.

A Gazette Extraordinary issued on the night of the 12th instant said:

Profoundly convinced of the truth and validity of our religion, believing that it is based on divine guidance and an all-comprehending toleration, knowing that in its practice it has throughout the centuries adapted itself to the needs of the changing times, solicitous that none of our Hindu subjects should by reason of birth, caste or community be denied the consolation and solace of the Hindu faith, we have decided and hereby declare, ordain and command that, subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by us for preserving their proper atmosphere and maintaining their rituals and observances, there should henceforth be no restriction placed on any Hindu by birth or religion on entering and worshipping at temples controlled by us and our Government.

The rules and conditions mentioned in the proclamation have been published. They are all reasonable and do not in the least take away from the value of what the young Maharaja has done for those Hindus of his State who are regarded as having a low social status.

The example of Travancore should be followed all over the country. The success of Mahatma Gandhi's temple entry movement in this southernmost part of India, where 'untouchability' is most rigidly observed, foreshadows its future gradual triumph in the rest of the country.

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By the new agreement relating to Berar the Nizam gets the title of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar and the title of His Highness will be conferred upon the heir-apparent of the Nizam, who will also be called the Prince of Berar. Other articles of the agreement include a provision that the Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar will be appointed after consultation with the Nizam, he will exercise his functions in relation to Berar by virtue of the Nizam's assent, that the Nizam's flag will fly alongside the British flag and that the Nizam can hold darbars in Berar and confer Hyderabad titles on Berar subjects.

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The agreement has effect, whether or not the Nizam is pleased to execute the instrument of accession to the Federation.

The Viceroy adds in a letter to the Nizam :

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the impression that if he were elected he would treat it as a vote for socialism and against office acceptance. In the course of a statement made on the 28th November he says :

It would be absurd for me to treat this presidential election as a vote for socialism or against office-acceptance. I have expressed my views on socialism and pointed out how this colours all my outlook and activity. I have further expressed myself often enough against office-acceptance and whenever the opportunity occurs I shall press this viewpoint before the Congress. But it is for the Congress to decide this issue directly and on a full consideration of it, and not, as it were by a casual and indirect vote. I do believe that political independence is the paramount issue before the country and the necessity for a joint and united action on this is incumbent on all of us. I say this to remove any misunderstanding and not to suggest even indirectly that I should be elected. If in spite of this, I am elected, it can only mean that my general line of activity during the last eight months is approved by the majority of Congressmen and not my particular views on any issue. The considerations that have led me to act in that way hold and in so far as I can, I shall continue to act in the same way, whether I am President or not.—*United Press.*

There does not seem to us to be any very substantial difference between the Pandit's two statements regarding the point at issue.

Heavy Fighting on North-West Frontier

Heavy fighting has been going on on the North-West Frontier. From the communiques published the cause of this war cannot be definitely understood. The Indian taxpayer has no voice in the matter, though he has to pay heavy subsidies to various Pathan tribes for the maintenance of peace in the border areas and also to pay for military expeditions undertaken against them.

The Most Deplorable Case of a Lady Detenu

MUNSHIGANJ, Nov. 26.

The Sub-divisional Officer delivered judgment today in the case against Miss Renuka Sen, M.A., under section 2(*a*) of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, for not attending the local police station once a week as she was directed to do while staying as a home-internee with her maternal grandfather, Sj. Uma Charan Sen at Munshiganj.

Miss Sen has been sentenced to undergo fourteen days simple imprisonment and recommended to be placed in Division II.

The Magistrate, in convicting Miss Sen of the offence with which she was charged, held as untenable the defence plea that the Government order directing her to be in home internment was illegal in the absence of any provision for her monthly allowance.

The Magistrate further observed that the accused was dealt with leniently in consideration of the fact that this was her first offence.—*United Press.*

The facts of the case should be known to fully understand the tragedy.

Miss Renuka Sen is a respectable lady and an M.A. of the Calcutta University. About six years ago she incurred the suspicion of the police, and without any charge or trial she was deprived of her liberty and kept confined in the Hijli detention camp for about six years. Some time ago she was removed from Hijli and interned in the home of her maternal grandfather at Munshiganj. This was done without her consent. She was not a minor. Her grandfather was not her natural guardian, not bound to maintain her, nor was he in a pecuniary position to do so. In consideration of these facts—particularly of the one mentioned last, she was quite unwilling to be a burden on her grandfather. She made all these things known to the authorities when the "home internment" order was passed, as also to the Court in the written statement which she filed in her defence.

"Government had placed me against my will under the charge of one who had, to all intents and purposes, refused me food and shelter by absolving himself from the responsibility he took about me. This was a situation in which I felt it very difficult, if not impossible, to live. All my attempts to invite the attention of Government to my very genuine grievances were in vain. My claim was very simple. If it was in the interest of the Government to keep me confined at some place, I must be allowed food for my body and food for my brain. But the Government provided for neither in spite of repeated prayers."

No serious attempt was made by the prosecution to rebut this statement. It is a moral and a legal obligation on the Government to keep alive all whose liberty is taken away from them.

She had sufficient qualifications to earn her own living. But as an internee she was precluded from doing so. She was also obliged to obey the humiliating order to report herself every week at the Munshiganj police station. She had asked the authorities to send her to a detention camp again, if Government did not provide her with a monthly subsistence allowance. But no heed was paid to any of her prayers and petitions. So, just to draw attention to her tragic case she disobeyed the order to attend the police station.

The Magistrate has passed on her a "lenient" sentence, because this was her first offence. The question is, when her fourteen days of prison life are over, what will be her status? Will she be a prisoner at "home," if she can be said to have a home at all; or will she be a free citizen? If she cannot have personal liberty, would it not be merciful to send her again to some detention camp, or to some jail, where she would get some food and raiment?

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Perhaps it would have been more merciful and considerate on the part of the Magistrate if he had sentenced her to a long term of imprisonment.

Some of the reasons why some detenus commit suicide may be understood from cases like this.

The Princes and Federation

Some of the Ruling princes have been showing some unwillingness to accept Federation. But they know that they will have to do so, willy-nilly. So they are trying to get better terms. The Nizam, the biggest of them all, has already got as much as he could.

The Viceroy on the Preservation of Cows

The efforts which the Viceroy has been making for improving the breed of cattle all over the country is sure to produce some appreciable effect. There will gradually be better cattle for the plough and the cart, and better milch cows also.

His recent act of buying six prime cows and one such buffalo, which had gone dry and would most probably have been purchased by butchers for meat, and presenting them to the Delhi pinjrapole, should be widely appreciated by persons of all religious communities. He made it quite clear that he did not do so from any religious motive, as his faith did not consider the cow sacred. Nevertheless, whoever else may or may not appreciate this action of his, which is both humane and calculated to further the cause of a better milk supply, Hindus will appreciate it. The movement for purchasing dry prime cows from goalas and keeping them in institutions like pinjrapoles should receive a fillip from the Viceroy's action.

His condemnaton of the cruel, wicked and abominable practice of "phooka" for prolonging the period of lactation, which often leads to sterility, deserves unqualified support. This practice should be ruthlessly suppressed.

We appreciate the Viceroy's action though we know that, just as good government is not a substitute for self-government, so stud bulls and prime cows are no substitute for self-rule.

Lord Willingdon on "Indian" Newspapers

Speaking at the annual dinner of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society held in London recently, Lord Willingdon mentioned some newspapers of India owned and edited by Indians, and "hoped they would get the best possible news and that they would treat the news fairly, whatever their comments might be." Why did he not express a similar hope for the Anglo-Indian papers? Are they ideal publications in the directions indicated by him?

Governors' Allowances

The recently published orders in Council relating to Governors' allowances and privileges make tragically interesting reading to Indians. While all "nation-building" departments must continue to be starved, the Governors of provinces will have their huge scheduled salaries, and in addition they will have leave allowances, sumptuary allowances, allowances in respect of the military secretary and his establishment, band, bodyguard, tour expenses, miscellaneous expenses including maintenance of motor cars, expenses for maintaining the furnishing of official residences and expenses for equipment and travelling charges while resident in Europe when appointed. Let us take one province—Bengal. Here alone the extra expenditure would amount to Rs. 6,37,000 per annum.

All this would be necessary to keep up the "dignity" of these functionaries! The respect which men cannot command by intrinsic merit is often attempted to be secured by means of external trappings.

"Japan sees China as a Soviet Ally"

[Special Correspondence, The New York Times.]

Hsinking, Manchukuo.—The Japanese Army leaders in the new Empire of Manchukuo, and equally the Japanese civilians who dominate and dictate to the Chinese officials who nominally direct the Manchukuo Government, are all obsessed with the fear that Soviet Russia has concluded a secret agreement with China.

"When both are ready," they say, "Russia and China will join in an attack upon Manchukuo and Japan."

This fear furnishes the real motive for the Japanese Army's desire to dominate Inner Mongolia, and to clinch Japan's hold upon the five northern provinces of China. With Inner Mongolia thrust out westward like a wedge between the Soviets and China, and with friendly governors or administrators in China's five northern provinces, the Japanese feel that they can keep Nanking's armies harmlessly south of the Yellow River while they deal with Soviet Russia in the north and northwest.

The Japanese Army's view of the situation in Eastern Asia has been presented to this writer in Hsinking as follows:

"The Soviet regards Japan and Germany as her chief enemies. The supreme object of Stalin's regime is to build a mighty Asiatic empire, having Western Siberia as its center. The shifting of heavy industries east of the Ural Mountains, completion of the Turk-Sib Railway, completion of the double tracking of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the conquest of Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang —all these reveal Russia's innermost designs.

"With the outbreak of the Manchurian event, the Soviet feared Japan might push into her territory. There-

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fore for a while everything was done to appease the so-called aggressive elements of Japan.

"On the other hand, Russia began feverish military preparations in the Far East, rushing the double-tracking of her railways, constructing a long chain of fortifications along the border and massing a tremendous number of troops, tanks, airplanes and mechanized battalions in her Far Eastern territory, as well as increasing the number of submarines at Vladivostok.

"Russia's warlike preparations in regions adjacent to Manchukuo are now about finished. We are awaiting her next move."

The above news-item gives partial explanation for the Japanese policy of developing her military, air and naval power. Japan is not only faced with a possible Russo-Chinese combination but she may be faced with an Anglo-American opposition as well, and Japan must prevent the formation of any combination which will isolate her in world politics and defeat her on land, air and water. Therefore, unless Russia and China change their anti-Japanese policy, Japan will try to weaken them by some means or other. At the same time Japan may come to some understanding with Great Britain and America. If Russo-Chinese alliance becomes effective, then Great Britain will be receptive to an idea for the revival of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

New York, Oct. 26, 1936.

TARAKNATH DAS

Infanticide Among Bihar Rajputs

It is shocking to read in the proceedings of the 19th Bihar Provincial Kshatriya Conference, held at Patna, on the 1st November, a resolution asking Government to stop infanticide among the Rajputs in the districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur and to give adequate help to the Rajput Kanyavadh Nivarini Sabha (Society for the Prevention of Killing of Girl Babies among Rajputs) in its efforts to suppress it.

Lord Willingdon Boosting the "Reforms"

Lord Willingdon has been trying in various ways to lead the world to believe that the new constitution thrust upon India is a great philanthropic achievement. In one of his recent speeches he has said that it showed "the sincerity of our (Britishers') desire that Indians should, if possible, be on an absolutely equal status with the other Dominions." Yes, "if possible"! He speaks of the "other Dominions." So India is one of the Dominions! "He hoped that India would fully realize the sincerity of our purpose." Who has told his lordship that India ever doubted the sincerity of British purpose?

South Africa Chooses its Own Governor-General

King Edward VIII of Great Britain has appointed Mr. Patrick Duncan, Minister of Mines in the South African Union Government, Governor-General of South Africa, on the recommendation of General Hertzog. This is the first time that a South African has been appointed Governor-General of that Dominion, and that on the recommendation of the South African cabinet, not on that of the British Cabinet. The Statute of Westminster has led to this changed practice.

Entry of Indians Into Burma

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, have sent the following telegram to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy regarding the Draft Instrument of Instructions with reference to Burma recently issued:

"The attention of the Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber is drawn to the Draft Instrument of Instructions for the Governor of Burma now before Parliament. It was not contemplated to give the Governor power of restriction on the entry of Indians into Burma, but power was given to the Legislature of Burma to impose such restrictions only on the immigration of unskilled labour and that too after consultation of the Governor of Burma with the Government of India. The Instrument of Instructions now appears to provide for giving power to the Legislature of Burma to restrict general entry of Indians into Burma. Such a step will be most disastrous to the Indian interest and will be in contravention of the policy of His Majesty's Government and of the promises and understanding definitely given during the course of the debate in the House of Commons on the 10th April, 1935. The Committee appeal to His Excellency to represent to the Secretary of State to amend the relevant clause by confining the restriction on entry to unskilled labour only in consultation with the Government of India, and not the Governor-General as now provided."

The Committee of the Chamber has the full support of Indian public opinion.

Gwalior Maharaja's Boons to His People

On the happy occasion of his being invested with full ruling powers on the 2nd November, H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior announced a remission of land revenue of Rs. 60 lakhs. Another princely sum of one crore of rupees was allocated by him for rural uplift work in his State. The urban population also was not forgotten by the Maharaja, who, along with other concessions to his Sirdars and Jagirdars,

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was kind enough to sanction waterworks schemes for some of the principal cities in his territory.

There were other boons. His announcements were literally princely.

All-India Harijan Conference At Lahore

The All-India Harijan Conference at Lahore adopted a resolution declaring the depressed classes' determination to remain Hindus for ever, not to forsake Hindu culture and civilization, and to raise the banner of Hinduism.

The Conference also declared that Dr. Ambedkar's conversion move was a great hoax and an obstacle to Harijan progress. The Conference warned the Harijans that it would be self-annihilation to join any other sect. It heartily appreciated the country-wide effort for the uplift of the Harijans, but felt discontented at the slow progress of social reform. It appealed to the Hindus to free themselves as early as possible from the bondage of caste distinction and untouchability in order to enable the Harijans to take their proper place in the fight for the nation's freedom shoulder to shoulder with their fellow countrymen.

Political Prisoners in the Andamans

Raizada Hansraj, one of the two gentlemen who went to the Andamans with the permission of the Government to acquire firsthand knowledge of the condition of the political prisoners there, says in the course of a statement on the subject issued by him :

> Among the 316 political prisoners in the Andamans there were only five interviews with relatives during the last five years. Practically therefore there are no interviews, no change in the environment, no new faces, no exercises, no recreations. In fact, the prisoners appear to be buried alive in the little jail compound.

India and the League of Nations

Mr. C. C. Biswas, substitute delegate to the League of Nations, has on his return to India from Geneva repeated many of the complaints which India can legitimately make against the League. That these complaints have been voiced before is no reason why they should not be reiterated. India has hitherto paid too heavy a price for the membership of the League, getting practically nothing in return. What she had hitherto to pay has been recently reduced, but there should be further reduction.

The League has not been able to preserve peace in any quarter of the world. But it is useful in other ways. We are not in favour of India giving up membership of the League. Indians should seek and seize fresh opportunities of contact with the world abroad, instead of giving up any which she has at present.

Significance of Mr. Roosevelt's Re-election

That Mr. Roosevelt has been elected president of the United States of America for a second term shows that he is the people's man. The candidate put forward by Big Money could not make much headway against him. The reconstruction of the administration on socialistic lines begun by him will now continue.

Third Class Railway Passengers

At the last annual meeting of the Indian Railway Conference Association the Viceroy observed in the course of his speech :

> "Passenger amenities must be improved, especially those provided for the humblest class of traveller who forms the bulk of India's travelling public. As regards this last point, I have been gratified to learn that active steps are in progress to improve the standard design of our third class carriages."

Similarly Sir Zafarullah Khan, the Commerce Member, said in the course of his more outspoken speech :

> Complaints, in many cases well-founded and justified, continue to reach the Government, of lack of consideration, want of courtesy and absence of helpfulness on the part of the railway staff towards passengers on some systems.
>
> There have been signs of improvement in this respect, but much still remains to be done.
>
> There is a great deal of room for improvement in the arrangements for the booking of third-class passengers, in the standard of cleanliness in third-class waiting halls and carriages and in the timings and connections of trains.

Will the railway administrations and railway employees concerned take heed?

Re-Conversion of Hiralal Gandhi

It is because Muhammadans of a certain type made too much of the "conversion" of a person like Hiralal Gandhi to Muhammadanism that it is necessary to note that he has been "re-converted" to Hinduism by the Bombay Arya Samaj.

Exclusion of Indians From Railway Inquiry Committee

In a letter to the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay the Commerce Department of the Government of India have written :

> "The Government of India were convinced of the need of appointing to this committee acknowledged railway experts and deliberately selected these from other

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parts of the empire to ensure that the conduct of the inquiry should, as far as possible, be free from any tendencious character."

When these "other parts of the empire" have their own inquiry committees of this description, do they exclude their own nationals from them in order to ensure un-tendencious conduct of inquiries? Do British committees exclude Britishers, French Committees Frenchmen, Japanese committees Japanese, American committees Americans, and so on?

Indians are under subjection, but they are not such fools as to believe that they and they alone suffer from the original sin of tendenciousness.

A Discerning Stud Bull

The Pioneer is reported to have discovered the presence of a stud bull at Lucknow of the name of Bhola Nath who can detect thieves and also find out I. C. S. men in the midst of a crowd. Surely *The Pioneer* of all papers ought not to have spoken in the same breath of two such different classes of men.

Unsatisfactory Recruitment in Britain

LONDON, Nov. 18.

"I am bound to admit that under the present conditions of service the voluntary system of recruitment seems to be in grave danger," declared Earl Stanhope replying to points hitherto raised in the House of Lords' debate on defence.

He said that recruitment to the territorial army in 1936-37 had fallen to about 24,000 and although the War Office hoped to secure 40,000 recruits this year, they would still be short of the 86,000 required to bring the total to the peace-time establishment level.

The situation in the regular army was somewhat worse, for although 35,000 recruits were required in 1936-37 to repair the normal wastage, the War Office expected only 21,000; thus, the deficit was rapidly increasing.—*Reuter.*

Is the British War office thinking of enlisting non-white soldiers for service in whitemen's lands as some other European military authorities have occasionally done?

Lahore Session of Hindu Mahasabha

The recent Lahore session of the Hindu Mahasabha was marked by two deplorable incidents. The one is the walking out of an influential knot of delegates because of their disagreement and dissatisfaction with some views of the President expressed in his presidential address. This they ought not to have done. The Mahasabha is not bound by the opinions of its presidents—they have differed very widely; it is bound by its own resolutions until they are reversed or altered by other resolutions. If a presidential address is to be a sincere document, the president must be free to speak out his mind. All congressmen, many leading men included, do not accept Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's socialistic opinions and views against office-acceptance. But they did not walk out of the Lucknow Congress pavilion.

The other incident was the barring or walk-out of the Malaviya group of U. P. delegates. This also is to be regretted. We are not in possession of all facts relating to the affair to be able to make any useful comment on it.

Dr. Kurtkoti's Address

We have not seen the whole presidential address of Dr. Kurtkoti, the Sankaracharya of Karaveer Peeth, who presided over the last session of the Hindu Mahasabha, held at Lahore. But the extracts we have read appear to show that it was a liberal, forward-looking, courageous and outspoken utterance. Both his orthodoxy and his nationalism are beyond question. For that reason the address has a special value and significance.

We do not share some of Dr. Kurtkoti's views, though we have found the spirit of his address quite agreeable. It cannot be discussed in detail in a note. We shall just indicate where we are not in agreement with him. In the course of his address he has said :

"They (the minorities) must be made to understand that Hindusthan is primarily for the Hindus and that the Hindus live for the preservation and development of the Aryan culture and the Hindu Dharma which are bound to prove beneficial to all humanity. Lest this should create misgivings in the minds of minorities, apprehending that they shall have no place in this country, I hasten to add that they shall never fail to enjoy full cultural and religious freedom."

"I affirm that in Hindusthan the national race, religion and language ought to be that of the Hindus."

"Let us thoroughly realise the fact that, according to the scheme the League has devised, the religion, race and language of the majority community of a State (of Hindus in Hindusthan) shall be the national religion, race and language in every part, and in every province of the State, even if the majority community of the State happens to be in minority in a particular province (*e.g.*, the Punjab, Bengal, etc.)".

We do not think communal or denominational names are valueless, but we think a man is to be judged not by the religion he *professes* but by his loyalty as indicated by his mind or inner life and outward conduct. India is for them who are true not only to India's yet unrealized autonomy and to the salt they eat (in a material sense) but also to India's spirituality and culture. In other words, they are Indians *par excellence* who are loyal to India not only politically and economically but also spiritually and culturally. Indians are

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certainly at liberty, nay bound, to have due regard for the legitimate political and economic interests of countries other than India; but they must look to and promote Indian interests first without injuring the just interests of other countries. Culturally and spiritually they may and should, if possible, become citizens of the world; but they cannot be true Indians if they despise or are indifferent to or neglect and do not value India's culture and spirituality, which, it must be remembered, are not entirely and purely "Aryan" or Indian. World culture and spirituality include the culture and spirituality of India. All countries and peoples have to make their contribution to the culture and spirituality of man. Developing early, some did so in past ages, and some, like India, made their contributions in ancient times and are doing so still. Developing late, some made their contributions later and are continuing the process. Some have yet to make their distinctive intellectual and spiritual contributions.

All true Indians must recognize India's contribution and earnestly endeavour to make it a part of their being. But if any Indians neglect or fail to do so, that should not and cannot detract from their political rights as citizens.

According to the science of anthropology there is no "national" race. In fact, there is no nation in the world which consists anthropologically of one pure unmixed race. In India the vast majority of non-Hindus belong to the same anthropological races as the Hindus.

Some countries still have a national or state religion, no doubt, but the idea of a state religion or church is an antiquated idea. Many important countries, *e.g.*, U. S. A., have no state religion. The followers of no faith are more orthodox or zealous than the Muslims and they form the vast majority of the inhabitants of Turkey. But Islam ceased to be the state religion of that Republic in 1928. An oath of allegiance to the Republic, taken by the President and Deputies, took the place of the former religious formula. India, when free, should not and will not have a state religion.

As regards language, India has many. Even some of the principal ones are of Dravidian stock. If Hindi or Hindusthani becomes the medium of communication between different linguistic groups, it will not displace the other principal languages in their native regions. Moreover, Hindi or Hindusthani itself is not entirely an "Aryan" tongue. And in linguistics, as in anthropology, "Aryan" is not a scientific term.

The End of the Year and of Peace

The end of the year is approaching, and with it the days of Peace seem to be drawing to a close. The year of grace 1936 will probably be known in history as the year of preparations for the end of the "peace" brought in by the statesmen of Europe after the War to end War. From the signs now apparent, it seems that militarism has won the day so far as the Old World is concerned. How far and how long the New World will be able to keep out of the turmoil is only known to the Gods of War.

Spain is in the hands of chaos. Some time ago we remarked in the columns of this paper that the stamina of the insurgents was very high and as such, despite what was appearing to the contrary in the score headlines of the daily press, militarism was very far from defeat. Today it seems that a European edition of the Central American States of the storywriter is in the making—very much to the advantage of the militarists of the West. What is happening in Spain, added to what has happened in Ethiopia, has made Belgium realize that France and England are no longer able to assure her immunity. Fear of invasion and a repetition of the catastrophes of 1914 has made young king Leopold to lay down an exclusively Belgian policy, thereby cutting the French alliance that, since 1921, made the French and Belgian armies one. Thus Europe's strictest military alliance broke down last month (October) because the weaker unit realized at last how impotent were her allies where aggression by a determined militarist power was concerned.

The steps leading to this decision of king Leopold are clearly delineated as follows by the *Literary Digest* of New York:

"Failure or any Power to act when Italy swallowed Ethiopia, failure of France to do more than grumble when Hitler militarized the Rhineland, certainty that France's armies would refuse to fight outside their boundaries, realization that no longer is France Europe's Strongest Power . . . . all these forced the kings decision."

Coupled with the end of constitutional government—or at least the complete paralyzation of it—this move on the part of the Belgians completes the isolation of France. The three Powers most anxious to maintain the *status quo*, namely, Britain, France and Russia, are now facing a grim dilemma. England has been caught unprepared and is now engaged in a feverish race to make up for lost time,

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France's far-famed Maginot line becomes futile with the secession of Belgium, Russia is between the twin pincers of Japan and Germany. The choice now seems to be between war and submission to the dictates of the mailed fist, and between these two war seems inevitable.

We in India are in the position of passive spectators, blind and unprepared, who may be hit by the storm at any moment. The latest news, scanty as they are, show that the militarist plan is running to schedule. Of the three great "Have-nots" two, Japan and Germany, have now come to an understanding, and the third is probably in the know. *It is now absolutely certain that in the next war, we shall be flung into the arena,* for with Germany arrayed against Russia, Japan's hands are free, and with the closing of the Mediterranean route, Japan would be nearer India than is England. And we are wonderfully well-prepared for that eventuality, so let us devote ourselves to Communalism, Party Politics and other delicious items of an imported menu poured into our nose-bags!

K. N. C.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Socialism

In one at least of his speeches delivered some months ago, Mr. Nehru has made it clear that his socialism does not imply expropriation without compensation.

In one of his recent Calcutta speeches,

while expressing grave doubts if he could call himself in any sense a dogmatic Socialist, he said that what appealed to him in Socialism was that there could be no dogma about it. The whole conception of modern Socialism was something fairly new. Old Socialism was mere Humanitarianism, a mere Utopian idea of justice and equality, of doing away with poverty and the rest of it. That idea of course was as old as the world. It came more into prominence in the early days of industrial revolution. But what was called modern or scientific Socialism was Marxism. It was based on certain scientific methods of trying to understand history, trying to understand from past events the laws that governed the development of human society, and having understood those laws, trying to understand the present with the help of those laws, and also the future, however dimly it might be. But the fact that Marx was a great genius in his line did not necessarily mean that the laws he derived were fundamental laws which they could not challenge. So far as a Socialist was concerned he must challenge anything unless he understood it.

He had some observations to make on class struggle.

People got very worried about it, and they seemed to think that this was preaching class hatred and enmity. The whole conception of class struggle was that the world today, as in the past, had been based on the conflict of classes, dominance of certain classes over the others. If that was a fact, they must recognize that. It was astounding that anybody denied it. To recognize this fact and then to try to get rid of it was not promoting enmity and hatred. Socialism aimed at the abolition of class-struggle by the abolition of classes and having one class.

To-day the whole of the social fabric was based on violence, conflict, cut-throat competition, and it developed all the evil qualities which went with these things. And when people came to them and talked to them not to disturb the present structure for fear that such activities on their part might be resented by this or that man, it meant that those people were in favour of perpetuating this violence, hatred and enmity which the present system bred. Socialism meant that there should not be such enmity, such hatred and such violence. The only alternative was their submission to and acceptance of the present order. The whole of Marx's analysis showed how society changed as it went on developing. What Marx showed was that the economic factor was the most important factor. The control of methods of production gave them control over the life of the community. Thus in the days when the principal method of production was the land, the landlords were the dominant class. That was the feudal period. Naturally with the coming of the industrial revolution, the landlord class had sunk into the background in Western countries. Land was still an important method of production but there were also other methods of it.

He next passed on to consider capitalism.

Capitalism to-day was in a tremendous process of decay. It was not a question of their going about cursing this individual capitalist or that for having money. This idea of cursing capitalists or landlords individually had nothing to do with their idea of understanding what capitalism was. When they attacked capitalism, what did they attack?

The late Bhupendra Lal Dutt

It is with deep regret that we have to announce the sad and untimely death of Sj. Bhupendralal Dutt, one of our Assistant Editors, from a sudden attack of apoplexy, on Monday, November 30. He had worked at the office till the previous day. He was only 45 at the time of his death. He was a son of the late Ramkanai Dutt, a renowned public man of Brahmanbaria. After graduating from the Calcutta University, he took to literary pursuits and he joined *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* in 1934. He soon made his mark as a devoted and able member of our editorial staff, and his articles published in our journals display his scholarship and deep thinking. He was held in high esteem by his colleagues and friends.

We offer our sincerest condolences to the bereaved family. May his soul rest in peace!

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY MANIK CHANDRA DAS, PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA

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